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Place Brand Communication as Governmentality
Governing through Branding in the Post-industrial City
THERESE LILJA

Lund University
Department of Strategic Communication
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Abstract

Place Brand Communication as Governmentality: Governing through Branding in the Post-industrial city.

This study argues a problem in the place brand communication field's focus on its practicality as a management strategy, regarding it as a neutral activity overlooking the political decisions behind and its consequences. The purpose of this study is suggesting a solution by approaching with a governmentality perspective. The method of discourse analysis has been used studying the city brand communication in Stockholm and Malmö through observations, interviews and documents. This study contributes to the previous research by showing that:

- 1) City brand communication seeks to govern by producing perceptions of an economic focus as a natural development, that the city has one true essence which should be communicated with one voice, and that the city is open.
- 2) It seeks to govern through the creative entrepreneurial – and growth discourses, promoting ideals of creativity, innovation, entrepreneurship, based on a rationality of freedom.
- 3) We become creative entrepreneurs.
- 4) We are governed because individuals become winners in society while government maintains a social system designed to exploit the creative entrepreneurs for successful economic outcome.

Keywords: place branding, city branding, governmentality, strategic communication, creative class

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Sammanfattning

Platsvarumärke som styrningsform: Styrning genom att strategiskt kommunicera den postindustriella staden som ett varumärke.

Studien problematiserar det akademiska fältet kring kommunikation av platsvarumärke. Fältet har fokus på praktikalitet och ser fenomenet som en neutral aktivitet vilket förbiser bakomliggande politiska beslut och konsekvenser. Syftet med studien är att lösa detta genom att närma sig ämnet med ett perspektiv influerat av Foucaults koncept ”governmentality”. Genom diskursanalys studeras kommunikationen kring varumärkning av städerna Stockholm och Malmö. Studien bidrar till tidigare forskning genom att visa:

- 1) Kommunikationen kring stadens varumärke syftar till att styra uppfattningar om 1) ekonomisk fokus är naturlig utveckling, 2) staden har en sann essens som ska kommuniceras med en röst, 3) staden är öppen.
- 2) Den syftar till att styra genom diskurser av kreativt entreprenörskap och tillväxt, vilka främjar idealen kreativitet, innovation, entreprenörskap, som bygger på en rationalitet av frihet.
- 3) Vi blir kreativa entreprenörer.
- 4) Vi styrs eftersom individen blir en vinnare i samhället medan styrande kan upprätthålla ett socialt system som syftar till att utnyttja den kreativa entreprenören för framgångsrikt ekonomiskt utfall.

Nyckelord: platsvarumärkning, stadsvarumärkning, governmentality, marknadsföring, strategisk kommunikation, kreativ klass

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1. Introduction

Detroit's urban core is bursting with new businesses providing a plethora of opportunities for professionals to work downtown. Work in a fast-paced environment that inspires productivity and growth!

(Opportunity Detroit, 2015)

The city brand communication of “Opportunity Detroit” is a strategy to “make over” the city of Detroit by promoting entrepreneurship, innovation and creativity (Muller, 2014; Segal, 2013). Detroit is an example of the perception created of Western cities’ decline after a strong local industry lost its economic capacity. In 2012, Detroit was talked about as having the highest murder rate in the country, near twenty percent unemployment, a twenty five percent reduction in population, more than thirty six percent of residents living under the official poverty line, as well as a bankrupt school system (Borden, 2013). The municipal government was under the control of a state-appointed emergency financial manager, and the city was portrayed as a place that had fallen apart (Borden, 2013; Muller, 2014). The suggested solution? Strategically communicating a city image: “Opportunity Detroit” is the city brand name to communicate a “high-tech hub, where young entrepreneurs both live and work” (Segal, 2013), a city that draws “the young, the entrepreneurial, the hip” (Conlin, 2011). Daniel Gilbert is one of the strategists behind the city brand communication, and explains it as “we need to maintain the best and brightest, and attract the best and brightest from elsewhere” (Muller, 2014). The example of Detroit reflects how in the so-called post-industrial society, branding is something no longer merely associated with material products and services, but also highly linked to location and geography. Globalization as well as a competitive economy are argued to be factors pushing cities with industrial backgrounds into shifting focus to intangible products, services and experiences in order to attract and keep inhabitants, companies and investments (Hall & Hubbard, 1998). Place brand communication is thus seen as the antidote to a post-industrial city in decline, where a marketing discourse gives the place strategic commercial meaning, commodifying and commercializing it (Boisen, Terlouw and van Gorp, 2011). Cities around the world are increasingly turning to this form of strategic communication, by implementing practices and techniques from product communication to place brand communication in pursuit of management goals (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2006). The communication is regarded as “an

