

Mobility and integration: The cross-border region of Øresund and its young citizens' perceptions.



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Abstract

The cross-border region of Øresund is one of the areas in Northern Europe where the largest concentration of highly educated people reside. Other authors argue that the integration process of the region has seemingly come to a halt due to a lack of interest from the inhabitants. This thesis argues that the young citizens of Øresund offers a shift in tendency towards the region and does so by taking full advantage of the existing institutions, infrastructure and possibilities that are available. Through these processes, the young people of Øresund strengthens the integration process of Øresund through bottom-up regionalization. The European Union funds various projects which aims to strengthen the integration process through top-down Europeanization. These two simultaneous processes contribute to the on-going territorial field of tension which exists in Øresund. The European Union and the Øresund region draws attention away from the national state and breaks the long bond that the nation-state has had over its citizen's identity. By interviewing the young students of Øresund that commute weekly across Øresund, and conducting a questionnaire which was distributed to the young people of Øresund, this thesis aims to show the shift in tendency that the young people of Øresund offers to the region as a whole. The reason behind the focus on the young citizens of Øresund is because of their nature of being more mobile and open than the general public. Through qualitative research, this thesis presents the type of projects that the European Union funds which strengthens the integration process of Øresund. Through analysis of existing studies on the Øresund region, this thesis will compare previous results with the results from this thesis' studies in order to establish that the young people of Øresund are offering a shift in tendency towards the region as a whole. This thesis aims to add another unexplored dimension to the field of study by focusing solely on the young people of Øresund and their attitudes in comparison to the general public.

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Introduction

When the bridge opened in July 2000¹ a region with a long shared history was linked in a way which it had not been before. It is now possible to cross the bridge by car and train, which many do on a daily basis. In 2011 it was estimated that 91.500 different people travelled across Øresund² by either car, ferry or train³. Both parts of the Øresund region [Denmark and Sweden], and indeed the Nordic countries in general, share many things. It is often said that if one speaks one of the languages of Denmark, Norway and Sweden, it is easy to understand each other and communicate⁴.

During the 1990s, there were approximately 2-3 million cars passing through Øresund yearly. The opening of the Bridge resulted in a traffic increase of 43 percent between the year before and the year after it opened. The traffic across the sound has increased by around 10 percent yearly, during the period of 2001-2007, since the Bridge was opened in comparison to the traffic estimates of the 1990s.⁵

The cross-border region of Øresund is a vibrant, ever-growing region with people living on one side and working/studying on the other etc. “The region is home to the largest concentration of highly educated people in Northern Europe. It is sprinkled with world class innovative environments and boasts a well-developed working relationship between industry, higher education establishments and the authorities.⁶”

The people, in the region, belong to a cross-border identity, that is the Øresund region, but how does this identity manifest itself into the thoughts of the young people of Øresund?

In the modern world some scholars would argue that one can identify with several identities, this is a central feature in my thesis. The argument is closely linked to the way one can organize territorial space. With the establishment of a cross-border region, a territorial field of tension arises. The sovereign state has, as Christer Jönsson et al argue, since the Hundred Years War and

¹ <http://www.roadtraffic-technology.com/projects/oresund/> Accessed on 2012-12-15

² In this thesis I have chosen to use the Danish spelling of Øresund because it is the most common spelling used by the European Union. Öresundskomiteen chooses to use the Swedish spelling to avoid displaying Danish dominance in the region.

³ <http://www.orestat.se/sv/node/137> Accessed on 2012-12-15

⁴ <http://www.norden.org/en/the-nordic-region/language> Accessed on 2012-12-15

⁵ <http://www.orestat.se/sv/node/137> Accessed on 2012-12-15

⁶ <http://uni.oresund.org/?q=content/about-oun/the-network/the-oresund-region> Accessed on 2012-12-15

the Peace of Westphalia been the dominating manner of organizing space and thus have also become the most common organizational space to identify with. A cross-border region such as the Øresund region can provide another source of identity as an ‘autonomous network.’

“Developments in the modern-world have seen the rise of other sources of identity, and hence another direction of organizing space and organization to identify with. “[...] a tension between global and local forces”, thus there should exist a tension between the different identities. A cross-border region can challenge a national identity and national politics in many different ways. The book’s, *Organizing European Space*, main argument is that there exists a territorial field of tension in Europe, where the state is being challenged by new ways of organizing space. This again, is a central feature to this thesis. There is also the case of the supranational level. The European Union is also a subject of being a relatively new way of organizing European space. By existing in this territorial field of tension, the European Union draws away attention from the national state and then uses its powers and regulations to promote cross-border identity in the Øresund region. It is an interesting case where there are two new ways of organizing European space but both of them are used to promote one specifically stronger than the other, that being that the European Union, as mentioned, uses its governing power to promote the cross border identity of Øresund which is the process of top-down Europeanization. Through the interactions of the young people of Øresund, I will argue that there indeed exists an identity within the Øresund region and they are part of shaping the regionalization process of the region. Because of the way the region is set up, there is not a set, specific governing body in the region but rather multiple actors. “The national governments cooperate on several levels to make the Øresund region politically accessible to its inhabitants. Perhaps the best example of this is the Øresund Committee, a regional forum for political cooperation which consists of politicians from both countries and has been hard at work eliminating national administrative boundaries since 1993.”⁷”

⁷ <http://uni.oresund.org/?q=content/about-oun/the-network/the-oresund-region> Accessed on 2012-12-16

Facts and Figures:

Population of the region: ~3.7 million people⁸

Geography: The Øresund Region comprises the province of Skåne on the Swedish side of the Sound and the Danish islands of Zealand (Danish, Sjælland), Lolland, Falster, Møn and Bornholm⁹.

History of the region:

The Sound Dues were introduced by Erik of Pomerania in 1429 in order to take a special toll on all ships, specifically Swedish, which want to pass through Øresund. Because Skåne belonged to Denmark at the time, there was not a way to pass through the Sound without paying the Sound Dues. The Sound Dues were an underlying factor in many of the wars between Denmark and Sweden in the 17th century¹⁰.

Skåne has long been the battlefield between the royalties of Denmark and Sweden as both sought after control over the region in order to get full control of Øresund (In Denmark's case) or partial control (In Sweden's case). Skåne became Swedish 1658 and has remained so ever since.¹¹ "The province's inhabitants underwent a period of comprehensive transition to become more Swedish during the following 150 years – not least regarding language. The Danes tried to reclaim Skåne twice (in 1676 and 1710) but failed on both occasions.¹²" Despite this, the cooperation between Skåne and Denmark did not end here. For the past 150 years, there has been a trend of students in Lund and Copenhagen exchanging knowledge, and art and theatre has been seemingly unaffected by the national borders of the two sovereign states¹³.

⁸ <http://www.oresundskomiteen.org/en/oresund-facts/> Accessed on 2012-12-16

⁹ Ibid, Accessed on 2012-12-16:

¹⁰ <http://www.danskskaansforening.dk/DST/2-05-oresundstolden.htm> Accessed on 2012-12-16:

¹¹ <http://press.skane.org/en/content/skanes-history-%E2%80%93-bitter-fight-between-swedes-and-danes-happy-ending> Accessed on 2012-12-16:

¹² <http://press.skane.org/en/content/skanes-history-%E2%80%93-bitter-fight-between-swedes-and-danes-happy-ending> Accessed on 2012-12-16:

¹³ <http://press.skane.org/en/content/skanes-history-%E2%80%93-bitter-fight-between-swedes-and-danes-happy-ending> Accessed on 2012-12-16:

Background - Previous Work

Öresundskomiteen conducted a questionnaire in 2012 titled ‘Øresund Committee Culture Investigation¹⁴’ which focused on the people of Øresund’s tendencies regarding culture and travel habits, labor market, mobility and language knowledge. They distributed the questionnaire to 1500 people, 750 on each side of Øresund, between the ages of 15-64 to conduct the questionnaire. The questionnaire is heavily focused on the similarities and differences between Danish and Swedish citizens and their answers. Where my investigation differs, is that I focus on the young people on Øresund specifically and their tendencies when it comes to mobility, how they interact with each other and for what reason they travel. I also focus on language and what language they use during these interactions and whether or not they feel like a citizen of Øresund. The questionnaire by Öresundskomiteen will be analyzed and compared to the results from my own study to argue that the focus should lie on the young citizens of Øresund and their tendencies within the region. Nevertheless, I found four key questions posed by Öresundskomiteen, very useful for comparing to my own results.

Figur 1: Hvor mange gange har du besøgt Sjælland/Skåne indenfor de seneste 12 måneder?

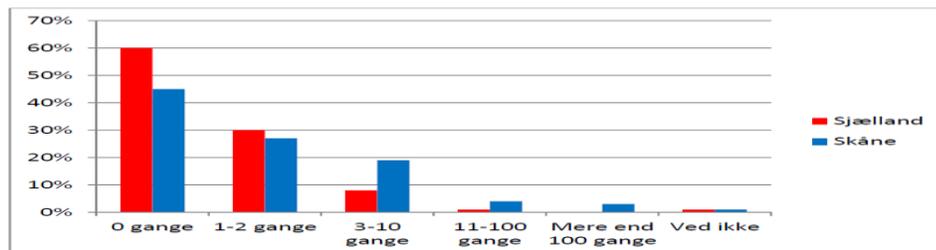


Figure 1¹⁵

Figure 1 illustrates how many times people from Sjælland have visited Skåne and how many times people from Skåne have visited Sjælland in the past 12 months. The red bars illustrate the answers by the people from Sjælland and this is applicable to all the figures from Öresundskomiteen’s Culture Investigation. In figure 1, the test subjects were given six choices:

¹⁴ <http://www.oresundskomiteen.org/2012/11/oresundskomiteens-kulturundersogelse-2012/> Accessed on 2013-05-02

¹⁵ Figure 1 taken from figure 1 in Øresundskomiteen’s Culture Investigation 2012 ¹⁵ <http://www.oresundskomiteen.org/2012/11/oresundskomiteens-kulturundersogelse-2012/> Accessed on 2013-05-02

‘0 times’, ‘1-2 times’, ‘3-10 times’, ‘11-100 times’, ‘more than 100 times’ and ‘No idea’. The thing I find most interesting about these results were the amount of people that answered 0 times; 60% of all the people from Sjælland and roughly 45 % of all the people from Skåne.

Figur 4: Hvad er de vigtigste årsager til, at du har besøgt Skåne/Sjælland indenfor de seneste 12 måneder?

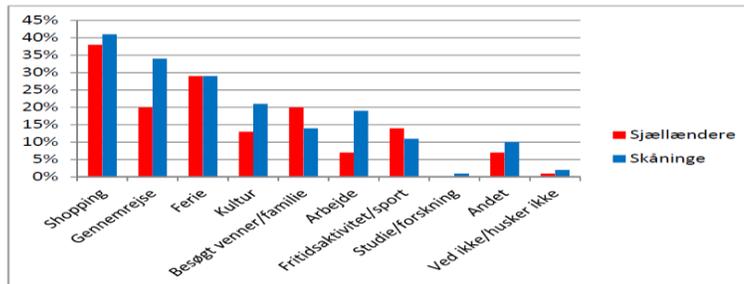


Figure 2¹⁶

Figure 2 illustrates the main reasons for travelling to the other side of Øresund by the people from Sjælland and Skåne, respectively. They were given ten different choices: ‘Shopping’, ‘Transit’, ‘Holiday’, ‘Culture’, ‘Visiting friends/family’, ‘Work’, ‘Leisure/sport’, ‘Studies/research’, ‘Other’ and ‘No idea’. As seen in Figure 2, most of the people, both from Sjælland and Skåne, visited the other side to do shopping. 20% of all Danes and roughly 35% of all Swedes visited the other side for transit reasons.

Figur 9: I hvilken grad forstår du svensk/dansk?

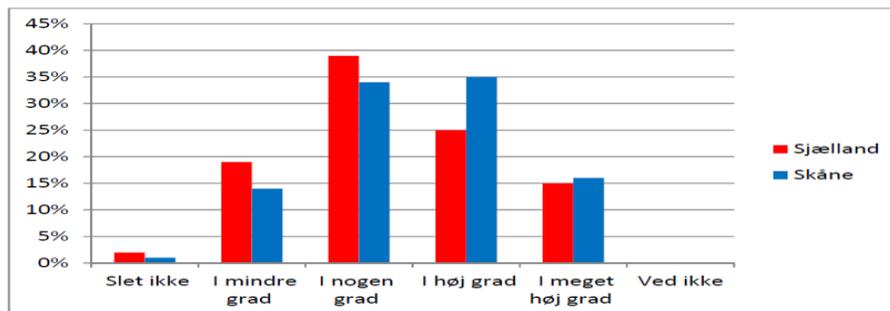


Figure 3¹⁷

Figure 3 illustrates the degree of which people from Sjælland and people from Skåne understand the Swedish and Danish, respectively. The test subjects were given six choices: ‘Not at all’, ‘To a lesser extent’, ‘To some extent’, ‘To a high degree’, ‘To a very high degree’ and ‘No idea’. It is

¹⁶ Figure 2 taken from figure 4 in Øresundskomiteen’s Culture Investigation 2012 <http://www.oresundskomiteen.org/2012/11/oresundskomiteens-kulturundersogelse-2012/> Accessed on 2013-05-02

¹⁷ Figure 3 taken from figure 9 in Øresundskomiteen’s Culture Investigation 2012 <http://www.oresundskomiteen.org/2012/11/oresundskomiteens-kulturundersogelse-2012/> Accessed on 2013-05-02

interesting to note that approximately 85% of all the people from Skåne understand Danish at least to some extent. The respective number for the people from Sjælland understanding Swedish at least to some extent is around 80 %.

Figur 20: Hvor sandsynligt eller usandsynligt ville det være, at du flyttede til Skåne/Sjælland?

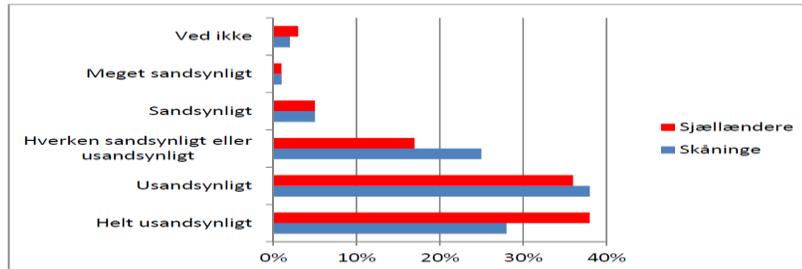


Figure 4¹⁸

Figure 4 illustrates how keen the test subjects are to move to the other side of Øresund. The test subjects were given six options: ‘No idea’, ‘Very likely’, ‘Likely’, ‘Neither likely nor unlikely’, ‘Unlikely’ and ‘Very unlikely’. It is interesting to note that neither different sides of Øresund are particularly keen on moving to the other side.

The four test results from Öresundskomiteen’s Culture Investigation 2012 will be very useful in the analysis section to compare the results with mine. The four questions are similar to four questions of my investigation. I focused only on the young people of Øresund and it is my argument that my investigation will give a significant difference in the responses when it comes to these four questions and in addition add another dimension.

The Bachelor’s thesis of Sebastian Steele, then student at Malmö University, was titled ‘Contesting National Politics in Cross-Border Regions: Mobility as a Case-Study’. The abstract reads

“I seek to explore in what ways the mobility in the cross-border region of Øresund affects the national politics of Denmark and Sweden, however with a main focus on Sweden. (...) This thesis analyses the two cases of Danish and Swedish mobility in which the train traffic of Øresund is heavily focused on. (...) The analysis presents to the reader in what ways mobility in Øresund challenges the traditional way of organizing space in the form

¹⁸ Figure 4 taken from figure 20 in Öresundskomiteen’s Culture Investigation 2012 <http://www.oresundskomiteen.org/2012/11/oresundskomiteens-kulturundersogelse-2012/> Accessed on 2013-05-02

of the sovereign states of Denmark and Sweden. The thesis reveals how regional and local politicians work to protect the rights of the citizens of Øresund, and how a state company saves a private subsidiary from sure bankruptcy.¹⁹”

Whereas it might seem at first glance that the two theses are similar, the main difference lies within what the aim of both are. The aim of *Contesting National Politics in Cross-Border Regions: Mobility as a Case-Study* was to find in which ways politicians of Denmark and Sweden counteract their national parties to promote regional interests because they are from that region and representing that region, obviously with Øresund as the case study. This thesis, is more focused and interested in the thoughts and opinions of the students that take part in a 150 year old tradition of exchanging knowledge across the sound.

