



City branding used as an instrument for justifying the initiations of megaprojects

A master thesis of the topic city branding towards the megaprojects of
Öresundsmetro and HH-tunnel

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Urban Studies

Master's Thesis (Two-Year)

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Supervisor: Guy Baeten

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Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate and understand how cities are using branding efforts and strategies to further initiate projects of large scale. The study takes place within the cities of Malmö and Helsingborg that are both competing for gaining national support towards the initiation of megaprojects. Megaprojects are considered by a lot of literature to be high risk, which is why I want to understand how city branding strategies can be used for justifying the implementation of these projects. In doing so the thesis will conduct a document analysis to try and identify if there are any city branding strategies towards the megaprojects and where these strategies can be found. What is also considered a main goal for this thesis is to uncover what city branding strategies the cities have and where these can be identified within their communication platforms. The thesis will compare the cities of Malmö and Helsingborg and the megaprojects of Öresundsmetro and HH-tunnel to find similarities, differences and ultimately try to uncover the correlation between city branding and megaprojects.

Keywords: discourse analysis, city branding, city marketing, Öresundsmetro, HH-tunnel

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1. Introduction

An increasing number of cities have discovered that implementing city (re)branding and marketing strategies into their planning policies can lead to several beneficial outcomes that might help the cities grow, attract investments, and gain global popularity. This can without a doubt be seen in large cities such as Stockholm, Copenhagen, Berlin, and Amsterdam that all claim to have city branding strategies (Braun, 2012). However, the adaptation of city branding strategies are not only excluded to the major and popular cities as smaller cities and communities have also taken part in the adaptation (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005).

The ongoing scene for cities using city branding in shaping the city has gained a lot of academic attention through the years with articles both exposing challenges, consequences and providing theoretical frameworks to how city branding could be used (Kavaratzis, 2004, 2008). What is often notable is that city branding as a concept is not a lone entity, it works together with other factors in order to exist. Articles often emphasize that city branding is shaped through several different decision makers throughout the entire process. These often lie within the political and organizational responsibilities for making decisions, which also brings light to some of the issues with the concept itself (Braun, 2012).

It's well mentioned that in these fields of political power, be it from urban governance filled with different actors or governmental authorities, they both use city branding as a tool for creating an image of the city. The issue arises when important actors and stakeholders struggle to identify the concept of city branding and by having misguided dialog among themselves resulting in confusing concept adaptation and application. This issue might also originate from a blurry misunderstanding of what city branding needs to achieve and what city branding works towards.

One of the main arguments in the actual use of city branding between many academics is that it's made to attract attention from investments, gaining an upper hand in competition among cities, developing urban economics, and improving life quality. (Braun, 2012). The concept of city branding is thus being put to the test from actors and decision makers that exist outside and inside of the city's borders. This makes it a matter of not only actual image development, but one of dialog and relationship behaviour between different actors.

While city branding is put into practice the canvas which the city image is painted on is often restricted to only a few painters whose motives are strongly financially driven, while the concerns for authenticity, diversity and democratic policies usually come as a second or third concern (Sager, 2011). While a lot of attention is given to the political and organizational aspects behind the management of city branding, two other important focuses lie on where the branding is actually seen. The first one would be through unpolitical and independent users that preferably would be driven through free speech and participation. This is where the voice of the actual citizens and journalism through media takes shape and illustrates their opinions on the results from city branding. Secondly is where the actual physical environment of the image takes root in the physical structures that the cities produce according to the city branding strategies.

The branding strategies for the cities are different, but the contemporary goal stays the same, to create a competitive scene that outshines other competitors (Sager, 2011; Kavartzis, 2004). The uprising of gentrified and up-scale residential districts with very advanced living conditions and exclusive citizen access is often seen as one consequence of many factors playing in together, whereas city branding is one of them (Sager, 2011). Another form of physical development that goes hand in hand within most city branding strategies for maximizing promotion opportunities since the beginning of the 20th century are megaprojects. Such creations could be the notorious Burj Khalifa in Dubai, but these so-called megaprojects do arrive in different forms for different cities, be it large shopping malls, redevelopment of larger areas, transport projects etc. What is notorious about these projects within the academic world is that they are more than often a case of high-risk low reward gambles (Bruzelius et al., 2002; Flyvbjerg, 2004, 2014, 2017; Zidane et al., 2013).

Pointed out characteristics that contribute towards the low reward are that these projects become overpriced and budget breaking, very complex and long term, exposing them for a lot of challenges, deadlines fail resulting in large delays. Yet, what they do bring to the table and could be an explanation for the boom of recent megaprojects is that they are technologically advanced and give opportunities for pushing boundaries. Financially loaded with investment from private stakeholders, banks, funds, national support, while also politically charged bringing in manifestation of motives in physical forms.

Lastly, they offer an aesthetic image of either beautiful architecture or a “grand” symbolic landmark increasing the promotion and global attraction (Flyvbjerg, 2017). Knowing that megaprojects indeed bring risk, it still manages to gain attraction for cities

to pursue, casting away other problems that need more urgent attention. Using city branding strategies as a tool for justifying the initiations of mega projects opens for a discussion that needs more attention and gives out a correlation that could need more research within the academic world.

1.2 Problem statement

This thesis aims to investigate how the implementation of city branding can be seen, used, and identified within the actions of how cities are marketing themselves. It will set the scene in a practical environment where the city's branding strategies are already set in motion and identified. However, this thesis will focus on the national competition, relationships and city branding in correlation with gaining permission and funds for the initiation of a megaproject. As this is being written the cities of Malmö and Helsingborg in Sweden are both taking part in a larger national “competition” for gaining access towards a megaproject, a large underwater transportation tunnel connecting Sweden with Denmark.

In the time of writing the thesis the initiation and decision makings are still in the early phases, which is why the thesis is focusing on how the city branding can be identified through the motives of how the cities are promoting themselves towards the project. The aim of identifying where these factors can be found could give crucial knowledge and data of what city branding strategies might consist of, set in a perspective of both the public and private sector. Seeing as megaprojects are involved in very politically charged subjects that are meant for creating grand spectacles towards a greater purpose, however as academia has shown, some of these projects do not always deliver the promise that has been given. This could mean that the use of city branding justifies the pursuit of high-risk projects that might turn out to be unnecessary additions to the city and taking away attention from other important matters.

1.3 Aim and research questions

With the problem statement acknowledged, this thesis aims to increase the knowledge around the use of city branding strategies that could be proven useful for future researchers and professionals. The thesis includes goals of identifying city branding strategies within cities that have access to large resources through regionalization. By investigating and researching how transnational cities such as Malmö and Helsingborg can use different projects to build up their city image, this thesis also pursues information of how city branding processes are used towards these goals. The two qualitative research questions below aim to act as guidelines towards the results and findings throughout the thesis:

- How can the motives for creating megaprojects set in cities such as Malmö and Helsingborg be understood through their city branding strategies?
- Where can these city branding strategies be identified within the collected material used for the analysis?

1.4 Disposition

The following chapters will include, chapter 2 will explain the choices and thought process for choosing methods that are suitable for the thesis. In chapter 3 a literature review will showcase and give the reader a more descriptive and in-depth knowledge around the topic of city branding and megaprojects. Chapter 4 includes the theoretical framework that the thesis is working from. Chapter 5 showcases all the gathered and analysis data used to produce the results. Chapter 6 provides a discussion based on the theoretical framework and the results from chapter 5. Lastly, chapter 7 includes conclusion remarks.

2. Methodology

The problem statement underlines that there is a gap within the study of understanding megaprojects in correlation with city branding. This is supposed to be seen as a theoretical issue within qualitative research as it is portrayed within the 1.3 aim paragraph, and thus also meant to create a better understanding around the issues. I acknowledge this thesis as a qualitative study which in return demands a qualitative research strategy that is suitable for studying, analysing, and interpreting language use from different sources. Here I will need to apply text analytical methods which is why the use of document analysis and literature reviews is necessary both the theoretical aspects of the topic of city branding and the concrete information that circulates around the Öresundsmetro and HH-Tunnel.

The thesis itself will be based on an interpretational nature meaning that the data collected will have to be analysed and interpreted from different perspectives. This means that understanding and identifying for example the cities goals of the project can also shape of how the official promotions are conducted. By also understanding the history of the cities and how they have dealt with previous projects can also be used to interoperate and compare with how they confront these challenges in the present time.

2.2 Document Analysis

Document analysis is a qualitative research method that focuses on primary and secondary documents, such as text images, audio recordings, videos, and online content (Bryman, 2016; Patel & Davidson, 2019). The documents serve as a rich source of information that both provide perspectives, values, experiences and even behaviours of individuals, groups and organizations. Once collected the need for interpretative skills are of importance to be able ascertain the meaning of the material (Bryman, 2016, p. 546).

The documents that have been used in this thesis range from several different sources that all have been considered relevant for the empirical analysis. Firstly, the documents provided by Malmö and Helsingborg municipality have been of great importance. Here are general plans, documents, reports, articles, and statements through newsletters. Other sources that also showcased a priority were from all the transnational and national organizations, the Öresundsmetro, the Greater Copenhagen, the HH-group and Trafikverket. Several documents, reports and analyses have been done to understand the relationship of the project from a broader perspective. Lastly mentioned includes both official webpages of mentioned organizations and municipalities as well as news articles and reportages of the mentioned projects.

2.3 Literature review

A literature review provides researchers with a comprehensive understanding of current knowledge on a specific topic (Silverman, 2020). It helps in developing a conceptual framework towards the areas that are of interest to create research on. The use of literature review within this study aims to create a better understanding around the topic of city branding, marketing, and megaprojects. While researching and reviewing relevant literature, the method aims to create a solid framework towards the knowledge needed to create arguments. In line with the review, it was also used to find a suitable theoretical framework that could be implemented on the chosen topic of city branding.

2.4 Limitations and reliability

What could be considered a limitation of this thesis is the early stage of the investigations into the megaprojects in question. This could include the fact that certain documents and reports from today might not hold value in the future, as early stages often involve subsequent changes. However, this limitation is viewed as a positive

opportunity to utilize this study for future research on the projects. Another limitation to a certain degree, when compared to possible future development, is the availability of data. As of now, the amount of data has shown to be sufficient to conduct a qualitative research study. Still, there can always be improvements for retrieving available data.

Another limitation within the methodology is the lack of interaction with actors involved in the projects. Interviews would have been a suitable complement to the document analysis. Attempts were made through email towards Malmö and Helsingborg in hope of interviewing relevant actors, but unfortunately none were made. Nevertheless, this remains a valuable recommendation for future research around this specific topic.

There were potential risks associated with the document analysis. As a large portion of documents used for this research is obtained from official sources, marking them thus reliable and suitable. However, some documents have proven to be left for interpretation which could be seen as a reliability gap. This is acknowledged in chapter 4 and 5 when the use of a debate news article involves both possible public and anonymous users.

2.5 Concluding factors

The methodology shall be used to read and interpret available data to identify where city branding strategies can be found and if they are any. By creating a good understanding of the topic of city branding and megaproject through literature review and describing the historical takes on these concepts from the cities perspectives, this in turn will be used to help analyse and interpret the data sources of the for the document analysis. The document analysis will use a large portion of various data sources as mentioned before to understand how the city branding works within different platforms on different governmental, regional, local and public levels. Finally, the results will be used to discuss the topic if city branding is used as a tool for justification towards megaprojects that might not be needed.

3. Literature reviews

3.1 Filling in the gap with literature reviews

3.1.1 Place identity

While city branding is a term that could be used broadly depending on the subject at hand, it does also have a common purpose for the creation of something. The actual creation is where academia splits up the term and uses it for the purpose of the needed research. However, historically the idea from where city branding could originate boils down to creation of image and identity. Kevin Lynch (1964) in his famous book “*The image of the city*” uses the words and terms of identification, identity, and creating identities to describe how cities are lived, experienced and seen from the perspectives of citizens. The creation of identification of places are a mixture of the mental images from citizens combined with the visual quality we see before us, resulting in hand tailored memories and experiences for each individual towards a specific place (Lynch, 1964). The importance of identity is that “*it is always exclusive and not reproducible*” (Riza et al., 2011) making the creation of space and place a very delicate matter for cities to work with (p. 2). A matter that has indeed been discussed, developed, and changed through time.

3.1.2 Economic geography and city marketing

While some mean to discover how cities function by place identification others seek to create fundamental theories around development of cities through economic perspectives. Economists such as Krugman (1991) and Van den Berg (1987) take the approach of urban development through economic geography that concludes on the potential benefits of urbanization. The matter of terms in use also becomes of importance as the creation of city image rather has its origin in terms such as city marketing, which builds around a different kind of framework compared to that of Kevin Lynch.

However, citizens still play a crucial role in city marketing theory. The needs of the citizens are supposed to be portrayed into the living space of the location (Braun, 2008, p. 10). What these needs consist of could differ depending on several factors. Van den Berg (1987) argues that it is the size and quality of welfare elementals in a location that consequently creates the attractiveness of set location, in other words its image. The urban actors gain their central role here because their needs and wants to become the

potential foundation for city marketing to take root and promote locations (Braun, 2008).