instrument of place management, changing the way places are perceived and thus used by specified user groups” (Ashworth, 2008), repeatedly promoted as a natural development for the post-industrial city (Hall & Hubbard, 1998; Harvey, 2008). However, despite the popularity and increasing strategic implementation of place brand communication by city officials (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2006), it is not an unproblematic practice. Wanting to steer attitude and perceptions about a place and managing how it is used by certain groups, has an inherent power asymmetry since certain agendas wanting to achieve specific goals will benefit certain groups over others. It has an inbuilt ideological aspect where mentalities about the city and oneself can and should be managed. A communication strategy by city officials focused on attracting and promoting the “right” individuals (Florida, 2006) with specific ideals means that others are left out or even unwanted in the city image. The decision to use place brand communication as well as how it is practiced thus has a political aspect that needs to be addressed in a democratic society.

1.1 Problem

Place brand communication stems from the area of corporate branding (Kavaratzis, 2004), which has meant a literature focused on the management of place marketing, primarily as a marketing strategy (see among others Anholt, 2007; Coca-Stefaniak, 2014; Govers & Go, 2009; Hankinson, 2010; Kavaratzis, 2004), and in some regards as a form of public diplomacy (Anholt, 2010). The practical oriented field of place branding has regarded it as a neutral activity to be implemented similar to its birth in corporate communication. It has applied corporate branding to places by treating the place brand as an entity of products with the idea of sending a consistent message, while at the same time associating the place with stories built into the place by intervening planning and design, as well as a general attitude of the place and promotional activities (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2006). This entails a deficit of research addressing the complexity in brand communication when applied to places, taken from a private sphere and adapted to a city by a tax funded public organization, opening up to other private actors gaining influence in the public organization’s decision making. What is deficient in the city brand literature is what has been raised within political science, developed from the theme of city governance changing (Cochrane, 2007), where Pasotti (2010) has suggested the notion of brand politics as a new form of governance, meaning city mayors emulating branding themselves in order to gain voters. City brand communication itself stems from the neo-liberal idea of a city being in need of marketing (Harvey, 2008), where branding the city is regarded as the solution to a city with industrial decline. The idea that city officials must think beyond their traditional approaches and now use

branding work if they want to improve local prosperity, build social capital and foster economic growth (Dinnie, 2011, Florida, 2006) has become an established “truth” whether empirical reality or not (Harvey, 2008). Rankings, statistics as well as a snowball effect have put cities without a brand under pressure to develop one (Stigel & Frimann, 2006).

A second approach in the field of place brand communication is a more critical perspective that has reflected upon the dimension of governance in brand management, which can be found in nation branding (Kaneva, 2011; Aronczyk, 2009). However, although branding today appears ubiquitous, its workings in politics are to most part untheorized (Pasotti, 2010). Place brand communication is increasingly being used as a governance strategy for marketing perceptions about cities (Eshuis, Braun & Klijn, 2013), nevertheless, in analysing marketing communication, the governmentality in marketing discourse has not been previously focused on (Skålén, Felleson & Fougère, 2006). The practical oriented field of place communication has been the dominant perspective, which has meant a literature often neglecting the political aspect of place brand communication decisions, its power relations and not to mention its consequences.

1.2 Contribution of the study

The study wishes to address the neglect of power relations in the place brand communication literature. The suggested solution is by approaching it with a governmentality perspective. This means that place branding is not understood as a neutral strategic management tool. Rather it places an emphasis on the power aspects inherent in the discourses, informed by Dean’s (2010) development of Foucault’s concept of governmentality. The concept can help us understand how governing is done discursively by influencing perceptions and creating meanings, creating a self-governing individual (Dean, 2010). This is also the core of place brand communication from a marketing perspective, using branding strategies constructing images, adding value and meaning, creating specific ways of perceiving a place by discourse (Kavaratzis, 2004). By using a governmentality perspective, we can through an analysis of discourse study power asymmetry and ideology behind decisions made, how resources are dispersed, how we think about the city and ourselves. The study will then contribute by developing the analysis of place brand communication. The governmentality perspective of place brand communication thus introduces a distinctive feature that constitutes the contribution of this study to the academic field.

1.3 Research purpose and questions

The purpose of the research is to examine the power relations involved in place brand

communication. It wishes to highlight how this form of strategic communication is not a neutral activity, but a practice with political consequences. It will do so by using a governmentality perspective of place brand communication, studying the city brand communication of Stockholm and Malmö which are two cities investing in branding work (Stockholm Business Region, 2013; Malmö stad, 2006). In order to reach this aim of the study, it will use the following research questions:

- How does place brand communication practices govern the city and its social relations?
- Which discourses are actualized in the city brand communication?
- What perceptions are produced through the city brand communication?