Research Question(s)

The aim of this study is to investigate whether the young people (30 and under) of Øresund offer a shift in mentality towards the Øresund regionalization process. It is my argument that by focusing on the young people of Øresund, and analyzing their tendencies, my study may conclude that they are participating in a bottom-up regionalization process of Øresund through their interactions with their counterparts on each side of Øresund. It is also my aim to investigate what projects the European Union funds in the Øresund through top-down Europeanization to further increase the integration of Øresund. Through these two processes, bottom-up regionalization and top-down Europeanization, I will argue that the cross-border region of Øresund and the European Union are participating in a territorial field of tension by drawing attention away from the nation-state and putting the focus, power and responsibility elsewhere. The two research questions that will be answered in this thesis are the following:

(1): Do the young people of Øresund offer a shift in tendency towards the Øresund region and increase the possibilities for integration?

¹⁹ Steele, Sebastian. “Contesting National Politics in Cross-Border Regions: Mobility as a Case-Study.” Bachelors thesis., Malmö University, 2011.

(2): Do the projects put in place by the European Union through top-down Europeanization increase the integration of the Øresund region?

Methodology:

The ontological and epistemological approach to this thesis has its base in social constructionism. I would argue that in order to adequately understand the processes of identity formation, one must take a social constructionist approach²⁰. Citizenship, or indeed identity, is a social construct based on a society. The identity of Øresund is a social construct of the societies of Denmark and Sweden, and I would also argue the European Union. Because of the different motions put in place, be it top-down Europeanization or bottom-up regionalization, the identity of a specific region, e.g. Øresund, is socially constructed based upon pre-existing conditions such as societies, history and culture. The main criticism towards a social constructionist approach is outlined by the fact that social constructionism takes a nurture approach in the nature versus nurture debate. Opponents²¹ of social constructionism argue that a social constructionist ignores the biological influences on culture and behavior. What is important to remember here is that someone in Øresund might not necessarily have an inherent attachment to the Øresund region but rather be connected to the region in a matter which has been constructed through top-down processes, infrastructure and social processes.

The chosen method for this thesis is qualitative research. A qualitative method, analyses what is relevant in a document, and then reconstructs the gathered information to publish patterns and tendencies²². A qualitative research builds upon assumptions as its foundation. Through usage of “an emerging qualitative approach to inquiry, the collection of data in a natural setting sensitive to the people and places under study, and data analysis that is inductive and establishes patterns of themes.”²³ A qualitative research is a useful tool when a problem needs to be explored; study a

²⁰ See: Hacking, Ian. *The Social Construction of What?* Harvard University Press, 1999

²¹ See: Sokal, Alan., and Bricmont, Jean. *Fashionable Nonsense: Postmodern Intellectuals' Abuse of Science*. New York: Picador, 1999.

²² May, Tim. *Social Research Issues Methods and Processes*. Open University Press, 2008. P191.

²³ Creswell, John W. *Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches*. Sage Publications, 2007. P37

group or population where variables can be measured. It is necessary to use a qualitative research when the existing information from the literature in the field is not enough as it the case in this thesis.²⁴ Interactions among people are very difficult to understand without qualitative research. In order to not level all individuals to a statistical mean, this thesis implements qualitative research to gain a deeper insight into the thoughts and interactions of the young people of Øresund.

By using different forms of data collection, this thesis implements a qualitative case study method. A case study is useful in qualitative research in order to explore a bounded system, a case, through the use of in-depth data collection which can involve multiple sources of information (e.g. interviews, documents, surveys)²⁵. A researcher must determine if a case study is relevant to the research problem. It is important to have a clear identifiable case with boundaries where the researcher is determined to find an in-depth understanding of the case of the comparison of several cases²⁶. A detailed description of the case will emerge when analyzing it. After analyzing it, the researcher may focus on a few key issues in order to understand the complexity of the case²⁷. One of the many challenges of a qualitative case study the identification of the case. It is highly important to set boundaries that adequately define the case. The different sources of information that I will use in this thesis are: semi-structured interviews, questionnaire and documents. The case that I will explore is that of the region of Øresund and its identity amongst the young people. By exploring this subject, I aim to gain an understanding of what the young people of Øresund think about the cross-border region and how they move, why they move and what do they do when they move within the region. By move, I do not necessarily mean permanently but more as a term of frequent mobility such as social travelers, commuters etc. I will investigate the *Operational Programme 'Øresund – Kattegat – Skagerrak'* which is a programme under *the Territorial Cooperation Objective, co-funded by the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF)* in order to establish the type of influence the European Union has on the cross-border region of Øresund. What is important here is to investigate how the European Union funds and regulation affect the regionalization process of Øresund. This ties in with the theoretical framework of how the

²⁴ ²⁴ Creswell, John W. *Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches*. Sage Publications, 2007. P40

²⁵ Ibid, P73

²⁶ Ibid, P74

²⁷ Ibid, P75.

Europeanization process from a top-down perspective influences the sub-national level, i.e. Øresund, and participates in the territorial field of tension by strengthening the regional level.

Semi-structured interviews with Swedish students at Copenhagen University and with Danish students at Malmö University and Lund University. The reason for this selection is that I, as the author, feel that students are in the right place to critically assess the perceptions of Øresund as a valid identity. Some of them may not travel daily but a long train-ride between Lund Central and Copenhagen Central gives enough time to reflect. *The Allyn & Bacon Guide to Writing* gives some key aspects that I will incorporate into my interviews. It says that it is important to “Develop a range of questions (...) Create open-ended questions, which should be the heart of your interview. (...) Questions framed in this way will elicit the information you need but still allow the interviewee to answer freely.”²⁸ The main strengths and weaknesses of semi-structured interviews include but are not limited to:

Weaknesses: With this method interviewees may say what they think the interviewer wants to hear or the opposite of what they think they want to hear. (...) But in the end it is the responsibility of the researcher, as with the barrister, to pull evidence from the data which when interpreted sounds convincing, credible and reliable.²⁹

Strengths: The cooperative nature of the interview as a “fact-producing interaction”. (...) it could be argued ‘facts’ are always socially produced and the influence of a responsibly engaged researcher helps interviewees describe perceptions they would otherwise think irrelevant or in their normal social context feel inhibited from mentioning³⁰

It is important to use adequate recording procedures when conducting the interviews. The process of developing the questions must be evaluated. The key is to develop questions which are open-ended and that the interviewee is given adequate amount of time to answer them³¹. The

²⁸ Bean, John C., Johnson, June. and Ramage, John D. *The Allyn and Bacon guide to writing*. Longman, 2008. P248.

²⁹ Newton, Nigel. *The use of semi-structured interviews in qualitative research: strengths and weaknesses*. The University of Bristol, 2010. Last accessed on May 13, 2013. http://www.academia.edu/1561689/The_use_of_semi-structured_interviews_in_qualitative_research_strengths_and_weaknesses.2010 Accessed on 2012-12-17.

³⁰ Newton, Nigel. *The use of semi-structured interviews in qualitative research: strengths and weaknesses*. The University of Bristol, 2010. Last accessed on May 13, 2013. http://www.academia.edu/1561689/The_use_of_semi-structured_interviews_in_qualitative_research_strengths_and_weaknesses.2010 Accessed on 2012-12-17.

³¹ Creswell, John W. *Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches*. Sage Publications, 2007. P133

reasoning behind interviews as a means of collecting data is to ensure that the investigation gains enough depth to promote a substantial argument for the tendencies within the younger generation in Øresund. By interviewing them, I aim to gain an understanding of how the young student commuters of Øresund feel when they travel and if they reflect upon themselves as a citizen of the Øresund region. In order to do this adequately, I have decided to interview three Danish students that study at Malmö University and Lund University and live in Copenhagen and three Swedish students that live in Skåne and study in Copenhagen. This will allow for me to get an inside depth into how the young student commuters of Øresund feel as they pass over the bridge on a weekly basis and have the knowledge (by being students) and adequate background to give me detailed answers. I chose eleven questions to discuss with the interviewees (See appendix 1).

The main difficulties that I encountered during the interviews were to get the interviewee to give me longer and relevant answers. Because of the nature of semi-structured interviews, I was allowed to improvise follow-up questions based upon original answers in order to get a more elaborated answer from the interviewee. The questions were constructed in a way which would be easy for the interviewee to comprehend. At first, the interviewees had trouble comprehending question 7³² (“Do you think that you have become more aware of your identity as a citizen of Øresund since starting to study? How, what experiences, any stories?”) and question 11³³ “What kind of challenges do you think Øresund faces today as a cross-border region?” I explained to the interviewees what I meant by the questions and as a result they were able to give me adequate answers. My initial thought was that the questions were phrased in a manner which would be very clear to the interviewees but with hindsight I have realized that, as I did when I explained it to them, I should have made it clearer. However, the reason behind phrasing them the way I did was because one of the strengths of a semi-structured interview is that I, as the interviewer, can help the interviewees describe perceptions which they would otherwise not reflect upon.

This thesis will implement a questionnaire which will be distributed amongst students in Copenhagen, Lund and Malmo. It is my opinion that the young people of Øresund are best equipped to answer questions regarding an Øresund identity because, as Fligstein mentions, the

³² Appendix 1

³³ Appendix 1

young Europeans are far more likely to travel, both for pleasure and to seek higher education in another country³⁴. When conducting a questionnaire, it is important to consider the wording and arrangement of the page. It is useful if the questionnaire is clear, easy to complete and as short as possible because it is a tendency for the people that are partaking in it to be limited with time³⁵. I believe that the young people of Øresund are the key demographic because of the mobility factor and which age demographic is the most likely to move about, socially or professionally. Steffen Mau and Roland Verwiebe argues that within the European Union as a whole, young people (defined by them as under 34 years of age) are far more likely to migrate from their native country than the overall domestic population. Young people without commitments (marriage, children etc.) are the demographic within that are the most mobile³⁶. It is therefore important to conduct a questionnaire with as many people from both sides of the Sound as possible to gain an overview of the opinions of the young people that move here. Whereas the young students being interviewed will give me an in-depth analysis of their commuting and interaction with the natives, the questionnaire will allow for me to see the perspective from a whole. I will compare my results to the results of Öresundskomiteen Culture Investigation 2012. Öresundskomiteen's investigation was focused on how people travel across Øresund and for what reason. But as mentioned earlier, they failed with what I am aiming to do, and that is focus on the young people on Øresund specifically, rather asking 1500 subjects between the age of 15- 64.

The questions were constructed in a way which would be easy to answer and not take up too much time for the test subject. I chose to construct questions that were easily understood and would offer a proper chance for me to analyze the results based on the nationality of the test subject and where they currently live. The main problems that arose during distributing the questionnaire was to find enough Danish people to answer the questionnaire. I used Facebook.com to distribute the questionnaire to my Facebook friends and asked everyone to share it with their Danish friends, family and coworkers. Through help from my Danish friends, I was able to get them to distribute it to their friends which allowed for an even distribution of the

³⁴ Fligstein, Neil. *Euroclash: The EU, European Identity, and the Future of Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. P139

³⁵ Bean, John C., Johnson, June. and Ramage, John D. *The Allyn and Bacon guide to writing*. Longman, 2008. P249

³⁶ Mau, Steffen., and Roland, Verwiebe. *European Societies: Mapping Structure and Change*. The Policy Press, 2010. Page 325.

amount of participants. I used Google's own documents to assemble the questionnaire as it was possible to tie to my personal email and get alerts for when I got a response. I had the questionnaire up for five days in order to allow for enough people to answer it. In total, I got 314 responses, with an even spread between Danish and Swedish participants.

Sources:

The sources includes the main literature and secondary sources which will be used to gain a further understanding of the field of study and be used to adequately establish the theoretical framework.

I have chosen *Organizing European Space* by Jönsson, Tägil and Törnqvist, as my main source due to their theory of a European Field of Tension to further elaborate and establish the concept of a multi-layered level of belonging to an identity. The book *Organizing European Space* presents the reader with new ways of organizing European space. The concept of networks and the relationship between cities, networks and regions is analyzed in relation to European Union. The popular notion of "Europe of regions" is critically reviewed by *Organizing European Space* to establish the fact that the nation-state is deteriorating. The main criticism of the book lies within other scholars³⁷ of nationalism who say that nations are not withering away and are still the strongest form of organizing European space and any influence that is drawn from autonomous networks (such as Øresund) or the supranational level is minimal. Despite this, the theory is useful in establishing that there is a fact a European field of tension, and therein this thesis will explore if the region of Øresund, as an autonomous network, pulls away from the nation-states of Denmark and Sweden.

The secondary sources that I will mainly use are in relation to theorizing regionalization and top-down Europeanization.

Anssi Paasi's paper *Bounded Spaces in the Mobile World: Deconstructing 'Regional Identity'* and Garri Raagmaa's *Regional Identity in Regional Development and Planning*, will be the two main

³⁷ See Billig, Michael. *Banal Nationalism*. London: Sage Publications, 1995. He uses his theory of banal nationalism to dispute the post-modern claim that nation-states are in decline by citing the strength of American nationalism.

scientific articles that I will incorporate to establish the regionalization process of Øresund. Paasi and Raagmaa analyzes the main links between regions and identity and offers a conceptualized description of cultural geographers to explain how emotional links between human beings and the spatial context wherein they live. The limitations with Paasi and Raagmaa lies within the focus of their research. The theories of Anssi and Paasi were mainly tested on regions within a nation and not cross-border regions. However, it is my argument that a cross-border region and a region with a nation shares similar traits and aspects regarding the regionalization process.

Hospers' *Borders, Bridges and Branding: The transformation of the Øresund Region into an Imagined Space*. Hall's *Opportunities for Democracy in Cross-Border Regions? Lessons from the Øresund Region* and Bucken-Knapp's *testing our Borders: Questions of national and regional identity in the Øresund Region* argue in similar manors for how the Øresund regionalization process is failing and that the citizen support for the project is limited. The three respective pieces are great for gaining an understanding of the field of study. They are limited in the fact that they are seemingly outdated with the most updated one coming from 2006 (Hospers). It is my aim to further expand on their studies to gain a deeper understanding of the regionalization process of Øresund and offer a different perspective: bottom-up regionalization by the young people of Øresund.

The two main books that I will use to establish top-down Europeanization are; *Transforming Europe – Europeanization and Domestic Change* by Cowels, Caporaso and Risse (2001) and *The Politics of Europeanization* by Featherstone and Radaelli (2003). Europeanization, as understood by the above authors, will be presented and analyzed to establish the theoretical framework. The main criticism of the two pieces of literature is directed towards their focus. The majority of the focus of the authors lies with the top-down approach to Europeanization and they have troubles establishing bottom-up Europeanization or horizontal Europeanization.