While city marketing is focusing on the promotion of places, city branding as a concept is being developed through city marketing strategies, like that of a company that sells products (Riza et al., 2011). This is further investigated by academics such as Gregory Ashworth and Michalis Kavartzis that have both done studies of how city branding works and put the theory and practices of city branding into question. Noticeable within academia researchers agree that while city branding does include the (re)development of city image it also takes on the strategies from commercial companies in the sense of seeing the city as a product (Ashworth, 2009; Kavartzis, 2004; Riza et al., 2011).

However, what lies at the core of what the city branding actually needs to achieve, the term of uniqueness is often promoted. City branding is made to either discover or create uniqueness, this to stand out from the competition of other cities (Ashworth, 2009, p. 10). This drive towards the creation of a unique image for the purpose of promotion is historically not new, however with globalization pushing markets across borders and growing international competition the practice of city branding has become a normalized activity within public sectors (Kavartzis et al., 2005).

3.1.3 Cities as brands

With cities working as brands, literature also tries to find where these “brands” are seen in practice. According to Ashworth (2009) place branding takes place through three main local planning instruments; (1) personality association, the place is associated with something important that can create unique quality for the location, (2) the visual qualities of buildings and urban design, (3) event hallmarking. The two latter mentioned instruments seem to be somewhat of a copy paste for a lot of frameworks regarding city branding.

Since the 20th century an increase in city branding campaigns have occurred with examples such as Amsterdam’s slogan “I Amsterdam”, cities competing for hosting the Olympics and many other promotions for allowing the creation of outstanding architecture to take place (Ashworth et al, 2009). Arguably, the development of branding places takes root from product-based branding theory, which also creates an understanding that the cities are created for tourism pleasures (Hankinson, 2001, p. 135). Here are where some of the city branding issues are put on the spotlight in recent literature, who is city branding made for and who is its customer.

3.1.4 The Glasgow example

Taking a step further in a more obvious and practical example of how city branding might contribute or warp a city's identity. Mark Boyle (1994) demonstrates in his article "*The politics of Urban Entrepreneurialism in Glasgow*" of how the change of a city's institutional structure of urban governance eventually leads to the change of the city's image. Post war industrial Glasgow was suffering from a heavy unemployment rate in the 1980s as a result of deindustrialisation (Boyle, 1994). The introduction of urban entrepreneurialism within the local authority in Glasgow came as a solution towards battling the city's issues and because of the city's problems of including local private capital as described, "...the local state has experienced great difficulty in engaging private firms with the city's regeneration plans." (Boyle, 1994, p. 455).

The exploration within urban governing powers for encouraging and fostering local development and employment growth was something that started to reoccur for several cities during these years (Harvey, 1989). However, this swap of political background did not have a good ground to begin with as Glasgow was heavily identified as a workers' city with a strong backbone made out of socialism. Still, where the article points of what the issue consists of, it also points to where it takes place. This is where the interpretation of a longer goal for rebranding comes into play. As academia has pointed out, city branding consists of different methods for achieving identity creation. In Glasgow this would take place in the category of a mega event called "*the City of Culture*". What would start off as an event meant with good intentions would end as a controversial take of creating an identity that the actual citizens don't comply with (Boyle, 1994).

The event was to be the root of celebration for the local culture by engaging local communities, but it would also work as a place marketing tool for the city's regeneration plan towards post-industrial investment (Boyle, 1994). Shortly explained, the event became less of a local culture expedition and more of an entrepreneurial opportunity to accumulate interest of outside stakeholders and tourism, something that was heavily criticized by the citizens. These types of examples were promising dreams for a more uplifting life towards local citizens and their culture are very sensitive as they are built upon people's homes and personal lives. Involving third party stakeholders and motives that cross paths with that of the local citizens' wants is something that should always be carefully examined and previewed before executing.

3.1.5 City branding as a political instrument

City branding, marketing, and identity (re)creation can should not be seen as an isolated reason for these controversial cases, they do still work as tools that can contribute towards set goals. However, city branding is eventually a product of other powers at play such as key decision makers, justification of methods for reaching set goals, journalism and media, and political backgrounds and ideologies. The practices of neoliberalism would be one of the concepts that has its roots in similar fashion of using different methods governed towards a common goal. It draws from several different factors of governing powers for managing its political identity that involves a framework that consists of entrepreneurialism, public-private partnership, global competition, consumerism, and capitalism (Boyle et al., 2012, Harvey 2006, 2006). The introduction of neoliberalism, entrepreneurialism and market rule decision making within city planning institutions has also been one topic where academics have drawn strong correlations with the use of city marketing and branding (Sager, 2011).

The literature survey from Tore Sager (2011) reviews different neo-liberal urban planning policies. City marketing is marked under the category of urban economic development which is described by Sager (2011) “...*attracting people and business companies to the city, whilst taking into account that some segments of the population and some firms can contribute more to economic development than others*” (p. 156). This puts city marketing into an economic perspective where it is also highlighted that urban branding attempts can turn place marketing into a controlled and selective place-based identity made for a specific group of people or companies (Sager, 2011). It is as mentioned within this area of research that city marketing is prone to create gentrification, flagship projects and mega-events while trying to create a signature urban design.

Gentrified and up-scale residential districts are used to promote cities, however this has been critiqued by many scholars concerned with “...*the lack of authenticity, diversity, democracy and welfare policy.*” for the entirety of the city (Sager, 2011, p. 157). This is demonstrated in the case study of Malmö by Guy Baeten (2011) where the newly built area Hyllie, could be seen as a prime example of city marketing made for place promotion. The idea of attracting a so-called “creative class” works as a carrot for pro city marketing arguments of similar projects as Hyllie.

These hand tailored places are built up for consumption, attraction of the creative class while also being a part of a central motor of economic growth (Baeten, 2011; Christophers, 2008; Sager, 2011). The neoliberal policies give incentives and justifications for any creation made for commodities. In this environment city branding is used an idea to promote commodities which is done through city marketing strategies aimed at selling and promoting.

3.1.6 City branding and megaprojects

While literature points out that city branding is involved in the unseen and abstract visions of political, economic, and social powers of a city's branding process it also exists in physical form. As mentioned in the previous paragraph the creation of (re)developed new areas are in the grand scheme of things contributing onto the canvas of which the city brand is being painted. However, this physical form arrives in different shapes and colours. With everything from up-scale residential areas to beautiful parks and large events, another category that would both contribute to the city branding process while also have the possibility to exist because of city branding strategies would be megaprojects. These projects involve incredible and complex technical creations such as bridges, tunnels, highways, airports, massive buildings that are as symbolic as well as functional. To name a few the Burj Khalifa in Dubai, Merdeka 118 in Kuala Lumpur and Turning torso in Malmö could all fall into the same category of megaprojects that are a combination of a functional working building while being a symbolic act of promotion.

The literature around megaprojects is vast and deep while it also ranges from articles pro megaprojects and critiques arguing against them. Bent Flyvbjerg (2017) does a good job in the chapter "*Introduction: The Iron Law of Megaproject Management*" of explaining what the actual challenges for producing megaprojects are. In short, they are considered to be very rarely time and cost effective as the budgets for megaprojects are usually broken. The scale of the economy in some of the largest megaprojects has been as big as the GDP of many nations (Flyvbjerg, 2017, p. 3). This in combination with the technological complexity and the share size of different stakeholders and decision makers that all must cooperate, sets the project up for challenges even before they have started building (Flyvbjerg, 2014). However, literature also responds with possible solutions and further questions of why megaprojects exists and/or are needed.

As mentioned further by Flyvbjerg (2017) megaprojects consists of four subtypes, (1) technological, (2) political, (3) economical and (4) aesthetic that all combined could be the explanation to why megaprojects continue to exist. The projects allow for technology to push their boundaries and set new records for longest, tallest and largest, while political motives and ideologies can manifest into physical form through them (Söderlund, 2017). While mentioned before that the projects commonly run over budget, they are also provided with an enormous budget making them often a national interest from economic perspectives. Lastly, the aesthetics of a megaproject has the opportunity to form something spectacular that in many cases have shown to become a big part of a country's or a city's "face out".

Literature suggests that megaprojects are for the most cases still a risk and inefficient, however the problem might lie with the actual management within the organizations, they do not know how to deliver successful megaprojects (Flyvbjerg, 2014, 2017, Söderlund, 2017). It is also here where it can be interpreted by literature that the size, meaning and complexity of megaprojects are too big to stop resulting in an unprepared management force that has no choice, but to fulfil the project until finished (Rego et al, 2017). Looking historically from the ancient pyramids to the arenas built for the Olympic games the symbolism itself in these spectacular creations are of too big of importance not to create. Compared with today's city branding processes, maybe the same could be said of modern-day megaprojects.

4. Theoretical framework

Understanding the complexity of city branding is to understand that it has several heads attached to the same body. It all consists of different stakeholders, different opinions and actions that are based on different experiences and values that will eventually connect them all back to the same body. In similar fashion choosing a theoretical framework that understands the topic it theories about is to choose something that is built up on similar design as the topic itself. One framework that stands out is the work from Michalis Kavaratzis (2004) *"From city marketing to city branding: Towards a theoretical framework for developing city brands"*. Kavaratzis builds this theoretical framework towards city branding from several components that originate from different theoretical backgrounds turning two different types of perspectives into a hybrid theory. While adopting a theory that builds upon the same complex nature as the topic itself it can consequently become complex to understand if not examined thoroughly. Therefore, I will first explain the two main components separately to give an insight into how they work and afterwards take a deep dive into the actual theory produced by Kavaratzis.

4.1 City marketing mix

The first theoretical framework that is introduced is city marketing mix which is meant to provide marketers with basic guidelines that lead from city marketing into city branding. Within marketing science and highlighted by city marketing literature the quote, *“The importance of the determination of marketing mix, meaning the combination of marketing measures needed to achieve the desired strategy”* (Kavaratzis, 2004) works as a commonly acknowledged backbone for city marketing (p. 61).

Important to understand is that the city marketing mix opens for different takes of marketing mixes. Van den Berg (1990) adopts the services marketing mix that takes root in cities with entrepreneurial policies for coping with regional and global competition. Ashworth and Voogd (1990) & Kotler et al. (1999) takes on a geographical marketing mix that focuses on strategies for place improvements for building a competitive advantage.

On common ground between the same authors mentioned lies the fact that the city marketing for these cases takes place in an entrepreneurial model of the city. The goals of these models described by Kavaratzis (2004) from Hubbard and Hall (1998), as, *“identify re-imagining localities and the transformation of previously productive cities into spectacular cities of (and for) consumption”* (p. 61). These goals are pursued through specific city marketing measures which include (1) advertising and promotion, (2) large-scale physical redevelopment (3) public art and civic statuary, (4) mega-events, (5) cultural regeneration and (6) public-private partnerships.

An agreement between authors more than that the entrepreneurial city is of importance for making city marketing work is that there lies a crucial role in city marketing that emphasizes on image formulation and image communication (Kavaratzis, 2004). This translates into a focus of a branding process that uses conventional promotional measures for creating place improvements and other types of urban promotion options.

Furthermore, it is mentioned that the communicative side of the city image consists not only of the promotion measures, but that of all marketing measures in use (Ashworth and Voogd, 1990). This includes measures from both general marketing and city marketing and here lies the complexity within city marketing mix of having to organize different sets of measures as one whole set for creating and promoting a city's image. Arguably it is here where city marketing theory argues that encounters with the city

takes place through perceptions and images, resulting in that city marketing is not marketing the city itself, but its image (Kavaratzis, 2004, p. 63).

Furthermore Graham (2002) elaborates how city marketing works by making a distinction between two parallel cities that coexist simultaneously. The first is the '*external city*' that is the face out for the global competitive and promotional world. This city consists of one or two signature buildings or landmarks to enhance and give the city (image) a distinctive identity. Kavaratzis (2004) argues here that city marketing could be seen in the same sense as working with the external city, by creating promotional measures made for commercial purposes.

The second parallel city that Graham (2002) speaks of is the '*internal city*', the city of the mind. Within this city lives thought and perspectives of social inclusion and exclusion, lifestyle, diversity, and multiculturalism. Here is where the individual experiences and creates their own opinion of the city, similar to that of how Lynch's (1964) describes the relationship between the citizen and the city's identity. What becomes interesting for city marketing theory is that the point of interaction between the external and internal cities is where management and marketing must be done (Kavaratzis, 2004). The point of interaction is where each individual forms their own perception of the city which further results in the city's image. City marketing mix concludes in that it is not the city, but the image that has to be planned (Kavaratzis, 2004, p. 63)

4.2 Corporate Branding

The second theoretical framework that is brought to light is corporate branding. With the creation of new markets and economies new approaches of how city marketing should be viewed were investigated. The corporate approach introduces a concept which is developed from corporate branding and marketing of producing traditional product branding. It suggests that corporate-level concepts have integrated more image, identity and communications into the corporate branding processes which share similarities with that of how a city works (Kavaratzis, 2004). As also mentioned by Simoes and Dibb (2001) that there lies a general agreement in marketing literature that a brand is more than a name. It contains beliefs and socio-psychological attributes that together creates an understanding of what something represents. Corporate branding also incorporates competition as a big factor that needs to be dealt with and a fundamental notion for this is corporate identity (Kavaratzis, 2004).