1.4 Delimitation

The study will focus on city communication in regards to the branding work done by city strategists. It will not focus on communication dedicated to attracting tourists. Rather it will focus on the communication concentrated on how the city is to be understood by individuals living or wanting to move to the city. The study will not use a historical method such as Foucault's genealogy (Dean, 2010) but rather focus on the technologies of government, since the interest of the research is how these techniques are practiced and what the consequences might be.

1.5 Disposition of the thesis

This Master's thesis is outlined as follows. It opens with section "Place – and City Brand Communication" with an overall look at previous research and literature within the academic field, and with the relevant theoretical definitions of the terms used throughout the thesis. Next in section "Developing a Theoretical and Analytical Framework" there will be a presentation of the theoretical framework based on Foucault's notion of governmentality and the analytical framework developed upon this by Dean (2010), as well as reflections on the research methodology. Next section presents the two case studies Stockholm and Malmö, followed by the methods chosen; short on observation, and more detailed on the interviews and documents studied, as well as reflections on the use of discourse analysis. The section "Analysis" will follow with Dean's four dimensions of analysis, breaking these down to highlight findings in order to answer the research questions, and ending the section by presenting a model of the findings. Subsequent, section "Conclusions" presents a summary of the research findings, gives more general reflections on the studied phenomenon, as well as suggested future research.

2. Place- and City Brand Communication – a literature review

The academic literature regarding communicating a specific place brand most commonly uses the term “place branding” (see among others Kavaratzis & Hatch, 2013). This research however will use the term “place brand communication” (or ‘city brand communication’) in order to stress the *process* of communication, understood as a mutual process of creating meaning (Carey, 2009). It does so since the term “branding”, developed from corporate branding, could give connotations of the contrasting and more traditional view of communication being a message produced by a sender and transmitted to a receiver accepting it similar to its original form (Botan & Taylor, 2004). A second argument for the term “place brand communication” is that it better reflects how different communicative factors, such as brand slogan, vision, ideals, goals, focus, image, as well as development, are all apart of the brand communication process. Still with this perspective, we should stress that there is always a power aspect in the communication process in its possibility to exercise control over others. Let us then define how place is understood in this research: A place can be looked upon as something static and geographic, but analytically it can be approached as socially constructed, where meaning and function are created by social relations and networks (Ek & Hultman, 2012). In the academic field concerning strategic brand communication of a place, we find certain assumptions which the literature is based upon, namely 1) an instrumental approach focused on implementation efficiency and removing obstacles to its application (Eshuis, Braun & Klijn, 2013; Govers & Go, 2009), 2) a focus on attracting tourists to the physical place (Ashworth & Voogd, 1990; Hankinson, 2010; Warnaby, Bennison, Davies, & Hughes, 2002), and 3) a rather transmittal perspective of communication where a message can be transferred and accepted close to its original form (Kotler, Haider & Rein, 1993, 1994; Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2006).

2.1 Place brand communication

What is place branding? The easy answer to this central question is that place branding is merely the application of product branding to places.

(Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2006)

The quote above exemplifies a dominant perspective in the academic field of place brand communication, based on the above mentioned assumptions, which originates from the concepts of place promotion and place marketing (Kavaratzis & Hatch, 2013). While the distinction between place marketing and place branding is not clear, branding however could be understood as a general strategic guideline for marketing (Hankinson, 2010) or as a tool of place marketing (Kotler et al, 1993, 1994). Kavaratzis (2004) argues how the post-industrial cities need for redefinition, leading to a focus on city image, has been determining in the move towards place branding. Boisen, Terlouw and van Gorp (2011, p. 142) define the process of place branding as “to provide added value and specific meanings to a place by consciously orchestrating and managing this brand”. Places then can be seen as products and commercialized, meaning that they grow a strategic commercial meaning. Ashworth (2008) breaks down place branding into four different categories: 1) geographical nomenclature, where a physical product is named for a geographical location, 2) co-branding, where a product is associated with a place assumed to have attributes beneficial to the product image, 3) the product is the location, where the location is treated as marketable commodity and exchanged in markets, 4) an instrument of place management, changing the way places are perceived and thus used by specified user groups. Kavaritz and Ashworth (2005) argues that it is not sufficient only to mediate values and stories, but that these need to be built in concrete and planned in aspects of city planning, cultural infrastructure and design. This is also reflected in Evans (2003) term *hard branding*, where international acknowledged architects are hired to create, and add a perceived value, to spectacular buildings. Does any institution have the inherent right to exercise such control over a place in its entirety? Boisen et al (2011, p.142) raise this question, although quickly state the need for control if the branding is part of a “marketing driven long-term strategy of adding value to the place in question”, insinuating a need for such a focus to be given. The writers do however state a power aspect of place brand communication, yet without further reflections on the potential consequences:

[...] when spatial policies are followed by a strategic vision and tactical actions to promote specific goals, the institutions formulating and pursuing these policies can exercise significant power in guiding the future development of the place in question. The institutions of government are capable of exercising power to stimulate specific developments, and due to the developments discussed earlier in this paper [...], they have been given more responsibility for pursuing and securing their own growth agendas – and thus, one could argue, more power over the brand.