The theory of top-down Europeanization will be applied to the Operational Programme 'Øresund - Kattegat - Skagerrak' which is a “programme under the Territorial Cooperation Objective, co-funded by the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF).³⁸” The programme covers a cross-border cooperative programme for Denmark, Norway and Sweden. It is divided into two parts –

³⁸http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/country/prordn/details_new.cfm?gv_PAY=DK&gv_reg=ALL&gv_PGM=1279&LAN=7&gv_PER=2&gv_defL=21#tab accessed on 2013-05-04

Kattegat-Skagerrak and Øresund. Obviously, it is the Øresund part which is relevant to this thesis. The aim of the programme is to create an attractive and competitive region in Øresund which is knowledge-based and has sustainable development. The broad objectives are, as outlined by the Territorial Cooperation Objective;

- “Increase sustainable economic growth and contribute to the EU’s regional development objectives;
- Develop a physically and organizationally homogeneous region by stimulating cooperation and common use of resources; and
- Increase integration by improving the mobility of people and businesses.³⁹”

Three specific projects driven through the Operational Programme will be examined:

- An Exemplary Knowledge Region⁴⁰ - 1st January 2011 – 31st December 2013
- Culture Driven innovation for the Øresund Region⁴² [Completed] – 1st August 2009 – 31st October 2011
- Øresund Event Center⁴³ - 1st of February 2012 – 31st of December 2013.

These three projects were chosen based on their nature. *An Exemplary Knowledge Region* has an emphasis on the overall integration of the region. The *Culture Driven Innovation for the Øresund region* had an emphasis on increasing student mobility in the region. *Oresund Event Center* has a focus on building a cross-country regional center which focuses on the sustainable growth of the region as a whole. It is my opinion that these three projects are ideal for analysis because they focus on increasing integration, mobility and sustainable growth of the region which will ultimately lead to a more successful region.

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http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/country/prordn/details_new.cfm?gv_PAY=DK&gv_reg=ALL&gv_PGM=1279&LAN=7&gv_PER=2&gv_defL=21#tab , accessed on 2013-05-04

⁴⁰ <http://www.interreg-oks.eu/en/Menu/Projects/Project+List+%C3%96resund/An+Exemplary+Knowledge+Region> accessed on 2013-05-04

⁴¹ <http://www.ruc.dk/samarbejde/internationalt-samarbejde/malmoe-university> accessed on 2013-05-04

⁴² <http://www.interreg-oks.eu/en/Menu/Projects/Project+List+%C3%96resund/Culture+driven+innovation+for+the+%C3%96resund+Region> accessed on 2013-05-04

⁴³ <http://www.interreg-oks.eu/en/Menu/Projects/Project+List+%C3%96resund/%C3%96resund+Event+Center> accessed on 2013-05-04

⁴⁴ <http://oresundeventcenter.dk/node/260> accessed on 2013-05-04

Semi-structured interviews and questionnaires will be highly important to this thesis. The reasoning behind selecting two different types of data gathering is because I feel that in order to adequately tackle the problem of Øresund's younger generation feeling 'Øresundian', I must gather as much data as possible. The two types of data gathering are highly useful because they give different nuances of a problematized issue. The semi-structured interviews will be used to gain an in-depth insight into the students that frequently travel across the Øresund Bridge to seek out a higher education. The questionnaire will be used to establish a broader understanding of the young people's perception and understanding of Øresund. Obviously, not every single young person of Øresund can be tested and therefore any results would only show a minimal representation of the general population. The report by Öresundskomiteen titled *Culture Investigation 2012* will be used to compare results between their investigation and my own. Their investigation is relevant to this thesis because it poses similar questions to the test subjects as I did. The limitations with their study is that they have not taken into account the difference between answers in relation to age, rather focusing solely on the difference between Danish and Swedish answers.

Literature Review:

The purpose of the literature review is to integrate and comment on the literature that is relevant and interesting to this thesis. By doing so, I hope to show how my thesis correlates to previous works in the field. The concept of the Territorial Field of Tension in Europe that Jönsson et al illustrates in *Organizing European Space*⁴⁵ argues that the nation-state is being challenged by new ways of organizing space. Within the territorial field of tension, there is a tension between globalization and regionalization which challenges the nation-state. Whereas states provide the frame of reference for thinking, social life and economics, i.e. the foundation of the individual's identity; the European Union is a readily accessible example of supranational integration. Autonomous networks on the other hand, Jönsson et al argues some of the ways that they (autonomous networks) operate "transcends the traditional territorial, political, economic and social frameworks. The corporate and organizational world as well as science, culture and social

⁴⁵ Jönsson, Christer., Tägil, Sven, and Thörnqvist., Gunnar. *Organizing European Space*. Sage Publications, 2003.

relations display transnational networks.⁴⁶ Organizing European Space mentions three specific ‘new’ levels of organizing European space: autonomous networks (Øresund), regions (Skåne, Catalonia etc.) and the supranational level (European Union [EU]). Through the use of the territorial field of tension, I seek to analyze the key literature within the area of cross-border regions, specifically Øresund, to see what other scholars have written. I aim to enhance the field by offering another approach, which has been only briefly touched upon in the past.

Anssi Paasi states that “whereas the State was formerly the key context for region and identity building, international markets and the emerging continental regime in Europe have now given rise to a new wave of regionalism that stresses the importance of regions and regional identity.⁴⁷” Anssi Paasi’s paper *Bounded Spaces in the Mobile World: Deconstructing ‘Regional Identity’* aims to analyze the link between region and identity. Paasi argues that regions can be understood as contingent structures wherein the institutionalization is determined within the territorial, symbolic and institutional shape⁴⁸. He analyzes this in connection to the identity discourses related to Finnish regions and how Finns move between the regions. I particularly find his conceptualization of the regional identity very interesting. He uses the work of cultural geographers to explain the emotional links between human beings and the spatial context wherein these humans live. Cultural geographers came to the conclusion that because of crucial elements such as gender, class, religion or race within the identification of social groupings, it is possible to have a space in the public discourse without being territorially bound. Therefore, people normally position themselves on many different levels of identification⁴⁹.

The work of Paasi relates to that of Garri Raagmaa. In *Regional Identity in Regional Development and Planning*, Raagmaa explains the process of regional identity formation as having four key steps [As explained by Paasi in previous work]: “(1) the constitution of territorial shape, (2) the symbolic shape, (3) the institutional shape, (4) the emerging social-

⁴⁶ ⁴⁶ Jönsson, Christer., Tägil, Sven, and Thörnqvist., Gunnar. *Organizing European Space*. Sage Publications, 2003. P25-26

⁴⁷ Paasi, Anssi. “Bounded Spaces in the Mobile World: Deconstructing ‘Regional Identity.’” *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* Vol. 93, No. 2 (2002): 137-148. P137.

⁴⁸ Paasi, Anssi. “Bounded Spaces in the Mobile World: Deconstructing ‘Regional Identity.’” *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* Vol. 93, No. 2 (2002): 137-148 P139.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, P139

spatial consciousness of the inhabitants and the establishment of the region/locality in the regional system.⁵⁰” As Paasi argued that the emotional links between human beings and spatial context is important, so does Raagmaa here and states that during this part of the process the region “achieves its boundaries and becomes identified as a territorial unit in the spatial structure⁵¹”.

The existence of boundaries of some kind is important to develop any kind of regional consciousness among the inhabitants. The region of Øresund has a clear territorial setting which is easily distinguishable. The symbolic shape explains the ways symbols ‘showcase’ what the territorially defined region is. Language, the name of the region, landmarks and infrastructure are the key components that the (2) symbolic shape consists of⁵². Raagmaa’s definition of the key symbols correlate to what I would argue that the key symbols of Øresund consist of. It is often said that if one speaks one of the languages of Denmark, Norway and Sweden, it is easy to understand each other and communicate. Swedish and Danish belong to the Northern Germanic branch of the Indo-European languages. Despite the differences in the languages, it is still of high probability that speakers of the languages will understand each other.⁵³. The Øresund Bridge is quite clearly the most obvious symbol for the region.

The institutional shape (3) consists of the formal organizations and the established practices: clubs, schools, networks, etc. which “employ the name and other territorial symbols of the region. The institutional sphere maintains the image of the region and the criteria for the identity among inhabitants⁵⁴”. The first example that springs to mind is that of Öresundskomiteen. Öresundskomiteen is the political cooperation between Scania and Zealand since 1993. The Committee is a political interest organization that aims to increase the cooperation across the sound and represents the national-states of Denmark and Sweden’s in the cross-border region of

⁵⁰ Raagmaa, Garri. “Regional identity in Regional Development and Planning.” *European Planning Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 1, (2002): 55-76. P58.

⁵¹ Ibid, P58.

⁵² Ibid, P59

⁵³ <http://www.norden.org/en/the-nordic-region/language> Accessed on 2012-12-15: 15.11

⁵⁴ Raagmaa, Garri. “Regional identity in Regional Development and Planning.” *European Planning Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 1, (2002): 55-76. P59.

Øresund⁵⁵. Öresundskomiteen is important because its purpose is to secure legitimacy and a deepening of the integration process in the region⁵⁶.

The social consciousness (4) of the inhabitants exhibits the “importance of social and historical processes. The essence and history of the region connected with the biographies of individuals through the agency of a sphere of institutions, which again is reproduced in the everyday practices of individuals.⁵⁷” The everyday practice of the individuals in Øresund something which this thesis aims to understand and interpret. By everyday practices, I mean what the young people that travel to either side of Øresund do whilst they are there. Furthermore, the everyday practices of the individuals that commute regularly within Øresund to study at another higher education institution. The *OECD Territorial Reviews* has shown that the governments of Denmark and Sweden have been willing to change the rules and agreements on cross-border taxation several times to allow for an easier time working and residing on different sides of the Sound⁵⁸.

I personally find Garri Raagmaa’s description of regional identity formation highly useful in explaining the regional formation of Øresund. The four key components that Raagmaa argues for showcase the relevance of legitimizing the concept of a region (in this case Øresund) as process of identity formation.

The key articles on the Øresund region that I will review are, in my opinion, seemingly outdated, as they have been published in 2004 and 2006 respectively. However, they still hold many valid points which are helpful in gaining a deeper understanding of the field of study that this thesis aims to place itself. Because of the nature of the Øresund region and the continuous updating of agreements, the steady mobility of the inhabitants and changing views, it is difficult to find an article on Øresund and the cross-border cooperation which holds up against the change of time. Nevertheless, Patrik Hall states in *Opportunities for Democracy in Cross-Border Regions?*

⁵⁵ <http://www.oresundskomiteen.org/om-oss/> Accessed on 2013-03-11

⁵⁶ <http://www.oresundskomiteen.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/04/Vedt%C3%A6gter-Stadgar-1.1.20071.pdf>
Accessed on 2013-03-11

⁵⁷Raagmaa, Garri. “Regional identity in Regional Development and Planning.” *European Planning Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 1, (2002): 55-76. P59.

⁵⁸ The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. *OECD Territorial Reviews: Øresund Denmark/Sweden*. France: OECD Publications, 2003. P164.

Lessons from the Øresund Region that “cross-border cooperation in the Øresund region tends to perpetuate the problems of citizen participation within the [European] Union.⁵⁹”

Hall argues that cross-border regions, even if an important part of EU integration, is albeit a small part. The same problems that the European Union faces on the supranational level, it also faces on a cross-border level. Problems such as democratic deliberation, legitimacy and accountability are highlighted within Hall’s arguments. He states his aim by posing three legitimate questions of cross-border region initiatives and the Øresund region specifically: (1) if there are any democratic ambitions within Øresund [he specifically adds the point that he means democratic in the very literal sense], (2) he aims to review the degree of accountability in Øresund, (3) he aims to ‘investigate the possibility of network governance as a more informal way of strengthening civic inclusion and legitimacy in actual partnership cooperation’.⁶⁰ Hall argues that the cross-border cooperation in the Øresund region has grave democratic problems and real accountability problems, because of the fact that the emphasis is put on economic performance instead of political accountability. Hall stresses the fact that it is not elected politicians that dominate the process in Øresund but public officials.⁶¹ Hall argues that the gravest issues that the Øresund region faces are a lack of representative government, deliberation in elected councils and transparency⁶². Hall makes, in my opinion, a few valid points regarding tackling the problems that cross-border regions faces such as establishing a sort of cross-border assembly that is held accountable⁶³.

The issues that Hall addresses are very important and will be taken into consideration in this thesis. It is my opinion that the lack of accountability and democracy does not necessarily influence the identity-formation from a bottom-up regionalization approach because the tendencies of the young people are what is interesting. The lack of accountability can be seen as an obstacle in further increasing the cooperation between the two governments of Denmark and Sweden and thus affect the decision-making from a top-down approach.

⁵⁹ Hall, Patrik. “Opportunities for Democracy in Cross-border Regions? Lessons from the Øresund Region.”

Regional Studies Vol. 42.3 (2008): 423-435.P423.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, P425-426

⁶¹ *Ibid*, P432.

⁶² *Ibid*, P431

⁶³ *Ibid*, P433.

Gert-Jan Hospers argues that ‘the mismatch between the Øresund’s identity and image may hamper the region’s future development⁶⁴’. Hospers explores the spatial-economic transformation of Øresund with a focus on branding in the transition process. Hospers’ work on place marketing within Øresund connected to the identity of the region is highly relevant to my thesis. Hospers borrows his ideas about place identity of from Paasi’s description of the four key elements of regional identity formation. Hospers means to use Paasi’s work to show how place marketing functions within the Øresund region⁶⁵. Hospers explains place marketing by stating that “the strategy of place marketing has been inspired by principles of marketing strategy business⁶⁶”. He further develops his argument by defining who the ‘place customers’ are: “(1) inhabitants that wish an appropriate place to live, work and relax, (2) firms looking for a place to locate their production facilities, do business and recruit employees and (3) visitors seeking leisure facilities in the cultural or leisure domain.⁶⁷”. Hospers concludes his article by arguing that “the Øresund region still is an ‘imagined space’, constructed by policy-makers, while the residents across both sides of the border do not have a shared identity yet.⁶⁸”

I, however, challenge Hospers notion of Øresund as an ‘imagined space’. Hospers means that there was, at the time of his writing (2006), not much evidence for an Øresund identity. He argues to an extent what Benedict Anderson says in *Imagined Communities*, that Øresund has become an imagined community wherein people imagine themselves to be a part of a community which has been constructed. What Hospers says is not entirely wrong and surveys⁶⁹ seem to agree. I would argue that the policy-makers (and indeed the aims of many studies) target the ‘wrong’ demographic. This thesis targets young people that are mobile in the Øresund region. Students who commute to another country to take part in higher education partake in my opinion, in a process of construction an Øresund identity, whether consciously and subconsciously. However, the study by Gregg Bucken-Knapp in *Testing our Borders: Questions of national and*

⁶⁴Hospers, Gert-Jan. “Borders, Bridges and Branding: The transformation of the Øresund Region into an Imagined Space.” *European Planning Studies* Vol. 14, No. 8 (2006): 1015-1033. P1015.

⁶⁵ Ibid, page 1018

⁶⁶ Ibid, page 1016.

⁶⁷ Ibid, 1017

⁶⁸ Ibid, P1030.

⁶⁹ See Bucken-Knapp, Gregg. “Testing our Borders: Questions of national and regional identity in the Øresund Region.” *Journal of Baltic Studies* 33:2 (2002): 199-219. for empirical findings on the interest of Danes and Swedes in each other’s news.

*regional identity in the Øresund Region*⁷⁰ could be seen as agreeing with Hospers notion that Øresund is an ‘imagined space’. Bucken-Knapp “explores the attitudes that inhabitants in the Danish-Swedish region of Øresund hold towards their respective nation-states and the emerging cross-border region⁷¹.” He seeks to explore if cross-border cooperation projects affect the existing national identity. The empirical findings that he presents are very interesting and will definitely be compared to the empirical findings of the interviews within my thesis. The empirical findings suggest that Swedes are more interested in the Øresund project than Danes. I agree with Bucken-Knapp when he says that it is best to avoid “essentialist claims about nations and national identities⁷²”. He says that an argument for the difference in interest might be that the Danes reside, at least in a majority, in a vibrant capital region whereas the Swedes come from a traditionally economically challenged region of Sweden⁷³. I do not necessarily disagree with Bucken-Knapp with regards to his opinions on why Danes are more reluctant towards Øresund than Sweden⁷⁴, I do however have the same issue as I had with Hospers. I think the demographic targeted in the survey is based on the wrong demographic. My questionnaire on the young and mobile people of Øresund will complement and nuance the image of the region that is described by both Hospers and Bucken-Knapp. It is more likely that the youth will engage with the local population on either side of the Sound and therefore, any survey attempting to explore the tendencies of regional identity belonging should focus on young people. Fligstein mentions this and says that young people are likely to travel, both for pleasure and schooling⁷⁵. Around 200,000 college students partake in the EU’s Erasmus Program each semester and young people are very likely to know people from other European countries⁷⁶. Fligstein’s results show that young people are more positive towards the EU, more likely to travel and more likely to be educated⁷⁷.