The identity of a corporation carries a lot of weight because it is here that the corporate, “...articulates its ethos, aims and values and presents a sense of individuality...” which helps in differentiation from the competition (Kavaratzis, 2004, p. 64). A strong corporate identity also helps transmit a secure image towards future possible investments and assets (Simon and Dibb, 2001). Other than identity, agreed upon core values with corporate branding include having a good relationship with different key stakeholders and with internal actors within the corporate itself (Kavaratzis, 2004). Brands are also meant to be seen as long-term journeys that will work with different products throughout the process, which is not unusual in today's marketing branding strategies. This is where the positioning of branding processes carries weight of importance according to corporate branding in that strategies and marketing tactics built around and upon brands (Kavaratzis, 2004).

Corporate branding theory also highlights the questions of: in what ways is a city a brand or if it even can be seen as a brand? As quoted by Kavaratzis (2004) from Hankinson and Cowking (1993) “*The following definition of brands might assist in answering this difficult question: ‘a brand is a product or service made distinctive by its positioning relative to the competition and by its personality, which comprises a unique combination of functional attributes and symbolic values’*” (p. 65). Similar takes can further be explored by Ashworth and Voogd (1990) and Kotler (1999) where brands and brandings are looked upon as a relation to the goals of city marketing to manage a city's image. There lie similarities from that of what values branding has within a corporation as that of a city, for creating a city image.

Lastly, Kavaratzis (2004) summarizes from Balmer and Gray (2003) that the framework for understanding city brands provided by corporate branding might also lie in how corporations work with their management. Cities and corporations both work with several stakeholders, while consisting of different levels of management within their own organizations. They are both very complex entities that carry a social responsibility for themselves and their ‘customers’ (Kavaratzis, 2004). In this sense corporate-level marketing could not only be a useful theoretical framework for practical city branding, but also provide guidelines of how management could be managed on large and complex scales.

4.3 The hybrid theory framework

Kavaratzis (2004) starts off his theoretical framework with a statement that city marketers are faced with the challenge of working with a multitude of stakeholders and that balancing who should be prioritized is a common obstacle. The theoretical framework of Kavaratzis is therefore meant to be built around the city's own residents, however it's important to note that other audiences and stakeholders are still of grave importance for the city's branding process. In the end, everything should come together to ultimately provide goals that will improve the quality of life within the city. Here is where Kavaratzis combines the two mentioned theoretical perspectives by using the promotional aspects of city marketing mix and the identity and management from the corporate branding. He uses their strengths and advantages to form a framework with the aim to supply city marketers with tools towards city branding.

The city marketing measures that the city marketing mix theory suggested combined with the components of the city's brand management taken from corporate branding are merged to provide according to Kavaratzis (2004) the guidelines which the framework is based on. This is furthermore explained in terms that push these guidelines and basic elements into a representation of how they can create a city's image through a set of image communication steps. The figure below lies as a representation in which city image communication takes place through the choice and appropriate treatment of variables (Figure 1).

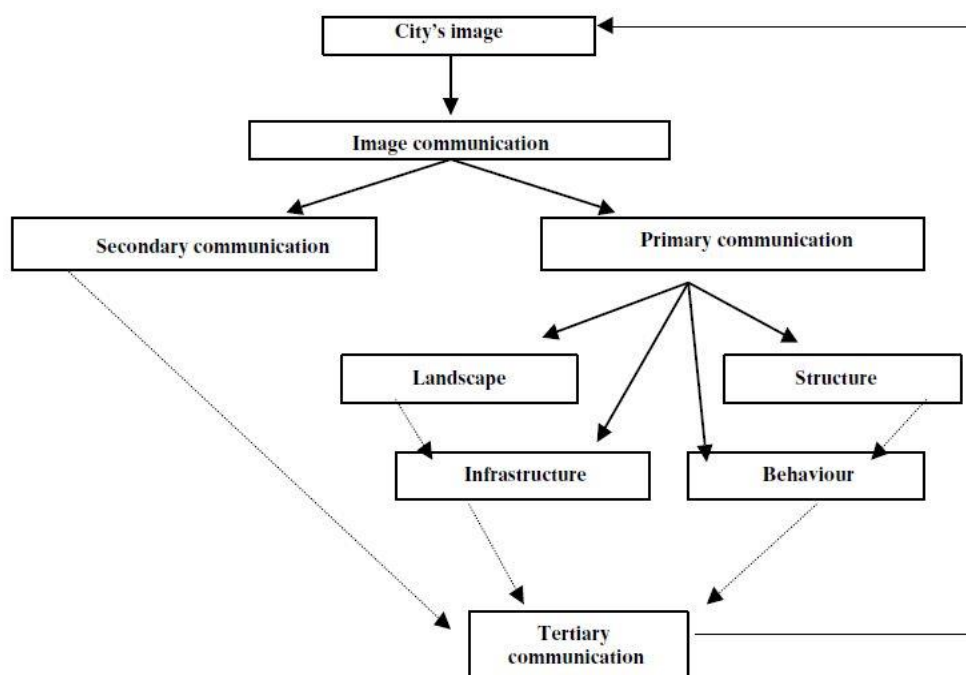


Figure 1, Kavaratzis image communication tree

The framework builds around the realization that image communication will eventually build up the image of the city. As taken from Vermeulen (2002) Kavaratzis (2004) does indeed go with the notion that encounters with the city takes place through perceptions and images, making it accepted that it is the image of the city that needs to be planned. This is also further argued together with the example from Graham's (2002) external and internal city that emphasizes that the interaction point becomes a focal point for city branding and that it is here image communication takes place.

The framework consists of three distinct types of communications, primary, secondary, and tertiary. They all consist of interventions or actions needed to eventually shape the city's image. Kavaratzis (2004) also points out that these actions in context of city branding both have a functional as well as symbolic meanings, however this will only be achieved through communication.

Primary communication

Primary communication is divided into four broad areas of intervention. These areas relate to the communicative effects of a city's action towards places.

- **Landscape strategies**, actions and decisions related to urban design, architecture, green spaces, and generally public space. This expands from large-scale physical redevelopment to public street art where the same reality in city marketing serves a similar purpose here, for promotion of place.
- **Infrastructure projects**, refers to projects developed to create, improve, or give a *distinctive character* to various kinds of infrastructure that the city needs. It takes inspiration from Kotler et al. (1999) and Ashworth and Voogd (1990) in what meaning infrastructure projects have within city branding. The framework concludes that infrastructure projects are built to fulfil a functional and symbolic purpose (Kavaratzis, 2004). They are created to improve accessibility for the city's many different audiences that span from large monuments for visitors to improved transports for the citizens. However, in context with city branding infrastructure also refers to the important existence of different facilities that help build a city's image such as culture centres, theatres, universities etc.
- **Organizational and administrative structure** relates to the effectiveness and improvements of the city's governing structure. Here it is mentioned that the organizational structure has the same spirit of that of public-private partnership

(PPP) governed developments that both city marketing theory and corporate branding theory see suitable. This shares similarities from both Ashworth and Voogd (1990) with their take on organizational measures and that of Hubbard and Hall's (1998) PPP argument within city marketing practices. Kavaratzis (2004) also brings up that the organizational structure carries a heavy weight within corporate branding making it relevant to include within this intervention. What is also of importance for this intervention is that Kavaratzis (2004) embraces that it is here community networks and citizens participation in decision making can happen alongside the establishment of important PPPs. The organization of the marketing and branding effort itself falls into this category.

- **Behaviour** refers to such issues of how the city leader's vision for the city, strategy adaptation or the financial incentives provided by the city to various stakeholders can be used to create promotion. This refers to some of the city marketing practices that includes event-based strategies for creating city promotion (festivals, events, exhibitions, culture/sport events etc). City marketers and administrators are put in the spotlight as their imagination combined with the finance offered for projects can be key for creating a unique experience / image. However, what has to be stressed is that this is not meant to be an exclusive all-around guideline that will guarantee success for every city (Kavaratzis, 2004). The innovativeness and imagination from decision making actors carries the heavy weight of how successful something is allowed to be. However, as mentioned before, the size of the finance incentives provided by various stakeholders can act as either a boost or a drawback on how far the innovativeness is allowed to go.

Secondary communication

Next to primary is secondary communication (Fig, 1). The secondary communication is the formal intentional communication that most commonly takes place through well-known marketing practices like indoor and outdoor advertising, public relations, graphic design, the use of a logo etc. It largely falls into the category of promotional components within traditional marketing mix and what is also meant by Ashworth and Voogd (1990) the promotional measures within city marketing. It is also brought to comparison by Kavaratzis (2004) that the secondary communication falls into the same described communication component of corporate identity creation that Balmer (2002) argues for. Nevertheless, there is often confusion between the concept of city marketing and

branding efforts. Hence, it is important to emphasize that any secondary communication must align seamlessly with all other components and accurately reflect the true essence of the city as perceived by its diverse audience (Kavaratzis, 2004).

The secondary communication also implies that promotion is a driving factor as written by Kavaratzis (2004) “...*promotion comes only after one has something to promote*” (p. 69). This is further described by two starting points for secondary communication. Firstly, the content that needs to be addressed could be seen as the most important and significant factor as it becomes a fact that if communication exists then it must exist for the reason to communicate about something. Secondly, the competence of the actual communication of the city is a key element for building up a successful process. A functional communication results in city marketing that can market and sell the urban. The communicative competence of the city itself acts as a paradox in that it becomes a goal as well because of the city branding process (Kavaratzis, 2004).

Tertiary communication

Last communication refers to word of mouth, reinforced by media and competitors' communication. It is linked with the rest by an interrupted line (Figure 1), as it is not controllable by marketers. The whole branding process and the other two controllable types of image communication have as a goal to evoke and reinforce positive tertiary communication especially so in the case of the city's own residents, who are at the same time the most important target audience of city branding and the most important city marketers. This includes journalism and social media communication (Falkheimer, 2015).

By including the tertiary as a priority within branding processes will give citizens and the public the chance to experience and share their views. This could in turn be seen as identities who are shaped from what an individual lives, sees and remembers while exploring a city. By being involved and experiencing positive outcomes from the primary and secondary communication, the tertiary can act as a true form of expression towards the creation of the city's image. This also becomes a core value for branding processes as they are not made over one experience or night, but filled with projects and opinions that expands throughout the entirety of the city's existence.

The framework of all three types of communications will be considered in chapter 6 together with the results of the document analysis of Malmö's and Helsingborg journey

with city branding in the next chapter (5). The discussion of chapter 6 will try and put the theoretical framework as a guideline to try and identify where the cities city marketing strategies can be interpreted within the data that has been collected.

5. Analysis

5.1 Presentation of object of study

The objects of study within the framework for this thesis will be done in two parts around two cities, Malmö, and Helsingborg. Firstly, they will both be studied from the same research perspective where each city's branding concept will be identified or interpreted as concepts. This will be done through the research of old examples from previous projects that have occurred within the cities. By finding possible evidence of historical use of city branding or marketing strategies it would further strengthen the interpretation of present city brandings strategies within the cities. Trying to find patterns on how these projects could have been included or at least seen as a part of the cities branding processes it could then be further used to identify that the cities have a branding concept in correlation with larger building projects. Furthermore, the second part will include document analysis of the newly introduced megaprojects, Öresundsmetron and HH-tunnel. These will be thoroughly looked through to identify similar branding motives.

5.2 Historical interpretation of city branding in Malmö

Taking a glance of Malmö's history, it has been a city of both rapid growth and change since the 1800s and has ever since 1870 been Sweden's third largest city. The introduction of the industrial era became an entry for Malmö to take advantage of and build a city that would prosper, create work while already becoming a known harbour city on a competitive global level. In 1840 Frans Henric Kockums founded the famous Kockums workshop that expanded from the metal industry into the manufacturing of large sea vessels, train carriages and bridges (Länsstyrelsen, n.d.) The size of Kockums became the very heart of Malmö as it created work opportunities for over 4000 employees, and it put Malmö on the map by exporting vessels to foreign countries such as China. Kockums even had the world's biggest Gantry crane installed in 1974 (Länsstyrelsen, n.d.).

This successful story would indeed set its mark into Malmö's core identity and thus brand Malmö as a city of industry. Furthermore, through an analysis of Malmö's general plans stretching from 1966 to 1980 they show a clear involvement of working around industrialisation within the general planning of Malmö's property use. This is further shown through statements of categorisation in the general plan, *"The general plan for Malmö 1956-1970 treats the economic structure within two headlines: industry- and supply and other working areas."* (Malmö stad, 1968, p. 15).

With city planners being involved in the writings of the general plan it also gives insight into how the financial motives for expanding the industrialisation shape how planners plan. As visualized by figure 2 the pink areas show where industry is located or where it's going to be built and as shown the distribution of industry is very vast and mostly concentrated on the outskirts. The focus of creating around the industry opens for more planning that would give way for even more industry. Because of Kockums geographical position in the north of Malmö, another industrial area was to be planned in the south, *"As a counterweight against the large industrial harbour area in the north lies Fosie's new industrial area in the South"* (Malmö stad, 1968, p. 15).