(Boisen et al, 2011, p. 143)

Harvey (2008) on the other hand is highly critical of such control, palpable in his argument of a human right to the city, meaning an active right to make the city different, shape it and re-make ourselves in a different image. The idea of commercialising the city with branding work, steering our perceptions of the city and thus our use of it, goes against this right to the city. Harvey (2008) states that we are dominated by the accumulation of capital through market exchange, and markets require scarcity to function, thus we cannot create the socially just city we want but instead the city created entails inequality, alienation and injustice.

The most expressed scholarly critique linking branding to state craft is in regards to nation branding, a term coined by Anholt (2007) who has had much influence in the field, yet again regarding its practicality (Lee, 2010). Scholars such as Kaneva (2011, p. 118) however advocates critical research on how nation branding “seeks to reconstitute nations both at the levels of *ideology*, and of *praxis*, whereby the meaning and experiential reality of nationhood itself is transformed in ways that are yet to be fully understood”. Aronczyk (2009) criticizes how the inherent idea of a national identity and nationhood is promoting a new kind of patriotism, presenting the nation as something necessary and prepolitical.

2.1.1 City brand communication

[...] place branding is not only possible, it is and has been, practiced consciously or unconsciously for as long as cities have competed with each other for trade, populations, wealth, prestige or power.

(Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2006, p. 510)

According to a practical perspective within place brand communication literature, city branding can be regarded as a subcategory of place branding (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2006), where more cities around the world are linking the image of the city with its attractiveness as a place to live, invest, study and visit (Dinnie, 2011). Influencers such as the above-mentioned Anholt has worked with city officials around the world to help improve their profiles and reputations, and even developed a City Brand Index in order to track the city image and reputation (Lee, 2010). In literature on place communication concerned with branding cities, we find the themes of image creation (Bradley, Hall & Harrison, 2002; Czarniawska, 2002; Dinnie, 2011), post-

industrialization (Hall & Hubbard, 1998; Holcomb, 1994, 1993; Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2006; Ward, 1998), as well as entrepreneurship and creativity (Braun, Kavaratzis & Zenker, 2013; Coca-Stefaniak, 2014; Hall & Hubbard, 1998; Zenker, 2009). In historical comparisons on North American and British examples of promoting place, a wider historic perspective suggests the similarities between the World Fairs in the 19th century with the post-industrial city branding (Ward, 1998). Both phenomenon are focused on competition between cities, “putting them on the map”, to create patriotism and local pride, linking to today’s “civic boosterism” (Gold & Ward, 1994). What is discussed as a disciplining purpose in the World Fairs can then be compared to place marketing’s way of educating and fostering the city’s inhabitants in today’s post-industrial society.

The city brand concept is based on a traditional marketing perspective where the solution to post-industrial cities’ problems is to develop a brand, meaning to add symbolic values proving the city is in the forefront (Bradley, Hall & Harrison, 2002; Braun, Kavaratzis & Zenker, 2013; Coca-Stefaniak, 2014; Dinnie, 2011), an established “truth” whether empirical reality or not (Harvey, 2008). City branding itself stems from the neo-liberal idea of a city being in need of marketing (Harvey, 2008), where Kavaratzis’s (2004) theoretical framework links the concept to *corporate branding*, thus the city is regarded not just as a product, but as a corporation. This is shown in a focus on entrepreneurialism in the contemporary cities (Hall & Hubbard, 1998; Zenker, 2009) as a part of a wider societal discourse, where business creation, growth in small business and innovation have reached a level of acceptance in regards to being *the* route to a sustainable economic development, with implementation of new policies and measures to achieve this at international -, national - and regional levels (see for instance EUR-Lex, 2012). The understanding of globalization as competitiveness along with normative factors disseminate and promote this specific form of branding and representation, telling a narrative which the cities implement and use in a similar way in order to stay “in fashion” (Czarniawska, 2002, p. 131). Connecting this with creativity, such as Florida’s (2006) theory of “a creative class”, has proven much influential and boosted in cities’ communication, where they are considered dependent on entrepreneurial creativity when it comes to growth (Fougeré & Solitander, 2007; Peck, 2005), but also within academia and the city brand communication literature, as exemplified in the stated purpose of Zenker’s (2009, p. 23) study:

Today we have to face the challenge of competing in a globalized world for scarce goods, such as residents in general, and in particular for those with talents, the so-called “creative class”. This class is the driving force for economic growth, so

winning the competition for these individuals is one of the main tasks for cities and regions today. However, to face this challenge using place marketing and city branding, we have to understand the needs and preferences of this target group.