⁷⁰ Bucken-Knapp, Gregg. “Testing our Borders: Questions of national and regional identity in the Øresund Region.” *Journal of Baltic Studies* 33:2 (2002): 199-219.

⁷¹ Ibid, p199

⁷² Ibid, P 212.

⁷³ Ibid, p213.

⁷⁴ Ibid, P214.

⁷⁵ Fligstein, Neil. *Euroclash: The EU, European Identity, and the Future of Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. P139.

⁷⁶ Ibid, page 139.

⁷⁷ Ibid, page 157.

In Øresundsbro Konsortiet report on the region titled *10 Years: The Øresund Bridge and its Region*, professor of Ethnology at the University of Lund Orvar Löfgren, says in an interview that the Øresund Bridge is the young people's bridge. He argues:

It's the young who travel, move, look for work and meet their partners on the other side. The interesting thing about the younger generation is how "faithless" they are. They cross over to the other side and back depending on what suits them at the time. They are more flexible and mobile than we have ever seen before. The next generation is growing up with the bridge as a matter of course and they don't know the world without it⁷⁸.

As I mentioned, I do agree to a large extent with Bucken-Knapp's article because the empirical findings are very important and will be a useful tool to compare results and try to explain any differences that might occur. I am not seeking to establish that the nation state is deteriorating away or that the Øresund identity is stronger than the national identity in Øresund. I am rather going to establish that the young people in Øresund are offering a shift in tendency towards the cross-border cooperation of Øresund and they are doing so by taking full advantage of the existing infrastructure, institutions and possibilities that are available to them. By examining the autonomous network of Øresund, I seek to establish its position in the territorial field of tension. The regionalization process of Øresund, as understood by this thesis, offers an insight into this particular situation (territorial field of tension) from both a bottom-up regionalization perspective and top-down Europeanization aspect.

Theoretical Framework

In this section I will investigate the theories territorial field of tension, Europeanization (top-down) and bottom-up regionalization. The Europeanization aspect is highly important to this thesis. In order to fully understand the process, it must be broken down into two segments - what is Europeanization and what is meant by the top-down aspect? A way to oversimplify the theories is to argue that through the young people of Øresund, by participating in daily commute and/or interactions with their neighbors in Øresund, are facilitating the idea of an Øresund identity through the process of bottom-up regionalization. The focus within the bottom-up aspect

⁷⁸ Øresundsbron Konsortiet. *10 Years: The Øresund Bridge and its Region*. Øresundsbron Konsortiet, 2010. P29.

will lie on the young citizens of Øresund and its regionalization process. Through the various processes and funds that the European Union establishes in its cross-border regions, the EU is facilitating the idea of an Øresund identity through the process of top-down Europeanization.

Organizing European Space:

The concept of the Territorial Field of Tension in Europe that Jönsson et al illustrates in *Organizing European Space*⁷⁹ argues that the nation-state is being challenged by new ways of organizing space. Within the territorial field of tension, there is a tension between globalization and regionalization which challenges the dominating way of organizing European space which is the nation-state. States provide the frame of reference for thinking, social life etc., which can be seen as the foundation of the individual's identity. However, the European Union is an example of supranational integration and another way of identification available to the citizens of Europe. Øresund is an example of an autonomous network that exists within the territorial field of tension. *Within the territorial field of tension, there also exists the territorial entity of a region which will be used to draw conclusions on the cross-border region as I see it. A region and an autonomous network share many similar features and therefore it is very difficult to separate them. The overarching term of regionalization can be attributed to both and therefore it complicates the explanation of it. However, within this thesis, I have chosen to label the cross-border region of Øresund as an autonomous network as per the authors descriptions of the different territorial entity, this is the one that I would argue fits it the best. With this being said, it is still important to note that many aspects of the regional territorial entity will be included when I establish the cross-border region of Øresund in the territorial field of tension.* The authors specifically mention that the sovereign state is still the most important territorial unit. This is something that I agree with. I do not aim to argue that the nation-state is withering away but I do believe, as the authors argue, that the sovereign state is caught within a sphere in which there exists a tension regarding “the foundations of political power, democracy and legitimate normative systems

⁷⁹ Jönsson, Christer., Tägil, Sven, and Thörnqvist., Gunnar. *Organizing European Space*. Sage Publications, 2003.

The state within the territorial field of tension:

As mentioned above, I do not believe that the nation-state is withering away and that it will be permanently replaced with other forms of organizing space within the foreseeable future. However, the sovereign states have several challenges that feed the pulling away from the nation-state by other forms of organizing space. Technological challenges – speed and mobility, the ability for citizens of one nation to contact another with technological means or the ability to travel anywhere with a fast-paced connects people in the world in a way that it has never done before. The ability to study/work in one country and live in another, which is the case for many citizens in the Øresund region, is done a grander scale than ever before. The demographic challenge shows the problems the nation-states have with a highly mobile and non-homogenous population. “Mobility contributes to the porousness and permeability of the state⁸⁰”. Because of the mobility of the people, be it for tourism or because of refuge, loyalty to a particular state is no longer something which can be taken for granted. There is also the challenge of ‘civil society’ where one identifies with a social movement be it environmental or feminist or cultural, all issues which transcend borders. The practice of defining a person’s identity based on something other than territorial or national terms “tends to erode the state’s monopoly on loyalty and identification⁸¹”. The nation-state faces many challenges and I aim to highlight and argue that the identification of the young people in Øresund is not as clear-cut as being strictly national.

The European Union within the territorial field of tension:

The European Union participates in the territorial field of tension by constructing and aiding regional growth in the Øresund region. An example of this is the Operational Programme 'Øresund - Kattegat - Skagerrak' funded by the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) to create a region which is competitive and attractive⁸². This is an example of how Europeanization from a top-down perspective functions. This will be further elaborated in the Europeanization

⁸⁰ Jönsson, Christer., Tägil, Sven, and Thörnqvist., Gunnar. *Organizing European Space*. Sage Publications, 2003. P89-90.

⁸¹ Ibid, P90.

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http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/country/prordn/details_new.cfm?gv_PAY=DK&gv_reg=ALL&gv_PGM=1279&LAN=7&gv_PER=2&gv_defL=21 Accessed on 2013-04-25

section. The dream of a united Europe can be traced back to various influential sources throughout history. They all had different means of uniting Europe, be it by force (Napoleon) or in the face of a common enemy (The Turks in the 16th century)⁸³. With the construction of the European Coal and Steel Community (1951), the Rome Treaty (1957) and later the Maastricht Treaty (1991), it can be said that the earlier wishes of a united Europe were being realized. Jönsson et al (2003) argues that the construction of the European Union shared many of the same elements that were highly important to the construction of sovereign states⁸⁴. The underlying argument to Jönsson's et al (2003) book is that there is tension between regionalizing and globalizing trends that force change and transformation⁸⁵. The terms of Eurocracy and regionalism are used to capture to different trends within the territorial field of tension: the ongoing process of a widening of the territorial sphere on a European level and strengthening of the regional level, respectively. However, they are not mutually exclusive. Jönsson et al (2003) argues that the "*trends interact and reinforce each other*".⁸⁶ The European Union challenges the nation-state in several ways, but what I argue for in this thesis is that the EU promotes, through top-down Europeanization, regional self-confidence and strengthening of regional cooperation which in turn leads to a more integrated Europe. This is why the term 'A Europe of Regions' is highly relevant here. Jönsson et al (2003) argues that the regional self-reliance has increased in many parts of Europe. Obviously, the independence and strength of these regions vary widely across Europe. There are several key institutions within the European Union that assist and govern the many regions across Europe, notably The Committee of Regions. It is worth to note, as Jönsson et al notes, that in the mid-1980s there was almost no regional offices in Brussels⁸⁷ and now there are 344⁸⁸ members in the Committee of Regions alone. It is a visible trend within the Union for regions to engage in the politics of Brussels through interest representation and lobbying, very much in a similar fashion to how states act.

⁸³ Jönsson, Christer., Tägil, Sven, and Thörnqvist., Gunnar. *Organizing European Space*. Sage Publications, 2003. P22.

⁸⁴ Ibid, P23.

⁸⁵ Ibid, P25.

⁸⁶ Ibid, P26.

⁸⁷ Ibid, p146.

⁸⁸ <http://cor.europa.eu/en/about/Pages/members.aspx> Accessed on 2013-04-26

The autonomous network of Øresund within the territorial field of tension:

It is interesting to note that the authors of *Organizing European Space* argue that many of Europe's old conflict zones have been transformed into cross-border regions where cooperation and development thrive⁸⁹. The proposal for development of cross-border regions usually stems from a mix of public and private local and regional actors. Other key actors include private companies, universities, political parties and cultural organizations.⁹⁰ The increase of cooperation within cross-border regions is the type of regionalization that transcends international borders and “nibbles at the sovereign state⁹¹”. The transfer of power within the regionalization takes place at a horizontal level. Foreign contacts and a partnership between the local and regional authorities at the regional level is necessary for the cross-border region to flourish.

Jönsson et al (2003) argues that there exists three forms of regionalization:

- Decentralization: Previous responsibilities that belonged to the state have been transferred to the regional level. This, Jönsson et al argues is a highly visible trend in the Union⁹².
- Cultural expressions and identities with deep roots in history: this can be summarized as separatism and is often found in regions such as Catalonia.
- Region-building: This is when local and regional forces cooperate to either create a region or strengthen a weak one. Much like the case of Øresund, where both the European Union, through top-down Europeanization, and the local forces (Øresund Committee) try to strengthen the Øresund region.

The authors describe three types of networks, and they all fit in with Øresund. The first describes Øresund as a “physical network (which) is composed of constructions, lines and channels for the transportation of goods, people and information”. The prime example here is of course the Øresund Bridge. According to the numbers of year 2011, 19,146 vehicles passed across the

⁸⁹ Jönsson, Christer., Tägil, Sven, and Thörnqvist., Gunnar. *Organizing European Space*. Sage Publications, 2003. P147.

⁹⁰ Ibid, p149.

⁹¹ Ibid, p147

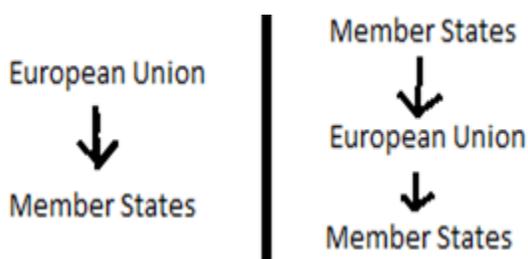
⁹²Ibid. P146.

bridge every day⁹³. During the same year, an estimated 59,500 passenger trains passed over the bridge⁹⁴. Secondly, institutional networks, “bind together the different sites and entities of economic and political life – those that produce goods, those that administer and those that offer services.” The prime example here is the Øresund Committee which consists of local politicians from the municipalities that make up Øresund⁹⁵. Lastly, social and cultural networks, which “unite individuals and therefore also fields of knowledge and social environments. They convey ideas and impulses. Kinship or other form of social relationship may serve as the tie that binds.”⁹⁶ This illustrates the social and cultural efforts that organizations and the people create to bind the people of Øresund together. A prime example is Øresund University Network which consisted of universities from the Øresund region which cooperated in unique projects to bring the region closer⁹⁷.

Europeanization

What is then Europeanization? I would argue that Europeanization is a theory which is not easily defined. Traditionally, the Europeanization process can be understood as a process of downloading EU institutional structures, regulations and directives to the domestic level⁹⁸. This is of course the top-down process. I find it necessary to provide an explanation of the difference between the top-down and bottom-up aspect of Europeanization. The top-down aspect offers the

Figure 5



visual understanding that

Europeanization is a one-way direction of influence of policies but the bottom-up aspect shows that it is not as easy as that. With the bottom-up aspect, a

⁹³ <http://www.orestat.se/sv/analys/trafiken-over-oresund> Accessed on 2013-04-25

⁹⁴ <http://www.orestat.se/sv/analys/trafiken-over-oresund>, Accessed on 2013-04-25

⁹⁵ <http://www.oresundskomiteen.org/en/about-us/> Accessed on 2013-04-25

⁹⁶ Jönsson, Christer, Tägil, Sven, and Thörnqvist, Gunnar. *Organizing European Space*. Sage Publications, 2003. P23-24.

⁹⁷ <http://www.uni.oresund.org/?q=content/about-oresund-university-network> Accessed on 2013-04-25

Howell, Kerry. “Developing Conceptualizations of Europeanization and European Integration: Mixing Methodologies” - *ESRC Seminar Series / UACES Study Group on the Europeanization of British Politics* Last accessed on May 13, 2013. <http://aei.pitt.edu/1720/1/Howell.pdf> P2.

member state's policies might influence a policy change within the European Union which then influences the rest of the member states to adopt these policies. Figure 6⁹⁹ illustrates this process of downloading. It is the top-down aspect of downloading that is necessary to understand the theoretical framework of this thesis. . It is the aim of this thesis to present and show different examples of Europeanization from a top-down process to conclude how the European Union is working towards the direction of promoting and encouraging an Øresund identity. By doing this, as was stated earlier, the Union participates in the territorial field of tension and thusly creates a tension where the citizens have more than the traditional, which is the nation-state, source of identity-forming.

In this thesis the challenge will be to develop a theoretical framework which explains Europeanization in the context of the European Union influencing its smaller regions to implement the EU's regulations, rules and policies and simultaneously bypassing the nation-state. It is within this context that I aim to describe the top-down Europeanization aspect with regards to the territorial field of tension. By this I mean the bypassing of the national entity and implementing of regulations, rules and policies directly on the regional level by regional actors. By bypassing the national level, the European Union influences the smaller regions, such as Øresund, in a way that challenges the monopoly of power that the nations have seemingly had over its territories for several years. It does so by offering the cross-border region of Øresund several regulations, funds and incentives to work directly together with the European Union without the middle-man (which, in this case, is the nation-state). Many different authors describe Europeanization in a variety of ways that are highly interesting. Lawton¹⁰⁰ (1999) argues that Europeanization concerns the transferal of sovereignty with regards to law to the European Union. In essence, he is saying that Europeanization is a supranational aspect which has no room for intergovernmental affairs¹⁰¹. Ladrech (1994) emphasizes Europeanization as being an incremental process which shapes the direction and form of politics in such a heavy manor that it

⁹⁹ Figure designed by the author of this thesis. Inspiration drawn from Howell, Kerry. "Developing Conceptualizations of Europeanization and European Integration: Mixing Methodologies" - *ESRC Seminar Series / UACES Study Group on the Europeanization of British Politics* Last accessed on May 13, 2013. <http://aei.pitt.edu/1720/1/Howell.pdf>. P10. Kerry mentions the process of 'downloading' and 'uploading' of policies to and from the European Union.