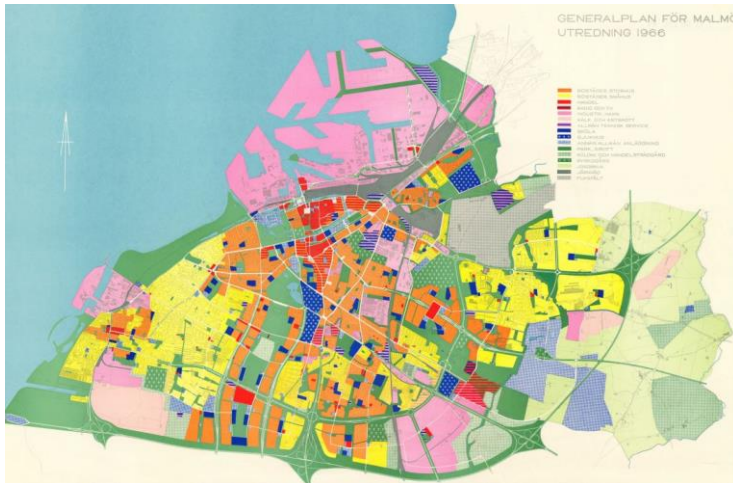


Figure 2, property management from the General plan 1966

Following the general plan of 1980, the industry that once prospered took a different turn while the public sector was shown to be the more successful in providing work (Malmö stad, 1981, p. 27). Malmö enters a conflict in which their labor providers are stagnating thus their identity becomes threatened by an unsure future which is

also expressed in the general plan (Malmö stad, 1981), *"From these industries, Kockums have gone through a crisis and it is unsure to what extent this business will have in the long run"* (p. 28).

Figure 3 shows us the 1980 general plan version of property management, and it's possible to see that the industry (purple), that once was a the foundation for Malmö still had a large portion planned after it, however it was not considered as a priority anymore.

The fairy tale of Kockums would unfortunately not last, in the late 70s and the start 80s Malmö would undergo structural changes while also being hit by a recession in the early 90s. By this time a total of 35.000 people were left without jobs, while 6000 of these were from Kockums (Larsson et al., 2007). Eventually undergoing several procedures Kockums

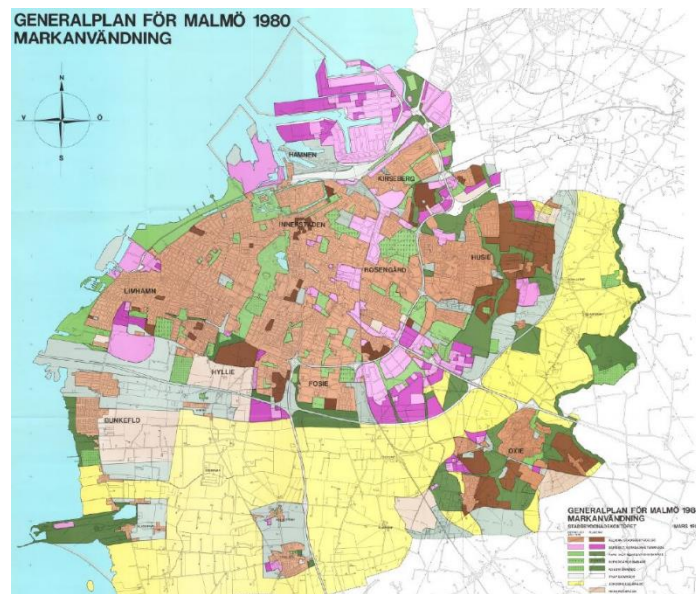


Figure 3, property management from the General plan 1980

was sold off and stripped down for parts, which poetically could also be said for Malmö's identity. Malmö was no longer an industrial city, and thus without identity they began a 10-year period of trauma in search of a new image (Larsson et al., 2007).

5.2.1 Malmö identifying with branding

While city branding as a topic might not have been as influential and known in these times, it's clear that the concept of branding was alive or unironically used. However, with a finance crash combined with an identity crisis Malmö had to reinvent their image to ensure survival. In January 1995 the municipality of Malmö introduced a project called "Vision Malmö 2000" with the purpose of bringing forth long lasting visions for Malmö's future (Stigendal, 1996). The project's main identifying components were to secure a positive future and one that would put Malmö on the map as a competitive city within the Öresunds region. It would also serve the purpose of battling unemployment and social segregation which had become a problem since the immigration waves from the early 1990s.

With a lot of challenges on the plate a common agreement between different political parties was made and a common purpose was created for Malmö. This would also be grounded in previous political conflicts where financial "cut downs" were made based on political ideological prioritizations towards certain projects, thus the visionary work

would be “apolitical” and done by officials not governed through politics (Möllerström, 2011). These steps towards a new visionary future would come in several stages that would eventually become Malmö’s new identity, “*After the industrial society comes a society of knowledge and information*” (Malmö stad, 2000, p. 18).

With the implementation of Vision Malmö 2000 many ideas of how Malmö could develop into a new city were brought forth. A facelift of aesthetics and new architecture for newly built residential areas and a new university came as a favoured suggestion, one that would be implemented very fast (Larsson et al., 2007). The visionary project would eventually develop into the complete general plan and be accepted by the head of municipality in December 2000 (Malmö stad, 2000). And here it is stated clearly that Malmö’s plans towards economic development, integration, and sustainable questions were all of importance, but the focus would be towards knowledge and information, especially within IT, “*We abandoned life in the countryside for life in the city. With the IT-revolution we will begin to live a new life on the internet.*” (Malmö stad, 2000, p. 22). With this statement, it was also given that new requirements in planning would be set that would increase the freedom for residential and business-oriented projects.

One of the starting points that set the ball in motion for Malmö’s opportunity towards a new future would also come from a national decision in 1991 of improving the connection of the Öresundsregion (Larsson et al., 2007). The introduction of the 16 km long bridge between Copenhagen and Malmö would give the entire region a connecting passage that would integrate the entire region. The municipality needed a development strategy that would now not only have to consider Malmö, but that of the entire Öresunds region.

Seeing as entrepreneurialism had started to take root in Malmö as in other western cities following the trend of moving from industrialisation towards service-oriented markets. In turn, seeing opportunity in an integrated Öresundsregion from an economical perspective became a strong argument for the future of Malmö’s economic growth, “*...integration within Öresundsregion contributes to more contacts, more trade, expansion of cooperation and new business opportunities*” (Malmö stad, 2000, p. 19).

With the university already in the making and the Öresunds bridge starting to take shape, other types of projects would soon follow because of the motives mentioned previously. The next paragraphs will give a more in-depth analysis over some of the main megaprojects that have helped shape Malmö’s image.

5.2.2 The Öresunds bridge

The initiation for the Öresunds bridge began in 1995 and the final construction of the bridge was done in 2000. This became an immense success for both the Danish and Swedish side and as a symbolic opening day the bridge was open to walk across for all citizens. The bridge became a technological wonder throughout Scandinavia because of the sheer size and needed preparations. To create the bridge two man-made islands of 4 km and 0,5km had to be constructed together with an underwater tunnel that would stretch 3,5km (Skanska, 2020). All included the bridge would end up being 16 km long and towering at an impressive 203-meter height.

Being a success within the world of construction and functionality it would also serve a symbolic purpose. Connecting Copenhagen and Malmö, Denmark and Sweden with a secure and dependent way of transport meant that the way of living would change for the entire region. The bridge became the unique symbol of the Öresundsregion, where the towering pillars holding the bridge together can be depicted as a huge doorway.

The official Danish - Swedish organization also expresses, *“Our business idea is that Öresundsbron should build new bridges everyday - economically, culturally and mentally.”* showing that the intentions of the bridge goes further than just being a technological and functional invention (Öresundsbron, n.d.). The effects of the bridge in terms of the conditions that Malmö now had to operate from are described as *“...a more extensive cross-border commuting with a more integrated housing and labor market and a greater number of people moving in.”*

(Malmö stad, n.d.). Taking from that statement and with the goals of Malmö's general plan Öresundsbron served its purpose on several fronts, including in becoming an important chess piece for building Malmö's image. Malmö that was once only accessible from sea or air now also had a third option connecting them with the rest of the continent.

5.2.3 Malmö university

The second project is the university of Malmö, which could also be seen as the first step towards turning Malmö into a city of knowledge. The planning and the building began in the same year of 1995, and it was strategically placed between the old town close to the central station and the harbour area where Kockums had their industry. It is

described in the general plan of 2000 that the strategic placement of the University and the soon to be new upscale residential area of the western harbour were important for the embodiment of a new Malmö (Malmö stad, 2000, p. 66). This is also further described that the importance of having a good and close proximity towards the central station and city tunnel, attractive parks and cultural environments would increase the place promotion onto a regional and global level (Malmö stad, 2000, p. 66). Malmö's intentions of using the university as a promotion project was very clear throughout the process.

The university together with high quality urban environments were meant to work as a development engine for the city's integration goals of attracting students and creative people to Malmö (Larsson et al., 2007). The geographical position was of grave importance, however building inside of the city usually means higher costs than on the outskirts. Malmö would therefore use a lot of their resources to cash in on several properties of where the university could be located (Larsson et al., 2007). An example is the building called Orkanen, where the university library is located. The property was bought by Malmö municipality to be able for developers to build without having to cover property expenses.

The university consists of eight buildings, with Niagara and Orkanen serving as the main representatives. These buildings were designed to showcase the university's image and were chosen through architectural competitions in 1997. The Swiss architecture firm Diener & Diener won the competition for Orkanen, resulting in a facade covered in ribbed glass that reflects light and displays the words "knowledge" and "freedom" in multiple languages. Similarly, Niagara's design, created by architects employed by Akademiska hus, incorporates giant cogwheels to symbolize Malmö's industrial history. The symbolic significance of Niagara for the university was acknowledged in a press release by Carina Svensson, the president of the city planning board (Malmö stad, 2011).

5.2.4 Bo01, Western harbour and Turning torso

One other strategic project for increasing Malmö's reputation and attracting more residents was to start producing high quality residential environments (Larsson et al., 2007). This project was also created consequently from the rough finance and housing crisis that Malmö had to endure during the 1990s. The idea would come in the form of a fair for innovative thinking that had the purpose of gathering developers, building

residential housing and to promote Malmö (Larsson et al., 2007). The fair would take a symbolic start at the turn of the millennium and therefore be named Bo2000, however it was moved to one year after resulting in the name of Bo01.

With high expectations the fair turned out to be a huge success on many scales. The fair alone attracted both national and international architects that all came with innovative and challenging ideas. This would eventually also turn out to be a good ground for the creation of an area that had to look both different and new in contrast with the rest of Malmö (Bengt, 2005). The success of Bo01 resulted in a high-quality level expanding from architecture, planning and vision for the area that would be called the western harbour, Malmö's new up-scale harbour area.

In line with that of Universitetsholmen where the university is located, the same principles were made for the western harbour in the General plan 2000: attractive area for education, science, business, housing, culture, and recreation (Malmö stad, 2000, p. 64). Malmö municipality made sure to capitalise on the opportunity that the western harbour would provide and this meant that new types of technologies around water and energy management would be implemented. Seeing that the trend starting from the millennial shift would be in green and sustainable options, the Bo01 fair also opened up opportunities that would be tried out within the housing development.

This would become the trademark for the western harbour, a green and sustainable residential area filled with interesting architecture and business options. Bo01 together with the western harbour became not only a national success, but one that would expand across borders and set an example for especially western city's going through a similar transformation.

With a bridge connecting Malmö to Europe, a new university and a successful newly planned city district in the making, Malmö's new image was starting to take shape. But one single building that might be the reason for marking Malmö on the map while also being able to see it standing miles away from Malmö would be the flagship skyscraper Turning Torso (Figure 4).

It would be positioned on the western side of the western harbour inside of the Bo01. The building would be drawn and constructed by the Spanish architect Santiago Calatrava. The name and shape of the turning torso would be inspired from Santiago's own marble sculpture of a torso, stating that the building would be an artwork made into a housing. The building would stand tall with its impressive 190m making it Sweden's tallest building until it was overtaken by Karlatornet in Gothenburg in 2022 (Engström, 2022). However, being a residential building, it still counts as one of Europe's tallest buildings for living. The implementation of Turning torso set a high bar for Malmö's image creation and in doing so it might have been the final stroke from being once a city of industry to now a new city of knowledge and information.



Figure 4. Turning torso

5.2.5 Greater Copenhagen: Malmö

Lastly mentioned that per say is not a megaproject, but could be considered as a mega cooperation is the Danish Swedish political organization for the entire region of Öresund. The cooperation went under the name Öresundregionen, however after falling behind on the economic growth compared to other Nordic cities and with a regionalization process moving slower than expected the organization opened for cooperate changes. Eventually in 2015 the new trademark for Öresundsreigonen would now be *The Greater Copenhagen*, a strong international brand that would originate from Copenhagen. The name adoption on the other hand became a controversial topic,

especially from the Swedish side. The arguments from the Danes described by Falkheimer (2016, p. 161) would follow that nobody outside the region knows what the Öresundregion is while Copenhagen is already well known internationally. The Swedish actors had to eventually join as the branding platform of Greater Copenhagen would be too good of an offer to turn down.