Creativity is the key tool in the creative class's work, with occupations such as researcher, engineer, architect, designer and writer. Contemporary cities are supposedly dependent on their presence in order to be successful when it comes to growth and education, something insinuated as a given goal of every modern city, and Florida (2006) thus labels them society's domination class. This theory has been much acknowledged and influential to branding of the so-called post-industrial city, from being featured in leading magazines such as Harvard Business Review, to local urban managers flying in Florida to do seminars (Peck, 2005), down to almost being replicated in policy documents such as Malmö city's "Plattform för kunskapsstaden Malmö" (Möllerström, 2011, p. 89). Scholars such as Peck (2005) and Evans (2009) see a connection in the discourse on creative work and how cities organize, linking digital media, science entrepreneurs, and the city managers with plans of redevelopment and expansion.

A perspective considering city transformations through image creation, an entrepreneurial focus, as well as a focus on attracting the "right" talent, more or less unproblematic, has also raised criticism. The critique has often come from other fields such as cultural or urban studies, for instance lifting the risks of partnering collaborations and the consequences this might entail from a democratic perspective (Gibson, 2005; Harvey, 2008; Sandercock & Davey, 2002). In the management perspective as well as in practice of city communication however, city brand communication is reflected upon as a natural development in a globalized world, rather than a political practice.

2.2 Summarize

Place brand communication has been explained as adding value and certain meanings to a place, while highlighting the control aspect of this promoted management strategy in its aim to change the way places are perceived and thus used by specified groups. Branding has been presented as an accepted theme of the so-called post-industrial cities, and as being talked about as an innocent and natural development rather than a political practice, creating an image of the place to be disseminated in order to attract inhabitants, visitors and business. The concept has been explained as emerged from the idea of cities in competition, developed from a marketing perspective and corporate branding, where the focus is on attracting the right creative talent. Critique on place brand communication has been lifted coming from the concept of nation branding but also from

cultural and urban studies, where the idea of a city as a product is argued to create inequality, alienation and injustice.

3. A Theoretical and Analytical Framework

This study aims to analyze how place brand communication can be seen as a form of governing. In order to do so, Foucault's concept of governmentality will function as the theoretical framework, adding Dean's (2010) analytical lens, allowing the research to find what it seeks to govern, how government is achieved, who we become when governed, as well as why we are governed that way. Let us then explore the notion of place brand communication as governmentality.

3.1 Discourse and power – Michel Foucault's governmentality

A Foucauldian approach sees power as a central theme in discourse (Dean, 2010). Power is both what creates our social surroundings, as well as what makes it look the way it does and can be talked about in certain ways while other possibilities are excluded. Knowledge is thus linked with power in that it is tightly in alliance with discourse, in creating who we are and what we can know (Dean, 2010). This also influences the idea of truth, where *a truth* is a "system of procedures for production, regulation, and dispersion of dictums", meaning the interest lies in looking at the discursive processes where discourses are created so that they seem to give true or false perceptions of reality (Jørgensen & Philips, 1999, p. 21). Foucault uses the term *governmentality*, which merges "govern" with "mentality", meaning the ideas of control and rule merges with attitude and fantasy, never about inflicting laws on individuals but using the laws tactically so that the wanted goals are achieved (Dean, 2010). He links it to liberalism, suggesting that liberalism is an art of governing which addresses the idea that authorities are governing too much, and which then finds this technique of governing while giving the perception of not doing much of it (Rose, O'Malley & Valverde, 2006). Dean (2010, p. 24) stresses the aspects of a specific outlook, of thought, language as well as its suggestion of naturalness in the concept, stating:

The idea of mentalities [...] emphasizes the way in which the thinking involved in practices of government is explicit and embedded in language and other technical instruments but is also relatively taken for granted, i.e. it is not usually open to questioning by its practitioners.