¹⁰⁰ Lawton, Thomas. 'Governing the Skies: Conditions for the Europeanization of Airline Policy', *Journal of Public Policy* 19(1) (1999):91–112.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*, p91–112.

directly becomes a part of the organization logic of national politics and policy-making¹⁰². I find Ladrech's interpretation interesting because it focuses on the adaption of EU's logic into national logic. Börzel¹⁰³ (1999) instead argues that the interesting aspect is what happens after the power has been transferred to Brussels. She understands Europeanization as a process where European policy-making heavily influences domestic policy areas¹⁰⁴. Börzel's interpretation is closely linked to what I understand as the process of Europeanization; ergo the process in which EU influences the nation-states, or indeed, the regional level. Again, it is important here to stress that the European Union partakes in the territorial field of tension by using its policy-making to heavily influence the level below the nation-states, e.g. Øresund, by bypassing the nation-state. Risse¹⁰⁵ et al (2001) argue that they define "Europeanization as the emergence and development at the European level of distinct structures of governance, that is, of political, legal, and social institutions associated with political problem-solving that formalize interactions among the actors, and of policy networks specializing in the creation of authoritative European rules."¹⁰⁶ What I find interesting about Risse's description is the focus on networks. A specific way to govern the European Union could be through the use of political networks across Europe, which ties into the notion of 'A Europe of regions'.

Radaelli¹⁰⁷ et al (2003) argues that the concept of Europeanization refers to three separate processes: (i) construction, (ii) diffusion and (iii) institutionalization. These processes shape informal and formal rules, procedures, styles, shared beliefs etc. which are first constructed within EU public policy making and then incorporated into the domestic sphere¹⁰⁸. The problem with this definition is that it ignores the fact that processes of identity formation and policy-making can take place without the European Union. Risse also mentions the open method of

¹⁰² Ladrech, Robert. "Europeanisation of Domestic Politics and Institutions: The Case of France." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 32(1) 1994): 69–88.

¹⁰³ Börzel, Tanja. "Towards Convergence in Europe? Institutional Adaptation to Europeanisation in Germany and Spain." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 39(4) (1999): 573–96.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, p574.

¹⁰⁵ Cowels Maria G., Caporaso, James, and Risse. Thomas. *Transforming Europe: Europeanization and Domestic Change*. Cornell University Press, 2001.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, p3.

¹⁰⁷ Featherstone, Kevin., and Radaelli, Claudio M. *The Politics of Europeanization*. Oxford University Press, 2003.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, p30.

coordination (OMC, see de la Porte and Pochet 2002¹⁰⁹). The OMC is a system which aims to spread the best way to achieve the EU goals throughout the different levels of governance within the European Union. Thusly, Risse argues, the OMC assists member states with developing their own policies. The OMC argues for a sharing of best practice, qualitative and quantitative indications, evaluation etc. towards the national or the regional level¹¹⁰. In essence, the OMC argues for that it is up to the national or regional level to implement the changes, regulations and policies of the European Union. This is an interesting aspect of Europeanization which allows for a cross-border region, for example Øresund, to implement the changes and directives of the European Union and essentially bypass the national level. This, obviously, ties into the aspect of top-down Europeanization with the European Union bypassing the national level and focusing on the regional level to implement the actions and regulations that directly affects them.

Europeanization from a top-down process is a tool used to understand the process of European integration and how it affects the domestic policies, politics, and institutions etc. of the different member states^{111, 112}. However, Risse argues that “there are no formal or informal norms requiring European Union citizens to transfer their loyalties to the EU instead of or in conjunction with the nation-state¹¹³”. This thesis argues that through the process of Europeanization, *concerning* formal structures, such as regulations concerning cross-border regions, there has been a situation where, not transferring loyalties as Risse mentions, but a reminder for the citizens of their belonging, be it to a cross-border region like Øresund or the supranational level of the European Union. Through these processes, put in place by the Union, they challenge the superiority and monopoly of identity that the nation-state seemingly has had for the majority of time on its citizens. It is these processes that are of importance and interest to this specific study.

¹⁰⁹ de la Porte, Caroline., and Pochet, Philippe. *Building Social Europe through the Open Method of Coordination*. Brussels: Peter Lang, 2002

¹¹⁰ Featherstone, Kevin., and Radaelli, Claudio M. *The Politics of Europeanization*. Oxford University Press, 2003. P43.

¹¹¹ Featherstone, Kevin., and Radaelli, Claudio M. *The Politics of Europeanization*. Oxford University Press, 2003. P57

¹¹² Cini, Michelle, and Nieves Pérez-Solórzano, Borragán. *European Union Politics*. Oxford University Press, 2010. P406.

¹¹³ Cowels Maria G., Caporaso, James, and Risse. Thomas. *Transforming Europe: Europeanization and Domestic Change*. Cornell University Press, 2001. P200.

Regionalization of Øresund: Bottom-up regionalization through the young people

In this section I seek to argue for what I mean by bottom-up regionalization of Øresund and why it matters to investigate how the young people of Øresund interact with each other. Jönsson et al (2003) argues that the development of a cross-border region is dependent on a mix of private and public local and regional actors, which include but are not limited to; companies, universities, political parties and cultural organizations¹¹⁴. If we closely examine the three types of regionalization that Jönsson et al argues: Decentralization, cultural expressions and identities, and region-building, we can conclude that Øresund has a mix of all three. Through top-down regionalization (the nation-states) and foreign influence (European Union), previous responsibilities of that belonged to the states have been transferred to the Øresund level, with specific focus on Öresundskomiteen. The aim of the Committee as stated on their website is :” to boost integration between the region’s citizens, where culture and work life are seen as two important levers for action¹¹⁵”. The cultural expressions and identities may at first glance not seem applicable to the Øresund region as it is normally used to explain a region with separatist tendencies such as Catalonia. However, the cultural expressions and identities have a deep root in history; and the history of Øresund is an intricate subject where Skåne, the main regional actor on the Swedish side, used to belong to the Danish nation-state. In regards to region-building, local and regional forces, such as Øresund Committee, cooperate to strengthen Øresund. Through these three forms of regionalization as described by Jönsson et al (2003), the regionalization process of Øresund gains credible ground.

Other scholars, such as Hall (2004) and Bucken-Knapp (2006) argue that Øresund as a region is a failed project because the citizens of the region are not essentially interested in the regionalization process. I disagree because I argue that the quantitative studies of Hall and Bucken-Knapp target the wrong demographic. As mentioned, my quantitative research targets the young people of Øresund because as Fligstein’s results show; young people are more positive towards the EU, more

¹¹⁴ Jönsson, Christer,. Tägil, Sven, and Thörnqvist., Gunnar. *Organizing European Space*. Sage Publications, 2003. P149.

¹¹⁵ <http://www.oresundskomiteen.org/en/about-us/> Accessed on 2013-05-01

likely to travel and more likely to be educated¹¹⁶. Keating¹¹⁷ (1995) argues that regionalization and European integration both challenges the nation-state in Western Europe. These two simultaneous processes reduces the influence of nation-state in the political sphere and transfer the power upwards, as a matter of European integration, or downward, as a matter of regionalization. It is here my argument that the process of European integration by transferring powers upwards allows for the European Union to influence the cross-border region of Øresund directly and bypass the nation-state whilst the regionalization process strengthens the sub-national level. As with Europeanization, there also exists two processes of regionalization: the top-down aspect in which the nation-states transfers power by creating regional administrative structures to implement policies. The aspect of bottom-up regionalization, which is highly relevant to this thesis, handles the creation of regional political institutions that are adequately able to implement policies. It is here, that I would argue that the young people of Øresund are the benefactors of bottom-up regionalization. Anssi Paasi (2002) illustrates how identity discourse in relation to regions and how the citizens move within the region is key. He came to conclusion an identity if able to form without being territorially bound and because of this, people normally position themselves on many different levels of identification¹¹⁸. While this is true for Øresund, Raagma (2002) explains this further and investigates the importance of symbols in the context of regionalization. Language, landmarks and infrastructure are all key to Raagma's assessment of the symbolic shape of Øresund. Despite the differences in the languages, it is still of high probability that speakers of the languages will understand each other¹¹⁹. The Øresund Bridge is, in my view, the most obvious symbol for the Øresund region. Professor of Ethnology at the University of Lund Orvar Löfgren argues this same point in Øresundsbron Konsortiet report on the region titled *10 Years: The Øresund Bridge and its Region*, and says that the newer generation of people in Øresund have grown up with the bridge as something always existent¹²⁰.

¹¹⁶ Fligstein, Neil. *Euroclash: The EU, European Identity, and the Future of Europe*. Oxford, Eng: Oxford University Press, 2009. P157.

¹¹⁷ Keating, Michael. "Europeanism and Regionalism" In *The European Union and the Regions* edited by Barry Jones, and Michael Keating, 1-22. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.

¹¹⁸ Paasi, Anssi. "Bounded Spaces in the Mobile World: Deconstructing 'Regional Identity.'" *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Socialie Geografie* Vol. 93, No. 2 (2002): 137-148. P139.

¹¹⁹ <http://www.norden.org/en/the-nordic-region/language> Accessed on 2012-04-23: 15.11

¹²⁰ Øresundsbron Konsortiet. *10 Years: The Øresund Bridge and its Region*. Øresundsbron Konsortiet, 2010.

Hospers (2006) argues that the Øresund region is still an imagined space which has been constructed by the policy-makers and that the citizens of Øresund do not have a shared identity¹²¹. It is here that my aspect of bottom-up regionalization is important. I interpret bottom-up regionalization as starting from the citizens of the region, and their interest in the region. In this study, I focused on the young people of Øresund because I would argue, as would Fligstein, that the young people are more susceptible to having more than one identity and are more likely to be mobile and associating with citizens of both sides of Øresund¹²². It is the aim through my understanding of bottom-up regionalization through the young citizens of Øresund to offer a different perspective on the regionalization of Øresund. My argument is that the young people of Øresund are offering a shift in tendency towards Øresund and are doing so by taking advantage of the infrastructure (Øresund Bridge) and possibilities that are available to them. Through the use of a questionnaire, with 314 replies from Danes and Swedes, which was distributed to the young people of Øresund (Under 30), I am aim to illustrate, through my empirical data, that they identify with Øresund and are mobile and interact with each other in a way that exemplifies the way I understand bottom-up regionalization through the people. Through the use of semi-structured interviews, I am to gain a deeper understanding of the young people that commute daily across Øresund and give them a chance to offer their view on Øresund and see how they interact on a deeper level. These results will obviously be used to showcase how the young people of Øresund account for the bottom-up regionalization process of the region of Øresund through interactions across the borders and partaking in cultural events on both sides of the Bridge. In essence, my argument is that without the people's support for regionalization and identity formation, the region will not survive in the context of identity and as a political entity. This is why I aim to show that the Øresund Region does indeed have support from the young people in Øresund, who are offering a shift in tendency towards Øresund.

I do however acknowledge that a cross-border identity faces many problems which are similar to the problems that European identity-formation faces. Patrik Hall argues this same point and says

¹²¹ Bucken-Knapp, Gregg. "Testing our Borders: Questions of national and regional identity in the Øresund Region." *Journal of Baltic Studies* 33:2 (2002): 199-219. For empirical findings on the interest of Danes and Swedes in each other's news.

¹²² Fligstein, Neil. *Euroclash: The EU, European Identity, and the Future of Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. P139.

the main issues are democratic deliberation, legitimacy and accountability¹²³. It is because of this that I would argue that the European Union is interested in implementing rules, regulations, funds etc. into a cross-border region directly through top-down Europeanization. It is also because of this that I find it crucial to focus on the citizens of Øresund, specifically the young citizens. It is my opinion that a cross-border region or supranational project can not survive without support from the people. I would argue that the problems that Hall raises have a better chance of being solved if there is support from the people for a further integration of the region of Øresund.

Results

In this section I will present the results from the questionnaire, the interviews and present what projects are funded by place by the European Union to further increase the integration of the Øresund region.

Results from Øresund: Young, mobile and vibrant:

The results from the questionnaire will be presented to see if there is a huge difference between the answers of the young Danish and young Swedish test subjects, taking into account gender and current occupation.

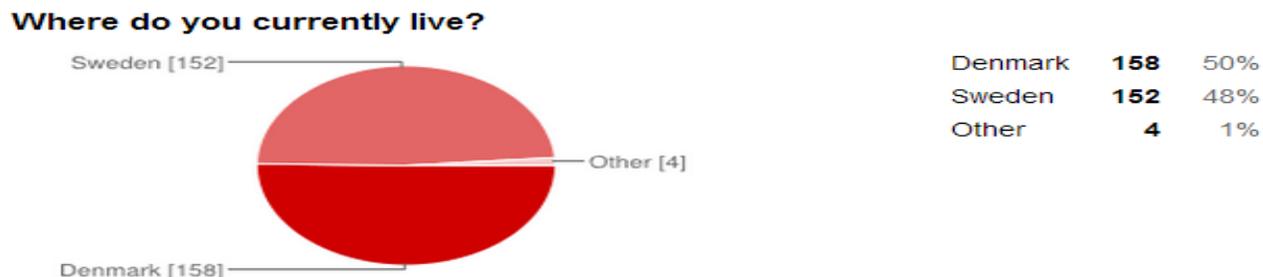


Figure 6

Figure 6 illustrates where the test subjects currently live.

¹²³ Hall, Patrik. "Opportunities for Democracy in Cross-border Regions? Lessons from the Øresund Region."

Regional Studies Vol. 42.3 (2008): 423-435. P423.

How old are you?

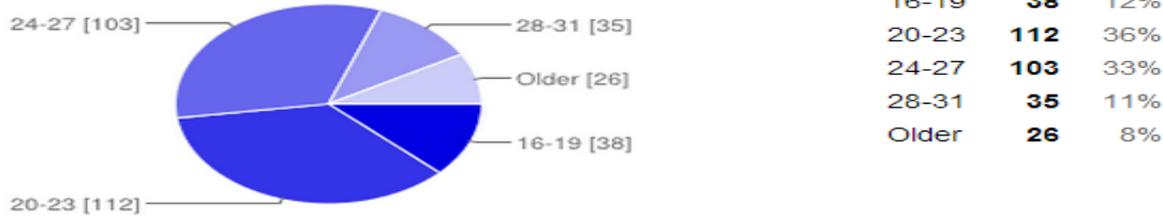


Figure 7

Figure 7 illustrates the age of the test subjects.

In the figures 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 the blue color illustrates Swedish replies and the red color illustrates Danish replies.

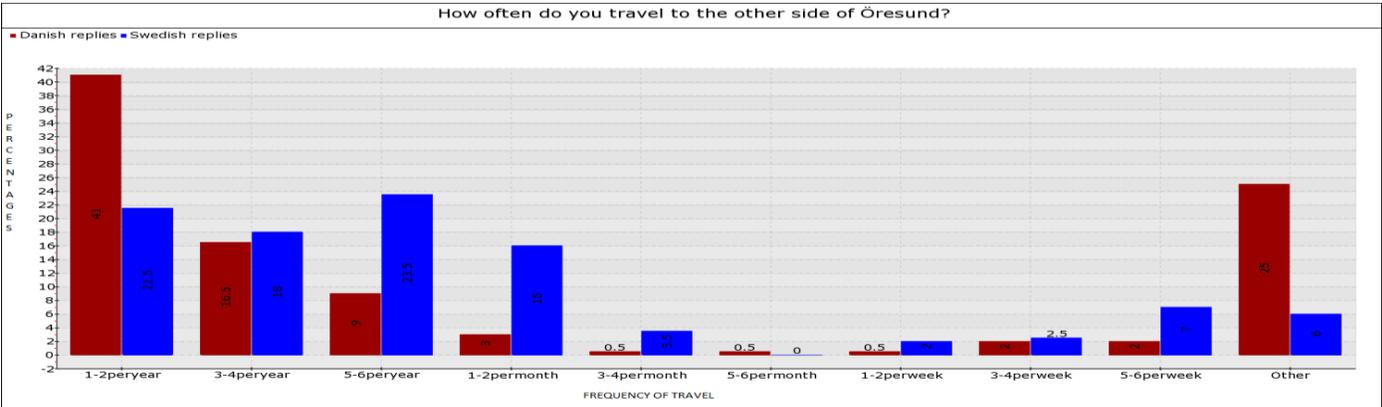


Figure 8

Figure 8 illustrates the Danish and Swedish replies to how often they travel to the other side of Øresund.