Firstly, to put the perspective into what arsenal the region has for marketing themselves a few facts are going to be listed. The now big city region of Greater Copenhagen involved a total of 4 regions, 85 municipalities, 11 universities and 4,4 million inhabitants. This includes the large cities of Copenhagen, Malmö, Helsingborg, Helsingör and Lund which all have strong business clusters expanding from scientific cooperations to finance (Falkheimer, 2016). The large toolkit at hand is consequently also pointed out by academics and actors within the organization to be their biggest roadblock. The sheer size of the transnational region becomes too big for one organization or one side of the bridge to alone promote. It also brings light to new challenges such as not having established promotion models that would fit the size of promotion needed for the entire region.

Issues would also arise from no existing qualified actors such as market actors or civil society to promote regionalization (Falkheimer, 2016). Lastly the political motives could differ, from national to local terms meaning that building a place brand within Öresundregion is multi-vocal political filled institution that could have a changing premise of interests, potentially hinder itself from further progress.

The organization itself does give an opportunity where transnational benefits in form borderless work opportunities and effects for economic growth are possible through well planned transport infrastructure (Greater Copenhagen, 2023). Looking towards the meeting point of south Denmark and the German island Fehmarn a new underwater tunnel made for railway and road traffic is being built. This initiation has sparked a new transnational conversation between Sweden and Denmark for the future of the Öresundregion. With the Fehmarn tunnel, the connectivity will increase towards Europe thus increasing the transport load (Öresundsmetron, 2021). This could also mean that an increase of potential residents, workers and businesses could occur within the area of Greater Copenhagen. Upgrading the infrastructure would be a solution to handle the increasing flow of transport which has ultimately led to a double suggestion for

initiation of similar megaprojects connecting Denmark and Sweden in the form of their own underwater tunnels (Greater Copenhagen, 2016).

5.3 Helsingborg's branding opportunities

Helsingborg is one of Sweden's oldest cities dating back to the 1000th century and has since then been remarked a harbour city (Nationalencyklopedin, 2023). Its geographical position in Öresund made it a strong strategic point of interest from a military and trading point of view. A city with a history of such a length is prone to always have a rich history manifested into physical form such as preserving old houses and buildings. It's clear that Helsingborg is using the strengths from their rich background as the 700year old castle tower called Kärnan towers and watches over Helsingborg, which has also in present day become a tourist attraction. Pushing further than historical monuments, the grain trading, and industrialisations during the 1900s eventually created a rapid growth of migrants, turning Helsingborg into a large city for Swedish standards that today inhabits 112 000 inhabitants (Nationalencyklopedin, 2023).

A strong history gives the means to shape a strong identity. During the history of Helsingborg, the harbour has always been seen as a strong asset which is also where the future of Helsingborg lies according to plans (Helsingborgs stad, 2021, p 10). In terms of branding and promotion the options have not been as selective for Helsingborg as for Malmö. This could depend on statistical factors such as the size and inhabitants' difference which also translates to less resources and options for especially large-scale developments. Seeing as Helsingborg draws from its rich history and identity, they have further enhanced their strengths by either creating developments around them or also focused on projects that draw global attention without large physical manifestations, such as events and organizational cooperations. Because of this contrast, the suggestions below are not essentially prime 'megaprojects', however they do represent interpretation of other hallmark examples of where city promotion can occur.

5.3.1 The harbour

It's noticeable in the general plans for Helsingborg that the harbour carries a lot of importance for the city's socio-economic growth. It is one of Sweden's most important logistic hubs because of its geographical location and connectivity through railway, highways, and sea. By also stating in the general plan:

“Helsingborgs harbour is an important part of the logistical environment for companies and has a great meaning for Helsingborgs identity” (Helsingborg stad, 2021)

solidifies the argument that a portion of the city’s identity circulates around the harbour (p. 25). This does not only originate from the grounds of being a logistical goldmine, but that it is used as an instrument for multiple purposes. The harbour is separated into three parts, north, south, and west. Both the south and west areas are used to handle different types of goods and container management. However, the northside, because of its open nature towards the sea and the city, has been developed into an attraction for housing and tourism. While seeing the potential in the physical grounds of the harbour it also consists of a symbolic ferry route that dates back to the 1890s. The ferry transports between Helsingborg and the Danish city Helsingør, and has ever since been the only transport option between the two cities.

5.3.2 Social projects and H+

Another trend that has been mentioned before for the case of Malmö and other western harbour cities is the redevelopment of old industrial areas into attractive housing and business opportunities. For the case of Helsingborg, a project named *“Söder i förändring”* was initiated in 2000/2001 with the background of the poor social situation of Helsingborg. As described in the official rapport,

“People were feeling unsafe and at the same time the city area looked torn down and relatively unattractive”

showing that there was a social as well as a physical problem within the central area of Helsingborg (Söder i förändring, 2006 p. 5). A lot of effort was made for including citizen participation through different dialog creation methods such as seminars and survey which resulted eventually in 2 500 participants that all provided description of problems and solutions.

Having created a regeneration project by citizens the expert groups in charge of the design acquired a lot of knowledge of identity and characteristics solutions for both the physical environment as for the people (Söder i förändring, 2006). Furthermore, seen as a success from both the public eyes of politicians and citizens the project would spiral into a larger idea towards the shaping of the city. An entire general plan was conducted around the newly made regeneration now called *H+* that included the south-central areas and the harbour.

H+ would officially start in 2006 when a proposal was made from the head of the municipality for digging down the central station and moving the railway further south making the central areas more open for housing and business opportunities (Helsingborgs stad, 2013, p. 12). While H+ would work from the same ground of developing property for a growing city towards its citizens, it becomes clear within the general plan that a new potential was seen for creating attraction towards a large audience.

The introduction towards a more mixed building development and an emphasis of in-depth chapters of sustainable, green and social innovations of how to shape these areas could be interpreted as tools for starting to gain both local and foreign attraction. Also stated within the chapter of the city's vision plan:

“A dynamic place where the residents of Öresund would want to live, work, study and spend their free time.” (Helsingborgs stad, 2013)

gives evidence that the notion of attracting both workforce and tourism is implemented within the core values of H+ (p. 14). It also acknowledges that the project is talking about residents of Öresund and not only Helsingborg. This is further emphasized within other chapters such as the public service and social innovations,

“H+ strives to develop city areas that offer environments worthy of remembering...” (Helsingborgs stad, 2013)

pushing on the arguments for creating new attractive development projects are of value for the city's future image (p. 104). Seeing opportunity in taking a more global step towards attraction through city planning has also been a strong carrot for creating a city image that revolves around its history turned modern. H+ in the present day has come far in the mix building process as they also carry a similar aesthetics towards similar harbour scape redevelopment projects such as the western harbour in Malmö.

5.3.3 Events and exhibitions

As mentioned before, the scale of the city could be a restrictive factor towards initiations of mega projects due to resources or even needs of mega projects. However, where Helsingborg has proven to show a strong and successful accomplishment rate lies within the theme of events. Most recently in 2022 an innovation exhibition initiated by Helsingborg municipality called H22 City Expo was held in Helsingborg that lasted for

35 days throughout the summer. Its purpose was to work as an international city exhibition that would bring forth solutions for the many challenges societies and cities are faced with. The expo was to act as a magnet for innovative people to gather and explore, develop, and finally test different solutions. The positive effect of having an event for city solutions is that the city that holds the exhibitions also can capitalize by trying the solutions on the city.

Strategically placed the main parts of the exhibition were held close to the central station and the newly built harbour areas of H+. In this sense it also creates a double positive effect where the new attractive Helsingborg is being presented towards tourists while solutions are being experimented with in these areas. The promotional perspective of H22 has several layers that all seemed to have given successful results towards building the city image. Stated from the official webpage of the municipality,

“The public revenues will decrease, and more people will want to settle in attractive cities like Helsingborg.” (Helsingborgs stad, 2023)

It shows that the motives for promotion and the need of showing an attractive image also lies within the planning of Helsingborg municipality. The need for gaining private investors and business is part of the future for many cities that are joining an entrepreneurial economy. H22 has several national and global partners that all similarly focus on increasing attractiveness, sustainable initiatives and life quality and service within cities. However, creating events like these often demand funding that can scale up to the same amount of large development projects. For the case of H22 the budget would end at the large sum of 250 million kroners that decided by the head of the municipality would be funded through an auction (Helsingborgs stad, 2019). Several critics have been raised from unpolitical organizations and issues regarding the use of the budget,

“...HH22 for being too large and far too expensive, as there are at the same time other shortcomings in the municipality that would need attention and more money.”
(Skattebetalarna, 2022).

This is also further pointed out by an article of the Swedish newspaper Sydsvenska that Helsingborg has an underlying issue with both crime and segregation and that the distribution of funding are poorly managed (Runesten, 2017).

Further issues that were criticised was with the organization and involvement of different actors such as the youth council of Helsingborg were poorly included within the political decision for H22 (svt, 2022). Though the exhibition had organizational, management and budget challenges, it still carried on from strong motives of promoting and branding Helsingborg as a new attractive city giving insight for where priorities might lie when temporary projects such as events and exhibitions are being constructed.

5.3.4 Greater Copenhagen and HH-Group

More than having projects and events that can contribute towards building the city's image, Helsingborg is also working with organizational cooperations. Similar to Malmö, Helsingborg is also included in different collaborations that reach from national to transnational relationships. Helsingborg is part of TEN-T, the string region which stretches from Oslo to Hamburg and lastly the Öresundsregion (Trafikverket et al., 2021). This opens for exposure from many different layers of both political and economic powers which for Helsingborg's case could lead towards good promotion because of their strong geographical position as a logistical hub.

Furthermore, in closer proximity to Greater Copenhagen, Helsingborg is counted as the organization's third largest city after Malmö and Copenhagen making it a point of interest. By also expressing on the official webpage of the municipality that cooperation with Greater Copenhagen will increase sustainable growth and that they will work together on infrastructure, labor market, business life and marketing it also shows the promotional motives behind these collaborations.

Going through the official action plans of Greater Copenhagen from 2017 to 2021, they all state that there lies an importance in involving all cities and regions towards international promotion for tourism and business life (Greater Copenhagen, 2017; 2018; 2021). This does originate from creating a global brand around the name of Greater Copenhagen as a competitive nordeuropen metropolis. Seeing as Helsingborg also has plans towards expanding and embracing regionalization, it also becomes clear that the intentions of the Greater Copenhagen branding strategies influence Helsingborgs branding processes. For example, the H22 exhibition had both branding promotion and place marketing intentions of seeing Helsingborg as an attractive city to live in. This style of promotion is what is emphasized in the policies of Greater Copenhagen, which furthermore was one of their big partners for H22. While Helsingborg is involved in the large picture, they do also work strategically on a local level.

As mentioned before, Helsingborgs has a strong geographical position and this is further strengthened with their neighbouring city across the sea, Helsingör. The Swedish and Danish cities have a strong historical bond that has evolved throughout the years. In the present day the creation of an organization in 2009 called HH-group was made involving both cities to work as one strategical transnational city regarding many projects and topics. The main visions for HH-group circles around increasing life quality in their parts of the region, becoming a coherent city by 2035 where the sea is no longer a barrier and by also being a competitive regional force that strengthens Scandinavians global position (HH-Gruppen, 2016; 2015). These are all broad goals that involve investments, promotion and lasty incentivises for keeping investments there. The HH-group is seen as a network of PPP where both public actors, businesses, and organizations of interest from both sides come together to create and ignite visions.

The visions and goals from HH-group are well demonstrated in their strategic plans and analyses that are all open to the public. It's also noticeable that the events, exhibitions, and projects involving promotion do have a background in the larger scope from HH-group's vision. However, with the acknowledgement that tourism and migration will increase together with business life resulting in economic growth, the analysis also points out where possible challenges might occur (HH-Gruppen, 2015). Within the business life, criticism against cluster economics have been raised as the concerns for creating a spearpoint where large companies will be in focus while local and smaller businesses might fall off (HH-Gruppen, 2015. p. 20). Nevertheless, the critic only circulates around the issues of economy, while the social aspects left out.

The importance of creating attraction towards competence and qualified labor market also originate from both national and transnational competition. It is announced by some actors that the geographical position and scale of Helsingborg and Helsingör is:

“...hard to recruit the competence that is sought for because of the city's smallness. It is not optimal to be placed in the north of Öresund because it is around Stockholm and Copenhagen where the competence and qualified workforce exist.”(HH-Gruppen, 2015, p. 24).