From Foucault's lectures on neo-liberalism, Rose (1996) has developed his thoughts on technologies of the self, read as ways in which we understand ourselves and act with certain regimes of authority and knowledge, aiming for self-improvement, which turns us to entrepreneurs of ourselves. Rose (1999) argues that the construction of freedom, in that individuals should be free and obliged to conduct themselves responsibly, makes the (neo-liberal) focus on freedom actually a part of governing. This is reflected in the de-regulation of the market and privatization of previous state-managed areas and organizations. The individual choice, such as of one's district health care center, is considered gaining more freedom, something that puts more responsibility on the individual. When reflecting on the academic development and use of governmentality, Rose, O'Malley and Valverde (2006) also stress how specifically work and the work place has become a site of this subjectification. This self-governing part of governmentality lies in that the individual's behaviour is shaped according to specific norms and reasons, where focus is on the human's way of thinking, feeling and perceiving herself, in processes often positive, productive and encouraging rather than negatively limiting or constraining (Lövgren & Johansson, 2007). Norms and values promoted through discourse enable people to choose ways of governing themselves by adopting certain subject positions. As Skálén, Fellesson, and Fougère (2006, p. 277) argue, "a central quest for the analysis of government lies in explicating this governmental rationality which is embedded in discourse and which produces subjectivity".

The orientation of governmentality work is "an empirical mapping of governmental rationalities and techniques", which does not assume that it has been accepted or implemented, rather should be seen as a way of asking questions focusing on why certain things happen and the consequences of these. It is not a way to directly criticise, but to identify and describe differences in order to make criticism possible (Rose et al, 2006, p. 99).

3.1.1 Analytics of government - Mitchell Dean's analytical lens

As argued above, governmentality works not only as a theoretical frame, but can also be a useful tool in understanding the processes intertwined with strategic communication, in this case regarding place brand communication as a governing instrument, exemplified by city brand communication. Such a tool is to be found in the developed work on this notion, made by Mitchell Dean (2010). Dean's framework, grown from Foucault's concept of power and governmentality, looks at the specific conditions under which particular entities emerge, exist and change. Central is how we govern and are governed, with an emphasis on practices and techniques. As discussed

above, the strategies of city brand communication aim at attracting a specific creative talent, focusing on the individual wanting to live or move to the city in order to create new entrepreneurial innovations and as a supply of skills and competence for corporations, working at the same time as a symbol of a modern and promising city (Dinnie, 2011; Florida, 2006). An analysis of governmentality looks at these attempts to deliberate on and to direct human conduct, based in Foucault's definition of government as the "conduct of conduct" where "government entails any attempt to shape with some degree of deliberation aspects of our behavior according to particular sets of norms and for a variety of ends" (Dean, 2010, p. 17). With this perspective, the governed are free in that they are actors with a capacity to think and feel, where the neo-liberal modes of governing entails working through this freedom or capacities of the governed, using it as a technical means:

The notion of government as 'the conduct of conduct' presupposes the primary freedom of those who are governed entailed in the capacities of acting and thinking. It also, furthermore, presupposes this freedom and these capacities on the part of those who govern. One of the consequences of this latter proposition is that when we govern ourselves and others we exercise our capacities for thinking.

(Dean, 2010, p. 24)

Mentalities are ways of thinking and making sense of our surroundings and ourselves by drawing from the knowledge given and made available to us. This means we are free to think, however these thoughts are dependent on the language accessible. A way of governing at a distance is thus in trying to control the images and discourses made available to us. How we think about the national economy for instance is based on knowledge provided by specialists and economists, based on statistics and forecasts and so on. The framework therefore tries to grasp what the language makes possible and what it does, where key terms are seen as integral components of government, "of our organized systems of acting upon and directing human conduct" (Dean, 2010, p. 79-80). Dean (2010) exemplifies the exercise of self-government in the way many might think about and problematize their eating habits and body shapes, called dieting, where one draws upon certain types of knowledge and expertise provided. The example of the diet thus illustrates how what we focus on, how we do it, the reasons we do it and who we hope to become can be governed, showing us how a governmental analysis can help in studying practices, ambitions and consequences.

The value of Dean's analytics of government lies in its critical potential, for this study offering opportunities to engage in the taken-for-granted, questioning our common-sense understanding of the city, pointing to differences between claims and objectives of the city brand communication and rationales of urban governance. It can help us understand how contemporary cities with liberal democracies accomplish governing through specific concepts and strategies. With this approach we can then study how the strategic communication practices of a city works in actualizing certain discourses which aim to produce certain mentalities, wanting to steer perceptions about the city and oneself in order to govern city development and social relations. The governmentality approach provides a language for linking notions about government and politics with ideas about identity and self, which provides our framework for studying how the city brand communication can create the environment where specific ideals are the ones to aim for and value as competence. Dean's (2010) four dimensions are:

1. What is being governed?
2. How is government achieved?
3. Who do we become when governed?
4. Why are we governed that way?