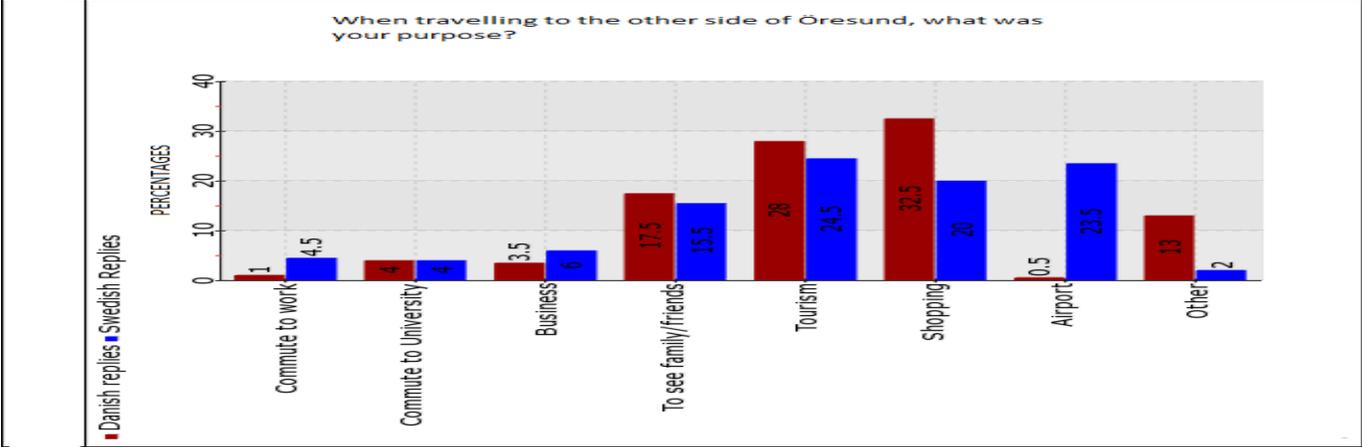


Figure 9

Figure 9 illustrates the Danish and Swedish replies to the purpose the citizens of Øresund had when they travelled to the other side.

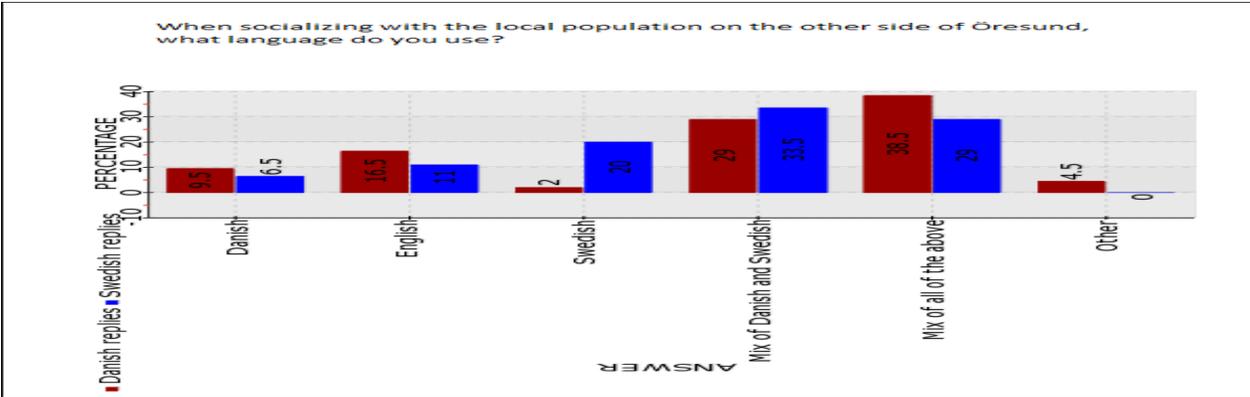


Figure 10

Figure 10 illustrates the Danish and Swedish replies what language the young citizens of Øresund use when they socialize with each other.

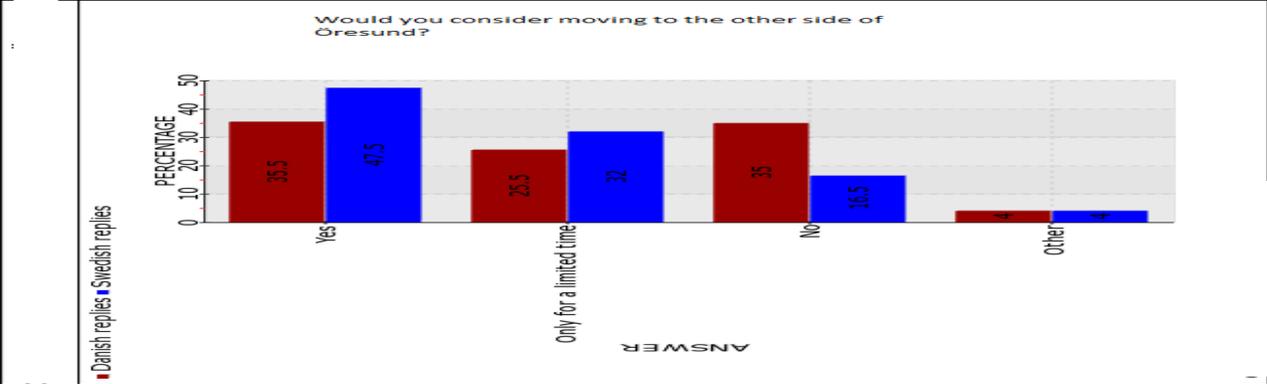


Figure 11

Figure 11 illustrates the Danish and Swedish replies regarding the willingness to move to the other side of Øresund.

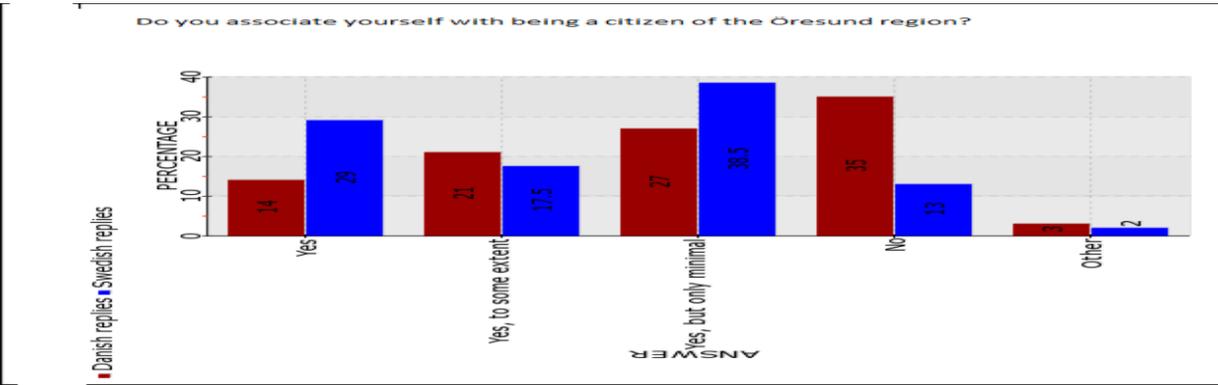


Figure 12

Figure 12 illustrates the Danish and Swedish replies regarding their association with them being a citizen of the Øresund region.

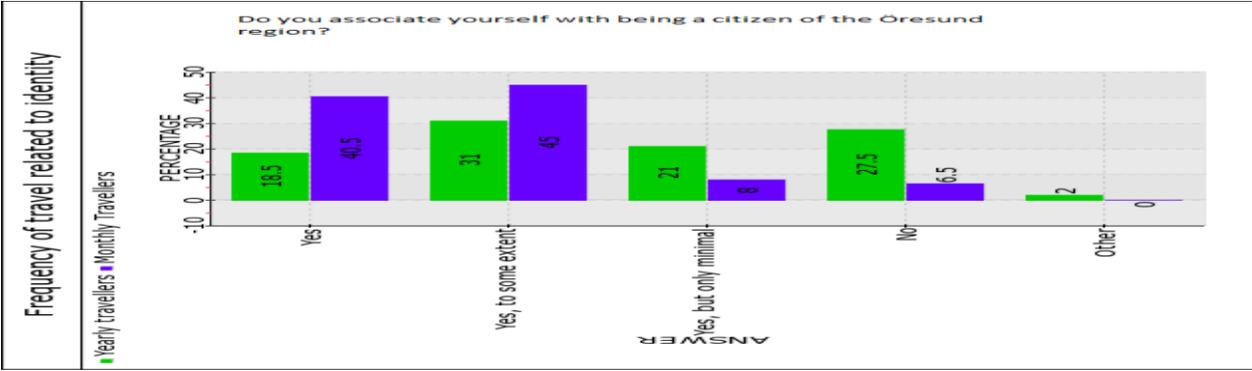


Figure 13

Figure 13 illustrates the correlation between how frequently you travel and if that affects your belongingness to Øresund. Green answers illustrates the people that travel at least once a year, but a maximum of six times. Blue answers illustrates the people that travel more frequently than six times per year.

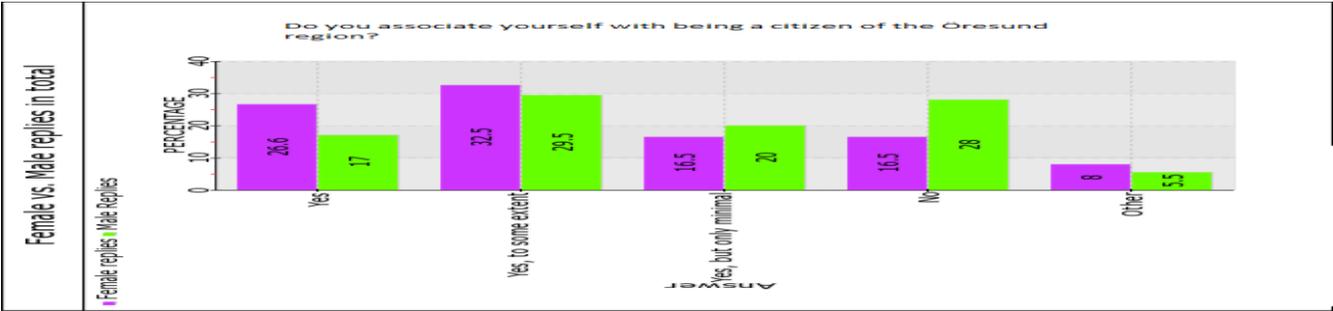


Figure 14

Figure 14 illustrates the correlation between gender and if the affects your belongingness to Øresund. Purple answers illustrate females and green answers illustrate males.

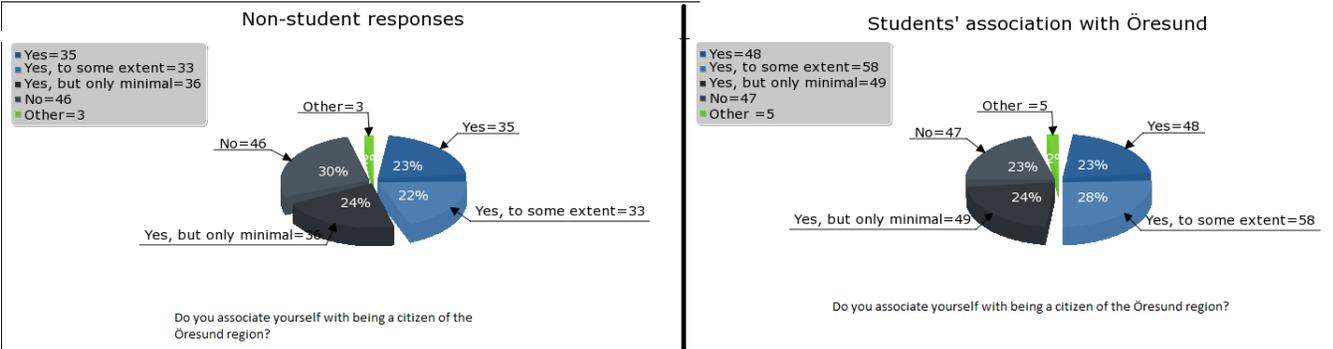


Figure 15

Figure 15 illustrates the correlation between being a student and non-student in regards to their belongingness to Øresund. The left pie chart in Figure 15 illustrates non-student responses and the right pie chart illustrates student responses.

Interview Results

The interviews were conducted face-to-face with six students that commute regularly across Øresund. I choose to interview three Danes studying in Sweden and three Swedes studying in Denmark in order to gain a deeper understanding of the young citizens of Øresund and what they think about the region. The interview template that was used in all of the interviews can be viewed in Appendix 1. All the answers, names and important information can also be viewed in Appendix 1: the interviews numbered 1 through 6. I asked the interviewees 11 questions which handles the frequency of which they travel across Øresund, thoughts and feelings towards the region as a whole and its identity. I will proceed by listing the common responses to the questions: (though omitting question 1, and the first two parts of question 2 as it was used only to get the crucial information regarding the test subjects.)

Interview Template – Presentation of responses [The answers listed here are general trends – full analysis will be presented in the analysis section. For full responses, see Appendix 1] from Interviewees:

2. Where do you live and where do you study? What do you study? Are there any other Danes/Swedes in your class?

Swedish replies: The Swedish students said that there were other Swedish students in their class, ranging from 2-3 to around 20% of the students.

Danish replies: The Danish students' answers ranged from none to seven other Danish students in their respective class.

3. How often do you commute to class?

Swedish replies: Depending on course work, 3 to 5 times a week.

Danish Replies: 2-3 times a week.

4. When interacting with your Danish/Swedish classmates, what language do you use the most?

Swedish replies: Danish or a mix of Danish, English and Swedish.

Danish replies: Danish or English.

5. When you are at the university, how much do you interact with the local population?

Swedish replies: The three test subjects socialize with their Danish counterparts after school and almost always in Copenhagen.

Danish replies: The Danish students mostly go to class and then back to Copenhagen.

6. What made you choose to study on the other side of Øresund?

Swedish replies: All the three test subjects mentioned the fact that it was easier to get into their respective programmes than in Sweden.

Danish Replies: All the three test subjects mentioned that it was either easier to get into their respective programmes or that it was not available.

7. Do you think that you have become more aware of your identity as a citizen of Øresund since starting to study? How, what experiences, any stories?

Swedish replies: All the subjects mentioned that similarities between Danish and Swedish culture made them reflect upon their belonging to Øresund.

Danish replies: All three gave different replies ranging from not considering themselves a citizen, to reflecting on it on the train and reflecting upon the similarities.

8. Why do you think there are not more people that study away from the side they live on of Øresund?

Swedish replies: Lack of information and misinformation regarding commute

Danish replies: Lack of information and misinformation regarding commute

9. After your studies, would you consider staying in Denmark/Sweden to pursue a career? If so, why?

Swedish replies: All three test subjects said “yes”.

Danish replies: All three test subjects said no or only if a good enough opportunity was presented.

10. What have you learned through commuting daily across the pond that you think you would not have if you decided to stay in Copenhagen/Malmö?

Swedish replies: The many similarities between Danish and Swedish culture and improved language skills.

Danish replies: The many similarities between Danish and Swedish culture and improved language skills

11. What kind of challenges do you think Øresund faces today as a cross-border region?

Swedish replies: Cheaper train tickets, more cultural projects that transcend the borders and more cooperation between universities.

Danish replies: Cheaper train tickets, more cultural projects that transcend the borders and more cooperation between universities.

European Union funded projects in the Øresund region:

The Operational Programme 'Øresund - Kattegat - Skagerrak' is an Interreg IV A programme which focuses on strengthening cross-border cooperation in the southwestern part of Scandinavia. The programme is financed through the European Regional Development Fund and its Norwegian equivalent.¹²⁴ What I will present here is strictly the part of the programme that handles Øresund.