This puts the cooperation between Helsingborg and Helsingör into perspective of a needed competitive merge to be able to compete. In this sense creating an image that involves both cities showcasing their strengths together as a coherent city could prove to

be a working strategy. However, what has been pointed out before is that HH-group are still working towards a closer regionalization with the rest of the Öresundsregion and with this a better connectivity towards especially Copenhagen, Malmö, and Lund.

These motives together with the Fehmarn belt tunnel have led to an understanding from both Helsingborg and Helsingör that an upgrade of transportation infrastructure is needed. Having arguments and needs of improving connectivity where only boats can travel, the result has finally led to an investigation for an initiation towards their own underwater tunnel breaking the physical barrier between Helsingborg and Helsingör. The project is called the HH-föbindelsen (tunnel).

5.4 Branding with megaprojects: Öresundsmetron

The entire Öresundsregion is under pressure from the building of the Fehmarn tunnel. It is calculated that the freight trains between Scandinavia and central Europe will double by the year of 2029 resulting in an overload for the Öresundsbridge (Öresundsmetron, 2021). In parallel with Greater Copenhagen's visions of making the Öresundsregion more integrated locally and regionally, a proposal was suggested to initiate a new Öresundmetro that goes underwater between Copenhagen and Malmö. The Öresundsmetron would work as a solution towards many of the challenges ahead by only transporting commuters, giving access for more freight trains to cross the Öresund bridge.

The metro is heavily promoted towards EU regulations regarding railway. More specifically the EU's trans-European network policy (TEN-T) that works for as described,

“It strengthens the EU's economic, social and territorial cohesion and creates seamless transport systems across borders, without physical gaps, bottlenecks or missing link.”
(European Parliament, 2013).

EU's involvement is of great importance for both Copenhagen, Malmö and the Öresundsregions future as preventing bottlenecks would be beneficial for all. By addressing and including EU's concerns it also gains a lot of attention on multi-political platforms that cross borders. Furthermore, encouraging that the metro follows EU's guidelines it is also included that the sustainable aspects are of a high priority. The official webpage of Öresundsmetron also acknowledges that the metro will be a key installation for moving all freight transportation towards railway which is an EU goal of

having 30% of all freight being through railway or sea transport by 2030 (Öresundsmetron, 2021).

The metro is also promoting an ever-growing labor market. By having a travel time of 20 minutes every 90 seconds the metro is prone to create a more coherent flow of commuters between borders. It is estimated that the short travel time will result in an increase from 1,3 to 2,3 million inhabitants and 0,8 to 1,3 million workplaces that can reach each other across the Öresund within 1 hour (Öresundsmetron, 2021).

It does come with a solution that could consequently also create more of the same “issues”, that an over usage of available transport infrastructure is still not enough, should it not live up to the promises. Whatever the results are, an incentive is created for both Copenhagen and Malmö to expand their housing and business development projects even more because of the uncontrollable and guaranteed increase in inhabitants, workers, and visitors from both national and international grounds.

This project involves many different markets and levels of different governing powers making it not just a question of a simple transport infrastructure, but that of the world's first transnational underwater metro tunnel. The Danish and Swedish are both involved through different organizations and actors, but ultimately the final decision will be taken from national grounds.

In the Swedish national plan from 2022 regarding the future of transport infrastructure from 2022-2033 an evaluation was made of the capacity capabilities of the Öresundsbridge. The forecast estimates that the railway's capacity will be enough until 2050, but that the shore connections from both sides need to be reinforced (Trafikverket, 2021). Trafikverket has acknowledged that the completion of the Fehmarn tunnel will affect freight and personal traffic, and in response to this Malmö central station should be equipped with more platforms and tracks (Trafikverket, 2021, p 111). The Öresundsmetro was never mentioned in the plan.

There lies a stark contrast within the official national plan of Sweden and that of the region Skåne, Malmö municipality and Greater Copenhagen. The three last mentioned all agree that implementing the Öresundsmetro would help with the appreciated capacity overload of the future and that a potential bottleneck would be prevented. Following the general plan of Malmö 2021, strategies have been implemented and brought forth already with the topics of Öresunds regionalization and Öresundsmetron (Malmö stad, 2018, p.

23). Pointed out that creating a strong region where Malmö acts as an important actor and decision maker is one of the main arguments in the general plan, and being able to produce projects for this purpose will be of importance.

Figure 5 from the general plan already demonstrated roughly the geographical position of where the Malmö station will be for the metro. It showcases that a strong motive from the political side of Malmö argues for the metro, but against their own national plans.

Municipalities are allowed to conduct their own projects and fund them, however the regional politics also allows for municipalities to promote towards gaining funds and economical support. The cost is calculated to be around 30 billion Danish kroner included

with a 50 percent risk addition (Öresundmetron, 2021). However, the funding was to be expected from several different sources: (1) Danish and Swedish government, (2) the surpluses from the Öresundbridge, (3) the ticket cost for the Öresundmetro and (4) EU-fundings (Öresundsmetron, 2021). Nonetheless, because of the scale of the project a national approval has to occur even if the project proves to be important for the region or municipalities growth. This puts the project in a sensitive position as it becomes a conflict of national interest versus a regional and transnational need to battle an upcoming overload of transportation.



Figure 5, Öresundmetro location..

5.4.1 The voice of the top-down

With the political battle going outside of Malmö's borders, the official webpage of Malmö conducted news and interviews with different local actors to gather opinions of the metro. The very first interview was made in 2020 where the CEO of the large bread production company Pågen expressed his positive thoughts on the metro,

"The metro is a puzzle piece to make Sweden grow and stimulate Scandinavian cooperation." (Malmö stad, 2020).

This positive attitude has been a common occurrence throughout these newsletters.

In a newsletter from 2021 the CEO for tourism in Skåne expresses,

“A metro would make it incredibly easy to move around. I think it can be decisive in really connecting the region” (Malmö stad, 2021a)

In the same newsletter the head of community development and mobility department for the consulting company AFRY brings up several benefits for both humans and society and he quote,

“A metro gives a clear socio-economic profit”. (Malmö stad, 2021a)

Interestingly enough for this newsletter is that the beginning asks the question *“Promotion for Öresundsmetron? No, actually not. Travel time investigations and experts lead the way.”* which points out that the promotion for the Öresundsmetro comes from the statistics and data provided, and not from traditional marketing (Malmö stad, 2021a).

The theme of the newsletters is also noticeable as it is aimed towards an audience of decision makers and investors. A lot of the letters either included or promoted towards experts, private businesses and investors and towards the promotion of national support. In an interview from 2021 with the head of Malmö municipality, the question was asked for the next step in the ongoing process of the metro and the reply was,

“Denmark and Sweden needs to apply a communal investigation for the metro between Malmö and Copenhagen” (Malmö stad, 2021b)

pushing on the argument that the national support needs to take place. What is also demonstrated in these newsletters is the power dynamics between the national politicians of Sweden, Denmark, and Malmö’s local politicians. There has been a back and forth between the national politicians regarding the metro, however Malmö has been insisting on a positive outcome. This was also noted by the CEO of Greater Copenhagen,

“My judgment is that Swedish politicians (regional) see a greater need for a new connection over Öresund than the Danish ones” (Malmö stad, 2021c).

However, the Danish side still wants a strong Öresundsregion to act as a coherent metropole as expressed by the regional president of Region Sjælland in Denmark,

“We want the Öresundsregion to become a metropolis that attracts investments, businesses and tourists. The infrastructure that is available will be a decider for how we will manage competitively against other metropolises”. (Malmö stad, 2022a).

This does express a clearer picture towards how the transregional struggles because of national political powers that incuse on the regional and local politics.

The certainty for this project seems to have not only been a concern on the Swedish side, but nonetheless Malmö also continues its positive promotion towards experts and politicians.

Continuing the promotion for the metro, locations have also been scouted for possible scenarios. This is further shown in newsletters regarding where the stations should be placed in Malmö. In 2021 an invitation was sent towards political representatives, experts and other interested to join on a hike and discuss the potential places (Hamdan, 2021).

However, the placements have always circulated towards Malmö central station, and the available options have only been through the western harbour (Figure, 6). In terms of promotion, the geographical position through western harbour seems to have always been a prioritization. Suggestions towards an in-depth general plan have been made from 2022 where it is highlighted that the stations will be thoroughly analysed, however there are no signs of participation from either the residents of western harbour or the citizens of Malmö.



Figure 6, Öresunds metro stations,

Lastly, in February 2023 a decision was made for opening an investigation of how the metro should be installed from Malmö into the Danish subway system. This decision was taken by most of the political parties in Copenhagen showing that the Danish side is very open for negotiation around the Metro (Malmö stad, 2023a). From Malmö's perspective this is seen as a positive step into eventually gaining the national support from Sweden as expressed by Malmö's head of municipality,

"The decision increases the pressure on Sweden's government to comply with the proposal for an Öresund Metro." (Malmö stad, 2023a)

The Swedish government has given Trafikverket a task for investigating the need of increasing the transport capacity around the Öresund. The task is open for interpretation as no specific infrastructural options would be analysed, however mentioned by the regional director of Trafikverket,

"We listen to Malmö that an Öresund metro can provide significantly shorter commuting time and favourable growth in the labor market. We will also consider the argument that it can relieve the Öresund Bridge and thereby create space for more freight train traffic." (Malmö stad, 2023a)

But ultimately this will still be a matter of funding and national interest as the director also mentions that they will look through the cost calculations made from analyses to decide if they are in range of finance support. Lastly mentioned by the director is that while they will take into consideration politicians expressing themselves in the media, the final decisions will be taken through governmental decisions (Malmö stad, 2023a).

5.4.2 The Voice of Malmö?

Acknowledging Malmö, Greater Copenhagen, and the regional promotion strategies towards Öresundsmetron it becomes clear that there lies a coherent voice towards a specific audience. However, where the documents, plans, newsletters, and reports manage to succeed, they fall short on providing a voice both for and from that of the citizens. In very rare occasions are there any signs towards an involvement from the public and if so, it's left for interpretation if the said "actor" could have been a public voice. So far there is very little to no documentations where the public are allowed to express, act as a participant or be involved in any decision-making matters. The involvement found so far from public documents involves anonymous participation in the shape of survey's that were used to create an analysis around the Öresunds commuting geographic, which was very restrictive (Malmö stad, 2023b).

The lack of platforms through media and journalism giving the public a chance to express and participate has so far been unexpectedly high. This could depend on several different reasons such as that the project is still in an early initiation and investigation phase. It could also originate from the fact that mega projects rarely involve public opinions as the actors, political powers and investments circulating these projects are too focused to let criticism become an obstacle. However, following a debate article from 19th of May 2023 anonymous participants were allowed to join in and comment.

The article had a controversial topic for the Swedish side as the lord mayor of Copenhagen expressed that the metro might be possible if Sweden pays for it. Searching through the open comment field, a lot of mixed opinions have been expressed for the funding, but also of the metro in general. All comments below are taken from the article *Öresundsmetorn kan bli av - om Sverige betalar* by Arrling & Loven (2023).

Some comments state,

"The tunnel will favour all of Sweden with the increasing freight traffic",

and

"It's time for Stockholm (national) to be involved and pay. Skåne needs a metro to manage the capacity limit of the bridge (Öresundsbridge)".

showing that there lies some support towards the metro and in line with Malmö's need of getting it no matter who funds it. Still, there are many comments pushing the opposite opinion regarding both the cooperation with Denmark and of the funding,

“Sweden should definitely not pay to expand Danish infrastructure...dk (Denmark) should stand for the cost”,

and

“Why can't Denmark use all the tax money they receive from Swedish work commuters to pay their share of the metro?”

What also raises concerns are that some comments are acknowledging that the metro is not a priority compared to other issues,

“How will Sweden pay when we can't even solve our own problems?”,

“Why should Sweden finance a metro when so many adults walk around unemployed, hungry and with an ever-increasing rent? Talk about wrong priorities.”

and

“Absolutely not. Sweden does not need a metro to Copenhagen.”

Seeing the state of these comments, it puts Malmö's motives and promotional strategies into question. Where many comments show support, others share their thoughts, concerns and opinions that go against the metro. This enlightens a perspective for the branding process of the metro. If used to ensure a better image of Malmö, it clearly has an opposition that would not see it as a part of Malmö's identity or rather that Copenhagen should not be a part of Malmö's identity. However, the comments from this article can both be anonymous and go under fake names, thus making them somewhat unreliable to see as a concrete source. This does raise a bigger question around the involvement of the public. Where the public's opinions are left to be interpreted and questioned from anonymous to unreliable names, shows the lack of platforms, resources, and care for involving them in the project.

5.5 Branding with megaprojects: HH-tunnel (HH-Förbindelsen)

5.5.1 General information

The second project for battling the potential bottleneck situation caused by the Fehmarn belt, is the HH-tunnel between Helsingborg and Helsingör. In similarities with the metro, the HH-tunnel also strives to improve transport opportunities, integrating the region and improving economic growth (HH-Gruppen, 2015). As of now the only way across from Helsingborg to Helsingör is with the ferry, which limits the capacity and is susceptible to the weather. Because of this, the connection is meant to consist of two tunnels, one for train and one for road traffic that connects with the highway.