Dean (2010, p. 33) himself admits the framework as being a "perspective on questions of power and authority", which admits it not holding an absolute standard of truth, but rather being valuable as in *how* to study operations of governing, and evaluated by the intelligibility it yields compared to alternative explanations.

4. Methodology

We have now reflected on the framework used to approach the governing aspects of place brand communication, and thus need to reflect on the chosen viewpoint, the practice of going about the research and what consequences this entailed. Becker (1998, p.19) argues four areas in which a scholar goes through in her research, namely the creation of imagery, methods of sampling, the development of concepts and the use of logics:

Serious researchers repeatedly move back and forth among these four areas of thought, and each area affects the others. I may choose my sample in a way that takes into account my image of what I'm studying, but I will surely modify my image on the basis of what my sample shows me. And the logical operations I perform on the results of some part of my work will probably dictate a change in my concepts.

This study followed Becker's perspective of qualitative research, seeing it not as a fixed procedure but as a form of hermeneutic process in which the scholar constantly moves from an overview to details, for instance adding reflections on culture to details regarding practical communication's work. This was displayed in the use of observations and qualitative interviews as a starting point in order to find the relevant documents and themes to study with the tool of discourse analysis.

4.1 Perspective and method, as well as the implications

The critical perspective along with the chosen analytical framework, Foucault's notion of governmentality and Dean's analytical lens, had consequences for the analysis in that it highlights the control and manipulation of perceptions through city brand communication. It puts focus on how discourses are created with a certain agenda, which influences society in social order and power, how policies are constructed and public funding is directed, to what citizens value as important areas of study, business and culture. The social constructionist perspective is common with qualitative research (Heide & Simonsson, 2014), with the standpoint of reality as being something socially constructed, where focus lies on *how* it is constructed instead of what it might look like (Bergström & Boréus, 2012). This study then entails an ontological (how reality is regarded) outlook of a reality constructed by ideas and perceptions, instead of a fixed reality existing "out there", with the epistemological (how and if we can reach knowledge) approach

that these perceptions and ideas are woven into discourse and presented in texts, meaning they entail social, and real, consequences (Bergström & Boréus, 2012).

4.2 Presenting cases Stockholm and Malmö

Heide and Simonsson (2014) see the use of case studies as a research strategy more so than a method, where the scholar strives to reach as detailed knowledge on a limited number of cases as possible. Merriam (2009) argues the benefits of this focus, where case studies can generate unique, context-based knowledge instead of a more generalizing knowledge, suitable for reaching an understanding of how processes in a context work and why. Using two case studies for this research then should add valuable understanding to how place brand communication can be a governing practice, exemplified in the form of city brand communication and its practices.

4.2.1 Branding the cities Stockholm and Malmö: *The Capital of Scandinavia and Meeting place Malmö*

As discussed above, it is today common for cities to use branding strategies with the explanation of them needed to be “put on the map”, meaning to attract the right companies, investors and people to live and work there (Anholt, 2007; Govers & Go, 2009; Coca-Stefaniak, 2014; Czarniawska, 2002; Hall & Hubbard, 1998). In studying the governing aspects of city brand communication, this research chose two Swedish cities as case studies, Stockholm and Malmö, which are both actively working with communicating a city brand. Stockholm on the one hand is the country’s largest city with approximately 900 000 inhabitants (Stockholms stad, 2015a) and Malmö is the country’s third biggest city with approximately 300 000 inhabitants (Malmö stad, 2015a). They were chosen due to their different locations and sizes, which could add diverse understandings of the communication work and focus. Choosing two Swedish cities could also contribute to the academic field of place brand communication, which often derives from American and British case studies (Stigel & Frimann, 2006).

Stockholm and Malmö have both undergone transformations that have changed the conditions in regards to the city life. The economy has changed in a direction that follows the general trends in the West where the manufacturing industry gradually has been replaced by a service and knowledge-based sector and where the cities have taken a renewed role as places of circulation of capital (Olsson, 2008). Cities’ visions of growth and business have become a focus in the city communication and image, as well as being a part of the spatial urban development. This can be seen in the theme of needing to develop small creative companies, often in the