The aim of the programme:

- “Increase sustainable economic growth and contribute to the EU’s regional development objectives;
- Develop a physically and organizationally homogeneous region by stimulating cooperation and common use of resources; and
- Increase integration by improving the mobility of people and businesses.¹²⁵”

The administrative set-up for the programme is composed of The Joint Monitoring Programme which works to effectively implement the programme at a high quality level. The Joint Steering Committee for Øresund approves or rejects project applications for the region and they report to the Joint Monitoring Committee. The Joint Steering Committee for Øresund is composed of local politicians from Skåne and Sjöland, members of the local media and university representatives. The Managing Authority has an overall responsibility for the implementation of the programme

¹²⁴ <http://www.interreg-oks.eu/en/Menu/About+the+programme> accessed on 2013-05-04

¹²⁵ Ibid, accessed on 2013-05-04

and management. The Joint Technical Secretariat is responsible for contact with potential applications and gives recommendations to the Steering Committee. The Certifying Authority is responsible for the financial aspect of the Programme.¹²⁶¹²⁷

The three projects that will be presented here are:

- An Exemplary Knowledge Region^{128, 129} - 1st January 2011 – 31st December 2013
- Culture Driven innovation for the Øresund Region¹³⁰ [Completed] – 1st August 2009 – 31st October 2011
- Øresund Event Center^{131, 132} - 1st of February 2012 – 31st of December 2013.

The actors of each project, the budget and EU grant and aim of the projects will be outlined here to present an overall summary of the three projects.

An Exemplary Knowledge Region:

The lead partner in *An Exemplary Knowledge Region* is Roskilde University. Malmö Högskola is also a partner in the project. The project duration is 1 January 2011 to 31 December 2013. The total budget for the project is €1 006 200 with the EU grant being €503 100. The project puts an emphasis on two specific aspects, “the inner life and integration of the region” and “the Oresund region’s international competitiveness and global positioning”. The aim of the project is to develop three knowledge fields which will increase the overall mobility in the region and promote everyday integration. The three knowledge fields are “Communication and Development for Social Change”, “Europeanization and Globalization” and “Meaning and Diversity”. The project hopes to

¹²⁶ <http://www.interreg-oks.eu/en/Menu/About+the+programme/Programme+Organisation> accessed on 2013-05-04

¹²⁷ <http://www.interreg-oks.eu/en/Menu/About+the+programme/Programme+Organisation/Members+of+Monitoring+Committee/Members+of+the+Monitoring+Committee> accessed on 2013-05-04

¹²⁸ <http://www.interreg-oks.eu/en/Menu/Projects/Project+List+%C3%96resund/An+Exemplary+Knowledge+Region> accessed on 2013-05-04

¹²⁹ <http://www.ruc.dk/samarbejde/internationalt-samarbejde/malmoe-university> accessed on 2013-05-04

¹³⁰ <http://www.interreg-oks.eu/en/Menu/Projects/Project+List+%C3%96resund/Culture+driven+innovation+for+the+%C3%96resund+Region> accessed on 2013-05-04

¹³¹ <http://www.interreg-oks.eu/en/Menu/Projects/Project+List+%C3%96resund/%C3%96resund+Event+Center> accessed on 2013-05-04

¹³² <http://oresundeventcenter.dk/node/260> accessed on 2013-05-04

strengthen research, development and education which is seen as too weak in the Øresund region.¹³³

Culture Driven innovation for the Øresund Region:

The lead partner in *Culture Driven innovation for the Øresund Region* was the Saxo Institute of Copenhagen University partnered with Lund University. The project's duration was from 1 August 2009 to 31 October 2011. The total budget for the programme was €423 376 with the EU grant being €211 688. The aim of the project was to increase student mobility across the region and increase dialogues in the private and public sector. The project developed cooperative projects by both Danish and Swedish actors in 'Urban planning', 'Tourism and "green living"', 'Health and lifestyle' and 'User-driven Innovation' by using applied cultural analysis.¹³⁴

Øresund Event Center:

The lead partner for the *Øresund Event Center* is Wonderful Copenhagen¹³⁵ which is a culture organization that aims to make Copenhagen a world cultural center. Additional partners are the local municipalities of Skåne, specifically Malmö, Kristianstad, Lund and Helsingborg, and Själland, specifically Köge, Helsingör, FrederrikSund, Ballerup and Copenhagen, as well as Roskilde University. The project duration is from 1 February 2012 to 31 December 2014. The project's total budget is €1 692 002 with the EU grant being €845 499. The aim of the project is create a cross-country and regional centre which focuses on sustainable growth through events in Øresund. By promoting 'Skill enhancement', 'Event development' and 'Knowledge sharing', the project hopes to connect the main players in the regional event industry into one giant network which will make the region more competitive and attractive to international events, talents and tourists.^{136 137}

¹³³ <http://www.interreg-oks.eu/en/Menu/Projects/Project+List+%C3%96resund/An+Exemplary+Knowledge+Region> accessed on 2013-05-04

¹³⁴ <http://www.interreg-oks.eu/en/Menu/Projects/Project+List+%C3%96resund/Culture+driven+innovation+for+the+%C3%96resund+Region> accessed on 2013-05-10

¹³⁵ <http://www.wonderfulcopenhagen.dk/om-os/vision-og-mission/vision> accessed on 2013-05-10

¹³⁶ <http://www.interreg-oks.eu/en/Menu/Projects/Project+List+%C3%96resund/%C3%96resund+Event+Center> accessed on 2013-05-10

¹³⁷ <http://oresundeventcenter.dk/node/260> accessed on 2013-05-10

Analysis

In this section I will offer a comparison of the answers by my test subjects and Öresundskomiteen's test subject in their Cultural Investigation from 2012 which targets the overall public, aged 15-64, see if there is any significant difference in their replies in order to establish if the young people of Øresund offer a shift in tendency towards the Øresund region. The chosen research objectives could have been improved by asking more questions of the young people of Øresund and reformulating some of the question in addition to adding more answers to the question to gain an even deeper understanding of the young people of Øresund. Furthermore, the chosen methodology of questionnaires and semi-structured interviews allowed for me to gather the specific material which I deemed relevant to the study and why it would be interesting to know this. When conducting a case study or a qualitative analysis, it was important to remember that objectivity is something which must be taken into account. The chosen methodology worked very well with achieving the research objectives that I had set out. An issue that I had was mainly with the semi-structured interviews and the reluctance of the interviewees to give longer, more analytical answers. The responsibility of this ultimately falls on the researcher when conducting interviews.

Questionnaire analysis – comparing results with Öresundskomiteen Culture Investigation 2012:

If we examine figure 8, we can see the replies by the Danish and Swedish test subjects in regards to how often they travel across Øresund. It is clear that the Danish test subjects travel overall less frequently than their Swedish counterparts. It is easiest if we break down the travel routine into three categories: yearly travelers (1-6 times per year), monthly travelers (1-6 times per month) and weekly travelers (1-6 times per week). If we add up the yearly travelers, roughly, 66.5 percent of the Danish test subjects are travel yearly whilst roughly 63 percent of the Swedish test subjects are yearly travelers. If we add up the monthly travelers, 4 percent of Danes travel monthly and 19.5 percent of Swedes travel monthly. If we add up the weekly travelers, 4.5 percent of Danes travel weekly and 11.5 percent of Swedes travel weekly. 25 percent of all the Danes registered the response “Other” to this question whilst 6 percent of all the Swedes answered the same. If we look at appendix 3, one can see that the majority of the Danes that selected “Other” wrote in the comment box that they travel less frequently than 1-2 times per year or never. The same can be said of the Swedes. If we compare the results of figure 8 to the results of Figure 1, where

Öresundskomiteen asked their test subjects how often they travel one can see a trend that the young people of Øresund travel more frequently to the other side of Øresund than the general public. It is interesting to note that 60 percent of all Danes said that they had not visited Skåne in the past 12 months when the counterpart in my investigation, which was “Other” showed that only 25 percent. The most striking difference here is that 75 percent of all young Danish citizens travel to Skåne at least once per year in comparison to only 40 percent of the overall public. Around 45 percent of all Swedish test subjects said they had not visited Själland at all in the past 12 months. Only 6 percent of the Swedish test subjects in my study chose the option “Other” and the majority gave stated that they never travel to Denmark in the comment box. This means that at least 94 percent of all young Swedes travel to Denmark once or more per year whilst only 55 percent of the general public does the same.

In regards to figure 9 which asked the young people of Øresund what purpose they had when they travelled to the other side of Øresund, the answers were very similar amongst the Danes and the Swedes. Around 5 percent of all Danes and 8.5 percent of all Swedes stated that they travel to the other side of Øresund to get to work or university. In comparison to the results by Öresundskomiteen, analyzing figure 2, we can see that in regards to the general public, around 6 percent of all Danes travel to Sweden because of work whilst roughly 19 percent of all Swedes travel to Denmark because of work. The interesting aspect regarding the answers in my study and Öresundskomiteen’s study regarding the reasons for traveling is that they are not that different. The main difference between my study and Öresundskomiteen’s investigation is regarding Swedish people’s main reasons for travelling to Denmark. The main Danish reason given in both my and Öresundskomiteen’s study is shopping purposes, 32.5 percent and 37 percent, respectively. The main reason for young Swedish people for traveling to Denmark according to my study is tourism. The main reason given by Swedish people in Öresundskomiteen’s investigation reveals shopping reasons.

In regards to figure 10 which asked the young people of Øresund what language they use when they socialize with each other, the majority of Danish replies stated that they use a mix of Danish, English and Swedish whilst the majority of the Swedish replies stated that they use a mix of Danish and Swedish. One can see that it is more likely that young Swedish people will speak Swedish to

their Danish counterparts than it is likely that young Danish people will speak Danish to their Swedish counterparts. If we look at figure 3, from Öresundskomiteen's investigation, they asked their test subjects how well they understand Swedish/Danish. Approximately 85 percent of all the Swedes said they understand Danish to some extent or higher. The same number for the Danes was 80 percent. These results were more difficult to compare because my question is based upon interactions whilst Öresundskomiteen's is based upon language proficiency. Nevertheless, the fact that around 75 percent of all Danish use some form of mixed language shows a small degree of language proficiency. The same number for Swedish people is around 70 percent.

Figure 11 illustrates the answers from my study regarding how keen the young people of Øresund are regarding moving to the other side. Around 61 percent of all Danish people said that they would consider moving if only permanently. The same number for the Swedish people was around 80 percent. Only 35 percent of all Danes completely ruled out moving to Sweden with the same number being 16.5 percent for Swedes moving to Denmark, according to my study. In comparison to the study by Öresundskomiteen, illustrated in figure 4, where they asked their test subjects how likely it was that they would move to Skåne/Själland, around 72 percent of all Danes said it was unlikely or highly unlikely that they would move to Skåne. The same number for the Swedish test subjects was approximately 65 percent. Examining the two cases, it is very evident that the young people of Øresund are far more willing to move to the other side of Øresund than the general public.'

Figure 12 illustrates the replies of whether or not the young people of Øresund associate with being a citizen of the Øresund region. 35 percent of all young Danish people said 'No' with equivalent number for the Swedish replies being 13 percent. Overall, if you add up the three responses 'Yes', 'Yes, to some extent', and 'Yes, but only minimal', around 62 percent of the Danish test subjects at least minimally associates themselves with being a citizen of the Øresund region. The equivalent number for the Swedish replies is approximately 85 percent. Overall, both the Danish and Swedish people seemed positive towards their association with being a citizen of Øresund. The Danish young students had more than double negative answers than their Swedish counterparts. I found it useful to examine whether or not the frequency of which you travel across Øresund affects your sense of belonging. Figure 13 illustrates the frequency of travel related to association between being a citizen of Øresund. The replies are divided between yearly (Between 1-6 times per year)

and monthly travelers (more than six times per year). The results here are very interesting because there is a huge difference between the amount of people of the yearly travelers that answered “No” and the amount of monthly travelers that answered “No”. 27.5 percent of all yearly travelers replied that they do not associate with being a citizen of the Øresund region whilst the respective number for the monthly travelers was only 6.5 percent. 40.5 percent of all monthly travelers gave the response “Yes” to the question in comparison to 18.5 percent of the yearly travelers. There is a clear correlation between the frequency of which you travel regarding how attached you feel to the Øresund region. I also decided to analyze whether or not the female and male test subjects of Øresund offered significant different replies. Figure 14 illustrates the difference in replies between the male and female test subjects. 28 percent of all male test subjects answered the question “Do you associate with being a citizen of the Øresund region?” with the answer “No” whilst only 16.5 percent of all females gave the same response. However, the main response for both target group to the question was “Yes, to some extent”. Figure 15 illustrates the difference in replies between non-students and students association with Øresund. The answers were quite similar, regardless of occupational status with 30 percent of non-students answering the question with “No” and 23 percent of students doing the same. The same amount of non-students and students answered “Yes” and “Yes, but only minimal” with 23 percent and 24 percent, respectively.

If we closely examine Bucken-Knapp (2002) results regarding attachment towards the Oresund region and the importance of being thought of as one who lives in the Øresund region we can see significant similarities between my results and his. Regarding the test results about *‘Attachment felt towards the Øresund region’*, Bucken-Knapp states that around 70 per cent of the Swedish test subjects felt ‘a great deal’ or ‘some attachment to the Øresund region. The Danish replies to the same question was roughly 30 per cent saying they felt ‘a great deal’ or ‘some attachment’ which means that roughly 70 percent felt either ‘not much’ or ‘none’. Nearly 80 percent of the Danish test subjects responded either ‘not very important’ or ‘not important at all’ in response to *‘Is it important to be thought of as one who lives in Øresund region’*. The Swedish replies to the same question was roughly 60 percent considering it ‘not very important’ or ‘not important at all’.¹³⁸

¹³⁸ Bucken-Knapp, Gregg. “Testing our Borders: Questions of national and regional identity in the Øresund Region.” *Journal of Baltic Studies* 33:2 (2002): 199-219. P209-210.

If we add up the response of ‘Yes, but only minimal’ and ‘No’ from my study regarding ‘*Do you associate yourself with being a citizen of the Øresund region?*’, roughly 62 percent of the Danish replies says either ‘Yes, but only minimal’ or ‘No’. The Swedish equivalent to the same question was roughly 53 percent saying either ‘Yes, but only minimal’ or ‘No’.

Interview analysis:

The interviewees gave a wide variety of different answers to the many questions that were asked. What was highly interesting were the responses to question 4, (*When interacting with your Danish/Swedish classmates, what language do you use the most?*). Two out of the three Swedish interviewees and two out of the three Danish interviewees said that they use mainly Danish when interacting with their classmates. The other interviewees¹³⁹ said that they used a mix of Danish, English and Swedish but that was because of the amount of non-Danish and non-Swedish people present in their respective classes. In Appendix 1, Interview 2, 3, 5 and 6, the interviewees said that if their classmates do not understand Danish, they explain what they mean in either English or Swedish but that the main language is Danish. In regards to Question 5¹⁴⁰, the Swedish interviewees said that they stay in Copenhagen a lot, socialize mainly with their Danish classmates and go to Copenhagen after class to socialize with their Danish friends. This was not the case with the Danish students. The Danish students were less keen on staying in Malmö/Lund after class and stated that they would most likely go straight back to Copenhagen after class and socialize with their friends there rather than go back to Sweden after class/during the weekends. Bucken-Knapp (2002) addresses this issue and says this could be argued is because of the fact that the Danish students live in a vibrant capital region and the Swedes come from a traditionally economically challenged region of Sweden¹⁴¹. Katrine Damgaard Elsnab argues this same point and says” It is probably linked to the fact that the majority of my life happens in Copenhagen¹⁴²”. However, if we examine Question 7 (*Do you think that you have become more aware of your identity as a citizen of Øresund since starting to study?*) of the interviews, two of the Danes¹⁴³,

¹³⁹ See Appendix 1; Interview 1 and Interview 4; Question 4, for full responses.