In comparison to the metro, the HH-tunnel has already had a head start from 1962 where the vision was already in place of having a connection between the two cities. This could suggest that the project is very wanted from local and regional levels from both sides, at least from political perspectives. The governing levels for promoting and pushing the HH-tunnel lies within the authority of the HH-group, meaning that it is a very cooperative initiation from both Helsingborg and Helsingör. Important to note is that most reports and analysis are involving both municipalities from initiation to result. This also points out the priority value for both cities with the project, as in comparison with Malmö - Copenhagen who are not always on the same page.

It is described very clearly by the HH-group that creating a coherent city means that a connection needs to be made. This is the group's main goal which is also recognized by region Skåne (Region Skåne, 2020). However, this project is divided into two tunnels making it a mega project that might require double the effort in all of the stages leading up to the building phase. As demonstrated in figure 7 the tunnels have already been given possible scenarios of where they should be drawn. By having the railway tunnels

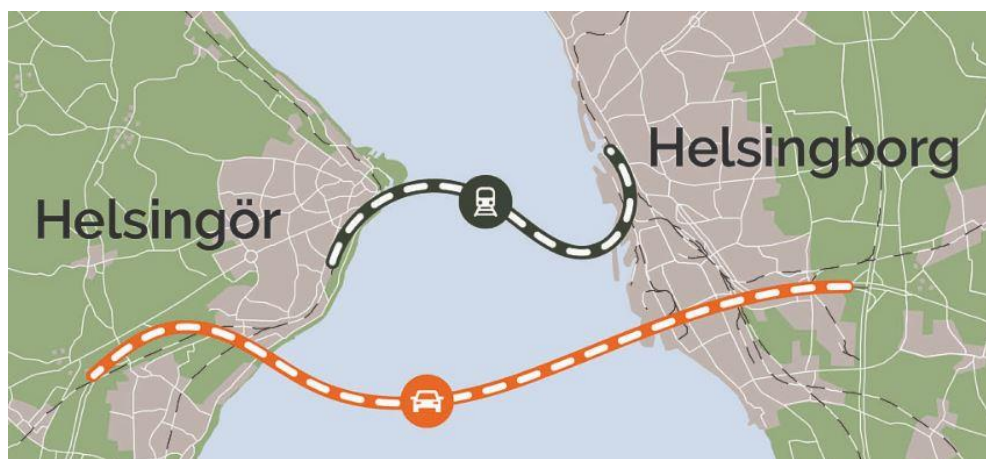


Figure 7, scenarios of the HH-tunnels

in the direction of the centres of the city's hope were created of decreasing car usage, noise pollution and giving better transport option for commuters. This would also be the reasons for moving the road traffic tunnel to the southern outskirts and that of connecting it with the highways.

5.5.2 Greater Copenhagen, Trafikverket and Helsingborg

As mentioned before, the HH-group is also a part of the Greater Copenhagen organization where they are all together working towards a more integrated region. This gives incentives for Greater Copenhagen to also support a closer relationship and collaborations with the HH-group resulting in that visions should be created for triggering dialog within national governments. In a traffic charter from 2016 produced by Greater Copenhagen they stated the common traffic goals for the future of the Öresundsregion (Greater Copenhagen, 2020). Mostly mention goals lies within the fields of increasing mobility, green mobility and integrated regional interplay (Greater Copenhagen, 2020). The last mentioned is also seen as the biggest challenge as quoted from the charter,

“There is no common infrastructure planning across the borders” (Greater Copenhagen, 2020, p. 3)

pushing on that there needs to be a bigger cooperation. This is further acknowledged with the “threat” of the Fehmarn tunnel that the Öresundsregion needs solutions.

The greater Copenhagen has shown its support towards the Öresundsmetro, but they are also heavily for a HH-tunnel. There lies a unity within the organization that the HH-tunnel needs to happen to be able to sustain a sustainable growth in the and development within the Region. By also expressing,

“...the connection between Helsingborg and Helsingör shall be built first and as soon as possible” (Greater Copenhagen, 2020, p.7)

the nature of Greater Copenhagen is shown of having to deal with several requests that all ultimately lead towards the same common, this also demonstrates Helsingborg and Helsingörs importance despite their scale. However, what could also be seen as one of the reasons for the slightly favoured HH-tunnel is that there was already an ongoing

national investigation for the project, something the Öresundsmetro still hasn't achieved.

The Danish and Swedish governments gave the Swedish Trafikverket and the Danish Vejdirektoratet och Transport-,Bygge- og Boligstyrelsen the task of making a strategic analysis for possible solutions towards a new connection.

The investigation would start in 2018 and end in 2020 with the purpose to give ground for a continued dialogue between the Danish and Swedish governments. The report would mainly focus on the change of flow in traffic streams around the Öresund region, possible outcomes for the geographical positions of the tunnels and the financing and socioeconomic motivation (Trafikverket et al., 2021). The analysis showed overall positive outcomes were as the question of financing could be seen as a concern. The estimated cost for both tunnels was around 57 billion Swedish kronor and for only one tunnel containing road traffic the cost would be 29,5 billion. The question lies in if it will be possible to generate back the costs through the users of the tunnels. In the conclusion for socio economic motives, it is demonstrated that it would be a profit, but only with the road traffic tunnel. The combined road and railway would lead towards a negative 5,5 billion Danish kroner because of its high cost and that the estimated benefits does not correspond to the high cost (Trafikverket et al., 2021, p. 29). However, seeing as the analysis purpose was to give ground for future investigation, the positive outcomes could prove to be enough for entering the next phase, which would be a deepened location investigation. As of today, no further investigation has been initiated.

5.5.3 HH-group

Seeing the HH-tunnel from a promotional perspective it seems to already have created further benefits for Helsingborg in pair with that of the benefits from regionalization. Still, how does Helsingborg promote the project itself? The instrument of choice seems to be similar to that with Malmö, through official websites, reports and analysis targeted towards a specific investment-oriented audience. However, as mentioned before Helsingborg strategies often involve measures circulating around collaborations and working with cooperative organizations. The connection has already attracted a lot of attention abroad and this is represented with the involvement of the Interreg cooperation that involves 11 regions in the Öresund, Kattegat and Skagerrak areas. Interreg is one of the EU's instruments towards collaborations that cross borders and has been part of the funding for some of the reports made, such as the strategic analysis from 2018.

The statistical data combined with visions translates to good publicity which is often referred to in promoting the connection. This combination has been made several times through reports and a brochure (HH-Gruppen, 2015, 2016, 2021). Often combined within these combinations are the promises for an improved quality of life, benefits for further development and socioeconomic growth.

And as seen before the involvement of political representatives, experts and CEO's plays an important role of adding legitimacy. Expressed from the now prime minister of Sweden,

“Both road and train would be best, we are inspecting both closely. Given the success story of the Öresund Bridge, doubling that capacity with a train connection would have many advantages...” (HH-Gruppen, 2021)

also demonstrates that the connection and promotion around it has reached its targeted audience (p.14).

5.5.4 The Voice of Helsingborg?

Following the same structure as for the analysis of Malmö for identifying involvement of the public, Helsingborg seems to also be falling short in providing visible platforms. Showcasing in the previous paragraphs that the voice of political and private representatives are sought for and promoted, the voice of the public is rarely mentioned in any of the reports, analysis or documents. Going outside of this boundary to locate other platforms such as media and journalism surrounding the topic of the HH-tunnel, it is revealed that there are quite many articles following the process. However, few of these helps to produce or include concrete opinions from the public, or at least from the Swedish side, but some do express concerns or criticism towards the project.

In a reportage from Sweden's national news in 2022 it is unveiled that Helsingborg are ready to invest an additional 600 000 SEK in investigations of the HH-tunnel. But not all political parties agreed. The reportage also showcases the costs for producing all the reports and analysis from 2020 roughly ends at over 3,5 million SEK from Helsingborg alone. Being in a long process for many years comes with many costs, and eventually if results are not shown the investment will be seen as a failure. Putting in this amount of finance support towards the pre-work also demonstrates the priority the tunnel has, as

Helsingborg also has socioeconomical concerns that might be considered as a lesser priority.

If there has been criticism for this investment it has indeed not been acknowledged or posted by daily mainstream media. However, in an article from October 2022 a opposition was raised from across the sea in Helsingör. Hundreds of people argued against the initiation of the HH-tunnel and in protest started the citizens' initiative *Stop HH-förbindelsen* (Svensson, 2022). The strategic analysis by Trafikverket from 2021 showcases the large cost seemed to have been one of the main arguments against the connection as expressed from the initiatives spokesman,

"It is not pocket change we are speaking of. It is 42 billion Danish kroner" (Svensson, 2022).

Further arguments for the uprising are expressed as following,

"It will generate large deficits that serve a small purpose"

and that,

"...the connection moves alot of the big traffic from the Swedish side to the Danish side. I will give capacity problems for the Danish road network" (Svensson, 2022).

There lies an underlined concern from the smaller Danish city that the connection might not be the best option. As one of the main arguments for the connection is to prevent a bottleneck, many believe that this bottleneck is only in the direction of Sweden. The reasons behind a citizens initiative opens up for questions of participation options made available throughout the 20-year process of producing material for the connection. This is also to take into concern that the Swedish politicians of Helsingborg acknowledge the Danish opposition but continued unaffected. Further demonstrated in an article from October 2022 where Helsingborg municipality sent out a RFI (request for information) towards different stakeholders for their opinions and knowledge of the connection. One of the main arguments for this was to find out the thoughts of the market around the connection, however it is not stated anywhere that the thought of the public was included (Johansson, 2022).

6. Discussion

There is a common agreement with everyone involved that the Öresundsregion is going to change soon as a result of the completion of the Fehmarn belt in 2029. As a response the proposal of installing two new megaprojects to counter the incoming overload of traffic between Sweden and Denmark has been made. This has in turn sparked strong incentives for the cities involved to promote the projects, in hopes of gaining the national funds needed to initiate the project. As for similar incentives the main promotional arguments share similar goals: to improve the transportation options, benefit a more integrated region and increase the overall socioeconomic growth by creating more job opportunities through the projects.

In this chapter I will go through the goals and identified branding strategies found in chapter 4 towards the projects. Important arguments have been analysed and will be put in contrast to the theory from chapter 3 to unveil possible conflicts within the discourses found with the strategies. Lastly the research questions from chapter 2 will be answered in correlation with everything mentioned above.

6.1 Motives

The motives for the creation of these megaprojects can be separated into three parts. the functional motives, the promotional motives, and the transnational & regional motives.

6.1.1 Functional

As mentioned, numerous times throughout the thesis, they are fundamental reasons for producing these projects. The majority of the reports, documents and analysis all argue for an increase of traffic and that it could cause future bottlenecks if not prepared for. This has been nationally acknowledged, however as presented by Trafikverket (2021) the solutions towards these possible issues might not be in need on a megaproject. It is pointed out through the analysis that there lies some functional issues within both projects and the argument for preventing a bottleneck.

Firstly, the Öresundmetro would only be able to transport people and not freight. This would still result in a possible bottleneck situation should the Öresundsbridge be incapacitated resulting in the lack of transportation options for freight trains. However, a metro could still be able to provide benefits of reducing the non-freight trains on the bridge if it's fully operational. Secondly, while being able to transport both train and

road traffic with the help of two separate tunnels, the HH-tunnel also falls short within the freight department. The tunnel made for trains might not have the option to install the long ramps needed for freight trains (Trafikverket, 2018). This would cause issues in a similar scenario mentioned before with the bridge. Still as of today the HH-tunnel is seen to bring benefits towards the increase of traffic capacity limit.

The last issues mentioned lies within the finance and funding department. Megaprojects are long lasting processes that require an immense cost (Flyvbjerg, 2017). As estimated from Trafikverket (2018) the HH-tunnel would cost roughly 57 billion and the metro around 30 billion (Öresundsmetron, 2021). These are both large sums that are unable to exist without the support of the national government, which is ultimately the largest investor. However, what could be seen as a controversial take of the governmental power is that it has the choice to choose where to invest, not based on where the socioeconomic benefits are needed the most, but of where it's most suitable towards competitive goals.

For these two cases it seems that the Swedish government have given a higher priority towards the HH-tunnel which has already received a strategic analysis from governmental authorities. Furthermore, the metro was also not mentioned in the report from 2021 regarding the proposal for national plans towards transport infrastructure (Trafikverket, 2021). This could have good grounds in the competitiveness between Copenhagen and Stockholm. By improving infrastructure on the Swedish side of Öresunds region it would also benefit the Danish side, from which means that Swedish resources sent from the government becomes beneficial for Denmark and especially Copenhagen. By minimizing benefits towards Copenhagen, it also minimizes the competitiveness towards Stockholm.

6.1.2 Promotional

By understanding the cities historical backgrounds toward city branding or image creation it gives arguments for understanding motives towards future promotion. Malmö has ever since the 1900s been a worker's city that eventually adopted strong characteristics from industrialisation. Having created a strong identity and to capitalize on it as shown in the early general plans (1968, 1988) has proven to be beneficial for Malmö's development. However, with the need of rebranding in the 1990s it is possible to understand the impact marketing and promotion has had for the future development of Malmö.