¹⁴⁰ See Appendix 1

¹⁴¹ Bucken-Knapp, Gregg. “Testing our Borders: Questions of national and regional identity in the Øresund Region.” *Journal of Baltic Studies* 33:2 (2002): 199-219. P212.

¹⁴² See Appendix 1; Interview 5; question 7.

¹⁴³ See Appendix 1; Interview 4 and 6; Question 7.

say that due to their mobility and frequent travels, they reflect more on their identity as a citizen of Øresund. Jonas Fuglesang¹⁴⁴ states that he does not see it as studying abroad, merely further away from home. Similarly, Maria Holmberg Larsen says:” (...) Malmö is more like a suburb to Copenhagen than the third largest city in a different country.¹⁴⁵”

The overwhelming response by all six interviewees regarding Question 8 (*Why do you think there are not more people that study away from the side they live on of Øresund?*) is that the lack of information is the main reason why most students in Øresund do not take advantage of the fact that there are great universities on both sides of Øresund. With regards to Question 11 (*What kind of challenges do you think Øresund faces today as a cross-border region?*), the interviewees offer great insight into the challenges that Øresund faces as a cross-border region. Matias Borgström says “Integrating the region into something “real”. I can assume that the bridge has helped a lot but there needs to be more initiatives to get the Danes and Swedes to interact more with each other, more incentives to travel/move/work on the other side.¹⁴⁶” Overall, the interviewees said that they think the region needs to more integrated: lower prices on trains to get more people traveling, better cooperation between universities and housing, more information as to what goes on each side. I agree with the interviewees regarding lowering the prices on trains. The main problem here however is that the Bridge was not paid for by tax payer’s money, rather loans which have to be paid back with a high credit rating¹⁴⁷.

Do the young people of Øresund offer a shift in tendency towards the Øresund region and increase the possibilities for integration?

It is evident by the comparison of the frequency of travel by the young people of Øresund in my study to the overall public in Öresundskomiteen's study that the young people are much more mobile. 75 percent of all young Danish citizens travel at least once a year to Skåne in comparison to only 40 percent of the overall public. This difference is also very evident in the frequency with which the young Swedish citizens travel in comparison to the overall public, roughly 94 percent and 55 percent respectively. The main reason why young Swedish people travel to Denmark is

¹⁴⁴ See Appendix 1; Interview 4; Question 7.

¹⁴⁵ See Appendix 1, Interview 6, Question 7.

¹⁴⁶ See Appendix 1, Interview 1, Question 11.

¹⁴⁷ <http://uk.oresundsbron.com/page/996> Accessed on 2013-05-12

for tourism purposes which is a shift in comparison to the overall public which travels because of shopping reasons. What I find very relevant to highlight amongst the young people of Øresund is the language usage. Around 75 percent of all young Danish citizens and 70 percent of all young Swedish students use a mix of Danish, English and Swedish. I find it interesting to note the mixing of the languages that the young people of Øresund are using and it relates to what Raagmaa mentions about the symbolic shape of the region. Raagmaa stresses in his paper the importance of symbols¹⁴⁸, language being one of them, in order to develop any kind of regional consciousness among the inhabitants. Whilst the young people of Øresund do not communicate solely in one language, it is interesting to note that they seemed to have created a mix of Danish, English and Swedish in order to communicate with each which means that the young people of Øresund must have some significant knowledge of all three. One aspect which offered a significant shift in tendency amongst the young people compared to the overall public was regarding the willingness to move across the sound. It is very evident that the young people of Øresund are far more willing to move to the other side of Øresund than the general public. Around 65 percent of all young Danish citizens and around 83 percent of all young Swedish citizens showed that they would be willing to move across Øresund, which was a significant difference towards the general public where the numbers were only 28 percent of the overall Danish public that were willing to move and approximately 35 percent of the overall Swedish public that were willing to move. This relates to the quote by Orvar Löfgren where he said "The interesting thing about the younger generation is how "faithless" they are. They cross over to the other side and back depending on what suits them at the time. They are more flexible and mobile than we have ever seen before¹⁴⁹." This relates to what Paasi where he argues that it is possible to have a space in the public discourse without being territorially bound¹⁵⁰. Whilst Øresund has a clear defined territory, it important to note of the frequency to which the young people pass over national borders and can therefore position themselves on many different levels of identification. The social consciousness that Raagmaa argues in his paper is visible in the amount of young people of Øresund that associate with being a citizen of Øresund. Raagmaa argues that the

¹⁴⁸ Raagmaa, Garri. "Regional identity in Regional Development and Planning." *European Planning Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 1, (2002): 55-76. P59.

¹⁴⁹ Øresundsbron Konsortiet. *10 Years: The Øresund Bridge and its Region*. Øresundsbron Konsortiet, 2010. P29.

¹⁵⁰ Paasi, Anssi. "Bounded Spaces in the Mobile World: Deconstructing 'Regional Identity.'" *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Socialie Geografie* Vol. 93, No. 2 (2002): 137-148. P139.

everyday practices of individuals is what is important to analyze¹⁵¹, as this is what makes up core of the identity formation phase. The comparison of my results and those of Bucken-Knapp reveals that the level of association to being a citizen of Øresund is somewhat similar with the general public and the young people of Øresund. My results reveal the frequency of which you travel to the other side of Øresund plays an important part a whole towards the level of your association. As can be seen by the answers given by the majority of the test subjects in the interviews visible in Appendix 1, they seem to think that they do not necessarily see it as crossing between two nation-states but rather traveling from one city to another, even going as far as labelling Malmö as a suburb to Copenhagen. If we look at specific comments submitted by the test subjects in my questionnaire, they highlight some very important positive and negatives aspects. See Appendix 3 for the comments 'Any other Comments' section. "When you start to commute and have friends and social life at both sides of the bridge, it starts to feel like it is just the same city but there's a bridge in between. I can't see myself detaching from one side of the bridge and live completely at the other side."¹⁵² This echoes the sentiment that the more frequent you travel, the more likely you are to feel attached to the region. "I do hope the cost of travelling between Sweden and Denmark will be lower in the near future, I would definitely travel more! Plus it would give a much better chance for everyday people to contribute to the development of the area (tourism, working, etc.)" This sentiment echoes the problems which most of the interviewees brought up¹⁵³. The underlying theme here seems to be that one of the main reasons for there not being more people who travel across Øresund is because of the ticket prices. "I do not think the Øresund region as such has a culture and the culture in Malmo is very different to the culture in København. I do associate myself with the culture in Copenhagen" This comment relates to the argument by Bucken-Knapp where he states that the argument for the difference in interest might be that the Danes reside, at least in a majority, in a vibrant capital region whereas the Swedes come from a traditionally economically challenged region of Sweden¹⁵⁴. When it

¹⁵¹ Raagmaa, Garri. "Regional identity in Regional Development and Planning." *European Planning Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 1, (2002): 55-76. P59.

¹⁵² See Appendix 3 for the 'Any other Comments' section.

¹⁵³ See Appendix 1; Interview 1-6; Question 11.

¹⁵⁴ Bucken-Knapp, Gregg. "Testing our Borders: Questions of national and regional identity in the Øresund Region."

Journal of Baltic Studies 33:2 (2002): 199-219. P213.

comes to specific test subject comments, most of the replies were written by Danish people who wanted to state why they choose a specific answer.

Overall, the young people offer a shift in tendency towards the Øresund region in that they are more willing to travel and interact with their counter-parts on both parts of Øresund. By increasing the mobility further, the young people tendencies can increase the possibilities for further integration and establish a solid argument against Hospers notion that Øresund is ‘an imagined space¹⁵⁵’. The cross-border region of Øresund exists within the territorial field of tension by the young people’s bottom-up regionalization. The young people of Øresund offer a shift in tendency towards the Øresund region by increasing their mobility across the region and how and why they interact with each other. Through taking advantage of the existing infrastructures and possibilities in place, the young people of Øresund increase the integration of the region. Anssi Paasi (2002) illustrates how identity discourse in relation to regions and how the citizens move within the region is key. He came to conclusion an identity if able to form without being territorially bound and because of this, people normally position themselves on many different levels of identification¹⁵⁶. While this is true for Øresund, Raagma (2002) explains this further and investigates the importance of symbols in the context of regionalization. Language, landmarks and infrastructure are all key to Raagma’s assessment of the symbolic shape of Øresund. Despite the differences in the languages, it is still of high probability that speakers of the languages will understand each other¹⁵⁷. This is where the test results from my questionnaire comes in. The young people of Øresund have created their own way of communicating with each other and they do so by mixing Danish, English and Swedish in order to understand each other when they socialize. As Fligstein would argue, the young people are more susceptible to having more than one identity and are more likely to be mobile and associating with citizens of both sides of Øresund¹⁵⁸. Hall raised important issues in his text and said that democratic deliberation, legitimacy and accountability¹⁵⁹ are grave issues that the cross-border region of Øresund faces. Through the young people of Øresund offering a shift in

¹⁵⁵ Hospers, Gert-Jan. “Borders, Bridges and Branding: The transformation of the Øresund Region into an Imagined Space.” *European Planning Studies* Vol. 14, No. 8 (2006): 1015-1033. P1030.

¹⁵⁶ Paasi, Anssi. “Bounded Spaces in the Mobile World: Deconstructing ‘Regional Identity.’” *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Socialie Geografie* Vol. 93, No. 2 (2002): 137-148. P139.

¹⁵⁷ <http://www.norden.org/en/the-nordic-region/language> Accessed on 2012-04-23: 15.11

¹⁵⁸ Fligstein, Neil. *Euroclash: The EU, European Identity, and the Future of Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. P139.

¹⁵⁹ Hall, Patrik. “Opportunities for Democracy in Cross-border Regions? Lessons from the Øresund Region.” *Regional Studies* Vol. 42.3 (2008): 423-435. P423

tendency towards the Øresund region, they offer increased possibilities for the integration of the region. By doing so, the region's issues may yet be resolved providing that enough people are interested in the region in the future. . I am not seeking to establish that the nation state is deteriorating away or that the Øresund identity is stronger than the national identity in Øresund because that would be impossible. Rather, the increased possibilities within the Øresund region lies with the young people's tendencies to frequently travel across Øresund and interact with each other in a way not seen before. The autonomous network of Øresund is indeed a new way of organizing space and the increased integration of the region offers a challenge towards the nation-state in their traditional monopoly of identity and belonging.

Do the projects put in place by the European Union through top-down Europeanization increase the integration of the Øresund region?

The European Union funds several different projects in the Øresund region through the Interreg IV A programme in order to increase the integration of the Øresund region. The three chosen projects, '*An Exemplary Knowledge Region*', '*Culture Driven innovation for the Øresund Region*' and '*Øresund Event Center*' were all constructed with similar goals. They aim to increase the mobility, strengthen the research and development, increase the dialogues between the actors in the public and private sector, increase the competitiveness and hope to increase the attractiveness to international actors. As Jönsson et al (2003)¹⁶⁰ argues, the process of strengthening the regional level and the supranational level are not mutually exclusive rather interconnected. Through top-down Europeanization, the European Union influences what types of projects the regional level (Øresund) will implement to strengthen the region, projects which reflect the overall objectives of the Union as a whole. Through funding various project in the Øresund region, the European Union are participating in the territorial field of tension of Europe. By strengthening the sub-national level through the projects, they are also strengthening the supranational level as the type of projects the choose to implement reflect similar goals to what the European Union objectives are: increase mobility between member states, increased tourism,

¹⁶⁰ Jönsson, Christer., Tägil, Sven, and Thörnqvist., Gunnar. *Organizing European Space*. Sage Publications, 2003. P25.

increased cooperation between the member states, promotion of economic and social cohesion¹⁶¹. This ties into Risse's argument where he states that "there are no formal or informal norms requiring European Union citizens to transfer their loyalties to the EU instead of or in conjunction with the nation-state¹⁶²". This thesis argues that through the process of Europeanization, *concerning* formal structures, such as funding projects concerning cross-border regions, there has been a situation where, not transferring loyalties as Risse mentions, but a reminder for the citizens of their belonging, be it to the cross-border region Øresund or the supranational level of the European Union. The projects that are funded by the European Union partners regional actors with other regional actors to strengthen the regional level, in essence by-passing the national level. The open method of coordination¹⁶³ argues that the different levels of governance throughout the European Union should implement the EU goals. Keating¹⁶⁴ (1995) argues that regionalization and European integration both challenges the nation-state in Western Europe. These two simultaneous processes reduces the influence of nation-state in the political sphere and transfer the power upwards, as a matter of European integration, or downward, as a matter of regionalization. This is an evident argument for the territorial field of tension whereby the process of European integration increases the powers upwards which allows for the European Union to influence the cross-border region of Øresund directly and bypass the nation-state whilst the regionalization process strengthens the sub-national level. The way the European Union exists in my interpretation in the territorial field of tension is that the process of transferal of powers upwards from the nation-state to the European Union allows for the Union to use these increased powers to further strengthen Øresund by interacting directly with local actors to implement projects which aims to achieve similar goals to what the European Union has.

¹⁶¹ See. European Union. "Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe." *Official Journal of the European Union* Volume 47 (2004). Article I-3. Accessed May 13, 2013. <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2004:310:FULL:EN:PDF> Accessed on 2013-05-12

¹⁶² Cowels Maria G., Caporaso, James, and Risse. Thomas. *Transforming Europe: Europeanization and Domestic Change*. Cornell University Press, 2001. P200.

¹⁶³ de la Porte, Caroline., and Pochet, Philippe. *Building Social Europe through the Open Method of Coordination*. Brussels: Peter Lang, 2002

¹⁶⁴ Keating, Michael. "Europeanism and Regionalism" In *The European Union and the Regions* edited Barry Jones, and Michael Keating, 1-22. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.

Conclusion:

By comparing the results of my study and the study by Öresundskomiteen, one can clearly see that the young people of Øresund offer a shift in tendency towards the Øresund region and increase the possibilities for integration by increased mobility, increased interactions and an increased sense of belonging. The young people of Øresund are not afraid to move across the border and start a life on the other side of Øresund because they have grown up with the Bridge as fact and something always there and the ease of travelling across the Sound increases the chance for further integration. The Øresund region obviously faces a lot of issues which the interviewees address. They seem to be in agreement that there needs to be more cohesion in the region, lower ticket prices and increased projects that bind the region together. Lowering ticket prices would undoubtedly increase the mobility in the region and a small tendency is that more people from Skåne travel to Denmark than vice-versa. This issue would be addressed by lowering the ticket price and increasing projects and events that promote Øresund. By increasing information to the young people of Øresund (as to what happens and goes on both sides of Øresund), mobility will also increase which will lead to more integration of the region. The autonomous network of Øresund is indeed a new way of organizing space and the increased integration of the region offers a challenge towards the nation-state in their traditional monopoly of identity and belonging. The European Union funds projects in the Øresund region which reflect what is ultimately their own overall objectives. By strengthening the sub-national level and increasing cooperation between member states in cross-border regions, the overall integration of the European Union is increased as a result. Through top-down Europeanization, the European Union influences what types of projects the regional level (Øresund) will implement to strengthen the region, projects which reflect the overall objectives of the Union as a whole.

The obtained results within this thesis will be a useful tool in gaining an understanding of the mobility and overall attachment to Øresund by the young people of Øresund. This field can be further expanded upon in future thesis by comparing the process of constructing a regional identity and the construction of a European identity. In future studies, what would be important to focus would be on an increased comparison between the young people of Øresund in relation to their symbolic belongingness to the region and ask them whether or not they want more

integration and what that would ultimately lead to. There is room for improvement in the scope of semi-structured interviews with the young people of Øresund. I hope that this thesis will lead to more focus being put on the young people of Øresund by the policy-makers and offer the young people a truly integrated region. Ultimately, the young commuters proved elusive to get in contact with as the universities were reluctant to hand out such information. The young people of Øresund that commute to work is another interesting aspect which should be taken into consideration in the future. I hope this study will stimulate further investigations in this field which will ultimately provide a complete understanding of the integration of the cross-border region of Øresund.

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