City branding as a concept is being developed through city marketing strategies (Riza et al., 2011). With the industrialization gone and instead introducing a more service-oriented market, the need to gather the attention from the right audience could be interpreted as Malmö's biggest goal during this time. By becoming a city of knowledge and information the introduction towards several projects were made as mentioned before in chapter 4. It is also noticeable with these projects that they are focusing on a specific audience such as investors and people with high education.

As argued by Van den Berg (1987) the size and quality of welfare elements within a location is what promotes it. This argument is worthy of notice in comparison with Malmö's housing history. Moving from Malmö's historical socialist housing projects to the new Bo01 and western harbour that are filled with attractive and innovative housing options also plays a part in the history of Malmö's branding process. The motives for creating these projects have consequently been pointed out by literature to be the results of gentrification and segregation (Baeten, 2011; Sager, 2011;). This in turn showcases that promotional measures used for city marketing and branding can result in unequal consequences within the housing market.

City branding is made to either create or discover stand out images that are competitive (Ashworth, 2009). These undeniable promotion strategies seen within Malmö's branding process have also been a part of the megaprojects that have been produced in Malmö, taking Öresundsbridge and Turning torso as examples. Both of these projects fill the four sublimates that according to Flyvbjerg (2017) is the explanation for a megaproject's existence. Using this as an argument for Malmö's motives towards city branding brings a clarification towards how they choose strategies around these projects.

Helsingborg in comparison with Malmö have similarities regarding their historical fate, however their strategies and tools for pursuing a new identity differ. The use of the Harbour has been one of Helsingborgs most important and versatile instrument in their approach towards development. As described in previous chapter the harbour stands as a strong icon for Helsingborgs identity with its logistical history. This is taken further into present time where the city still wants to be acknowledged as a strong logistical nod within Scandinavian. However, in similar thought processes as many western cities, the need to attract a service-oriented market in a competitive global scene is almost to be considered as a must for future development (Boyle, 1994).

The case of Helsingborg is already imbued with a strong identity, but there has been an underlying motive to adapt this identity into a more fitting one for the 21 century. The tools used for their marketing strategies would firstly be based on events and exhibitions such as the social projects, H+ and H22. Event hallmarking is a common method within place branding for gathering attention and knowledge that usually crosses borders (Ashworth, 2009). Seeing the evolution of Helsingborgs event strategy that has eventually turned into a global scene for innovativeness and one of the reasons for their own harbour housing projects, it can also be said that the promotional aspects can be considered a success. As far as promotional campaigns towards investors and tourism, the case of Helsingborg can be said to follow the understandings of product-based branding theory mentioned by Hakinson, (2001, p. 135).

6.1.3 Transnational and regional

With the knowledge that both cities are pursuing similar identities, with different tools one large motive that lays ground towards the goals originates from regionalization and transnational cooperation. It becomes almost comical how similar the scene is for the two cases in contrast to their political and close geographical positions. However, the branding efforts for the city's themselves seems to also leave the cities borders and transform into a broader perspective. The evidence is founded from their involvement in the Greater Copenhagen organization.

As noted, the organization wants to be seen as a brand that includes all Öresundsregion (Greater Copenhagen). Working towards a common goal could also be a result that ultimately leads towards the same motives for everyone involved. City branding is shaped through several different decision makers across different political and organizational platforms (Braun, 2012). As for this case it also expands across national borders. As seen for both Malmö and Helsingborg, they both want to achieve progress in attracting investments and business while also increasing the competence level of the labor market. This is to no surprise some of the same goals for Copenhagen, and even broader for Greater Copenhagen.

To understand the motives behind the strategies arguing for megaprojects more clearly, I've also put emphasis on the collaborations between the cities and corresponding organizations. The scene that is set is very similar, however the differences in needs and wants from actors involved could be seen as a conflict of interest. As Malmö - Copenhagen, Öresundsmetron's official organization and Greater Copenhagen act as

one entity towards the metro, Helsingborg - Helsingör, HH-group and Greater Copenhagen act as another for the HH-tunnel. The similarities are very noticeable, but as uncovered from the analysis, the difference lies within the terms of incentives and motives.

Malmö has expressed strong positive political opinions towards the metro together with the support of both Copenhagen and the EU (TEN-T) (Öresundsmetron, 2021). However, as seen in recent articles, Copenhagen seems to be not as anticipative towards the metro (Arrling & Loven, 2023). The power dynamic between the two cities lies on an uneven scale where Malmö is overshadowed by both scale, political influence and resources compared to Copenhagen. Malmö is seeing potential for socio economic growth by the exchange of workforce over borders. However, the decision is ultimately out of Malmö's control as it boils down to national politics between Denmark (Copenhagen) and Sweden (Stockholm).

In comparison of power dynamic, the one between Helsingborg and Helsingör is of more equal standard. The views of creating a more coherent city between these to align with both city's visions (HH-Gruppen, 2015). Where Malmö and Copenhagen are working on separated platforms, the HH-group shows a more determined sign for cooperation as a lot of the politics for projects are discussed through the common platform (HH-Gruppen, 2015). Being part of Greater Copenhagen also gives motives to work broadly and cooperatively for both cities within the area of promotion as their small scales alone puts them at a disadvantage compared to Copenhagen and Malmö. As mentioned before, this disadvantage could end up as a resulting factor for gaining national support towards the HH-tunnel to provide Copenhagen-Malmö more influence and competitive power.

6.2 Strategies

Following the theoretical framework provided in chapter 3, a large emphasis has been on how strategies towards promotion for the projects can be identified through various communications and/or if the findings conflict with the framework.

Primary communication

The primary communication consists of four interventions that are set from the effects of a city's actions.

Landscape strategies, refers to fields of actions and decisions that are relevant to place or space. As of now, this could be interpreted as the least priority for both projects because of its early stages. As far as involvement goes only strategic geographical locations have been suggested in the Öresundsmetro report (2021), Trafikverket (2018) and the general plan of Malmö (2018). That being said, stating from the HH-group that the next step for a national investigation circulation the HH-tunnel would imply an investigation for location, putting this intervention on a higher priority. It is also expressed by Region Skåne (2021) that they are supportive towards both projects, but that the HH-tunnel should be done first.

Infrastructure projects, refers to projects developed to create, improve, or give a distinctive character to infrastructures that are needed in a city. Both the metro and the tunnel are seen as needed infrastructures for improving the city's involved and the Öresundsregion (Greater Copenhagen, 2016). This is also mentioned before in the functional motives, however, what is very rarely mentioned about both projects are the aesthetics, which is seen as a good quality for building mega projects (Ashworth, 2009; Flyvbjerg, 2017; Kavaratzis, 2004). Because of the project's nature of being underwater tunnels, the need for creating something physically attractive is not needed in comparison to the Öresund bridge.

Organisational structure relates to the effectiveness and improvements of the city's governing structures circulating city branding. It is also seen as a natural extension of the public-private partnership within city marketing practices (Kavaratzis, 2004). The organizational structure regarding the marketing has several layers for both projects as mentioned above. However, with the analysis it can be pointed out that the choices made within the organizational structure of marketing is heavily directed towards a certain audience. As shown in documents regarding vision and benefits for both projects, political representatives, experts and business can be identified as the audience (Öresundmetron, 2021; HH-Gruppen, 2015). What is important to bring into discussion here is the difference between audience and customer. Citizens are still the main customers as they are considered the main target users in combination with tourism. However, what the strategies behind the marketing fail to include here is the involvement of citizens' participation in decision making, which according Kavaratzis (2004) is to be the most important factor in building a city's image (p. 69).

Behaviour refers to such issues as the city leader's vision for the city, strategy adaptation or the financial incentives provided by the city to various stakeholders. It also

signifies what type of services the city has provided to market and promote. Throughout the analysis the visions from the municipalities have been made clear towards the attitude for the projects. For Malmö's example it can be understood from the political representatives that have been expressing their thought in the newsletters that their lies a vision of seeing Malmö connected with Copenhagen by a metro. Still in terms of what could be interpreted as services of promotion, the analysis and reports providing statistical data for enhancing the argument to go through with the project are of now the strongest signs of any kind of service.

Secondary communication

The secondary communication is the formal intentional communication that most commonly takes place through well-known marketing practices like indoor and outdoor advertising, public relations, graphic design, the use of a logo etc. The findings in chapter 4 demonstrates what kind of visible marketing exists as for now . As far as logos and open advertisements goes, the Öresundsmetro and HH-group webpages could be seen as the closest advertising towards any type of "logo" branding. The projects share a universal promotion strategy here that rely on statistical data often targeted to investors and not actual citizens. Taken for example where the newsletters from Malmö municipalities homepage expresses that promotion is not needed (Malmö stad, 2021a). As for Helsingborg, a digital brochure was produced where visions, benefits and similar arguments were presented. Was it noticeable for both cases once again are that quotes from CEO's, politicians and experts are all used very often in a promotional manner, however opinions or expressions from the public are never seen.

This very limited and targeted promotion strategy could originate from an argument of Kavaratzis (2004), "*...promotion comes only after one has something to promote*" (p. 69). As of today, it is still very unclear if even one of the projects will be done. Also presented in the reportage of SVT (2022), a lot of finance has already been invested in the pre investigations. In this sense, both projects could also be seen as promotions towards, well nothing or even loss. The municipalities, as proven, have very little power in the decision making. What the theoretical framework also includes is that there must be something to communicate about to be able to market and eventually sell. Marketing towards citizens of possible false promises could be politically a very bad move. However, gaining and bringing onboard investments and political influence could possibly affect the decision-making outcome.

Tertiary communication

Tertiary communication, refers to word of mouth, reinforced by media and competitors' communication. It is supposed to serve platforms where one could express themselves freely because it is uncontrolled by the other communications. In this sense, it should force the other communications to provide positive outcomes to be expressed in the tertiary communication. Throughout the analysis and above-mentioned discussion, the lack of open communication from the public has been a severe issue. This could accordingly depend on the reasons stated in the previously such as the different power dynamic on national, regional and local levels, the need to gain attention for investments which would point towards stakeholders that can contribute economically. Nonetheless, it enlightens a broad issue of democratic and unjust manor.

Basing the data from documents analysis meant that all documents considered relevant for study were used. As official reports, webpages, analysis, and other platforms were studied, no one provided concrete evidence of public or citizens involvement. The only news article in chapter 4 that has a participatory function can still not be seen as a reliable source as far as qualitative data allows it as the "participants" could be disguised as anyone (Arrling & Loven, 2023).

This sets the marketing strategies for the city branding in conflict with the theoretical framework. The framework is constructed with the city's own residents as the most important target audience (Kavaratzis, 2004). A city's residents will ultimately be their biggest marketers as their images of the city is created through experience in the city (Lynch, 1964). By neglecting this audience of participation, the neglect of true marketing also occurs. The fact that the actual users of the project will only serve as customers and not residents puts both cities' entire branding processes into question of who the city is branded for.

7. Concluding remarks

This thesis has aimed to identify city branding processes within the cities of Malmö and Helsingborg, by acknowledging different marketing strategies. As noted from the historical perspectives the concept of city branding might not have been recognized, however, as pointed out there has been strategies and motives in developing the cities after their identities. The recognition of the branding concept could be seen taking place for both cities in the late 90s. where Malmö identifies as a city of knowledge and information, and Helsingborg as an attractive harbour city. Needless to say, the involvement of mentioned megaproject for especially Malmö has been a breaking point in being able to evolve their image. As for Helsingborg and because of its scale, with the use of hallmarking events and exhibitions, they too manage to rebrand their image.

Moving into present time for the Öresundsmetro and HH-tunnel, it can be concluded that the projects are promoted for and used as promotion from both cities. The thesis has uncovered that there lie several factors towards the reasons for promotion. Mainly mentioned is the threat of the Fehmarn tunnels completion that will result in an increase of traffic for the entire Öresund region. Secondly for both cities are the regional benefits of integrating even more with their corresponding Danish city. Here is where the promotion strategies for socio-economic growth, overall benefits for the entire city and an increasing competitiveness are all shown.

These reasons do come with motives to justify the megaprojects as they are promoted as beneficial cogs wheels on local, regional, national and global levels. However, as uncovered the power dynamics from all actors involved are very unequal and there lies an overall question if these projects can be considered democratic. The fact that the regional and local are depended on the national support gives insights of how powerful/less the corresponding actors is. This is taken further into consideration on the local levels from the lack of public involvement and if it would exist, the lack of demonstration that the public has been involved.

As noted, the final decision will ultimately come from national levels and for now it seems as the HH-tunnel is more favoured from both national and regional levels. However, it also brings in an interesting perspective taken from how competitiveness can affect decision, comparing the Copenhagen and Stockholm rivalry, which as a consequence puts Malmö at a disadvantage.

As of now the Öresundsmetro and HH-tunnel are still in the early investigation phase. Nevertheless, the discussions mentioned above should not be overlooked as they raise further questions of the legitimacy around city branding and justification of megaprojects. These arguments could prove to be useful for future research as the road ahead for the Öresunds metro and HH-tunnel is still long.

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