technology area and with the buzzword of “startups” (Florida, 2006), and the entrepreneurial networks and clustering arenas invested in by public organizations (see among others Länsstyrelsen i Stockholms län, 2010; Region Skåne, 2014; Stockholm Business Region, 2013; Malmö stad, 2013). Stockholm and Malmö are two Swedish cities reflecting this trend, both investing in communication’s work regarding branding, following strategic policy documents regarding branding and image as a part of an on-going marketing of the city with focus on entrepreneurialism, creativity and innovation (Stockholms stad, 2014; Malmö stad, 2013; personal communication with city strategists Stockholm and Malmö). Stockholm has a wish to be known as “the world’s greatest startup city” (personal communication with city strategist Stockholm). Malmö is known for its image transformational work (Mukhtar-Landgren, 2008, 2009, Möllerström, 2011) as well as having a new brand strategy focused on being the place to be if you want to realize your idea and start up a business (personal communication with city strategists Malmö). Both cities are included in public regional development plans with explicit strategies for growth where entrepreneurship constantly is highlighted as a main factor. They are furthermore yearly monitored and compared to other cities such as Amsterdam, Barcelona and Berlin in order to become “the most attractive in Europe” (Länsstyrelsen i Stockholms län, 2010) and “the most innovative in Europe” (Region Skåne, 2014). Stockholm uses the brand slogan “The Capital of Scandinavia” which reflects its benchmarking towards other world metropolises, where focus often lies in highlighting numbers, rankings and a technological industry (Stockholm Business Region, 2013; Stockholms stad, 2014; personal communication with city strategists Stockholm). Malmö on the other hand, has adopted the slogan “Meeting place Malmö” which reflects more of a social aspect than Stockholm’s geographical, and perhaps more traditional in city brand communication, reference. Malmö benchmarks more to other cities within Sweden such as Stockholm and Gothenburg, as well as to other European cities, and has a image built around its “emotional story regarding Malmö’s unique spirit”, thus mainly focusing on values and feelings than numbers and ratings (Malmö stad, 2014b; personal communication with city strategist Malmö).

Considering Stockholm’s and Malmö’s active work on city brand communication, functioning as examples of the process of communicating a city brand and its consequences, they should as complimentary case studies prove a valuable foundation for understanding the governing aspects of city brand communication. The focus has been on the strategies and texts that communicate a city image, organize the spatial city and its social relations, studying the discourses about the city, how it is to be perceived and lived. The cases will add understanding to how perceptions are shaped, produced and promoted via visions, branding strategies and their

discursive dispersion, and how this governs and influences how the city is to be understood, developed and enacted by the residents.

4.3 The practicality of the chosen methods

At this point it might be helpful to point out that city brand communication, as understood in this research, was approached as the wider and more complex process as touched upon above, where different sectors of governmental institutions produce and reproduce these visions and images of said place, thus supporting a certain ideology behind. This entailed a wide approach when finding material for study. The study focused on the practices of city brand communication by city strategists, the conceptual images they produce, which discourses are used and which mentalities these seek to produce, as well as how they might be enacted in everyday city life. In studying how place brand communication can be seen as a form of governing, the development of Foucault's notion of governmentality in Dean's (2010) analytical framework became practical in asking the questions of what is governed, how it is achieved, who we become when governed as well as why we are governed this way.

4.3.1 Observations

The research included general observations of the cities in regards to city centre and work areas, its development and focus, as well as participation and semi-guided tours of events organized in this space, relevant to the city image produced as well as enactment of it. As Hall and Hubbard (1998, p. 21) point out "researchers seldom look at the lived culture of entrepreneurial cities or at the changing textures and rhythms of everyday life as they are affected by (and, of course, affect) entrepreneurial governance". Although having a focus on those driving in producing and implementing strategies in the city regarding branding, observing the actual everyday events reflecting the lived entrepreneurial scene should add to a deeper analysis of the self-governing phenomenon.

4.3.2 Interviews

Since governmentality is an understudied approach to the place brand communication field, interviews were a preferred method in order to be able to stay flexible in approaching the topic. The scholar is able to find and adapt to themes emphasised at the time of the interview, being able to ask follow up questions, as well as studying the material in retrospect for a deeper

analysis (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). The selection of interviewees was with regards to answering Dean's (2010) four questions of governmental analysis, understood in this context to be those who actively work with planning and creating a city brand and communicating this. These were primarily public strategists working on visions and branding in regards to the city. Secondly we find those involved more with the enactment of the image in their representation of the creative entrepreneurial class, meaning city entrepreneurs.

In order to research the overall context of this urban entrepreneurial scene, two pilot interviews were held with participants of entrepreneurial networks in two European cities, London and Copenhagen. London is producing the largest output of startup companies in the European Union (Startup Genome & Telefonica Digital, 2012), while Copenhagen can add a local Scandinavian approach. A third pilot interview was conducted with an entrepreneur who has experience from moving to and working in both Stockholm and Malmö. There were furthermore twelve main interviews. Nine were with those responsible and active in creating a specific perception of the studied case cities. These are public city strategists working with city brand communication and urban development in Stockholm and Malmö. Their overall task is to give information about the visions, strategies and practicalities of the city brand communication, to capture the desired perceptions about the city and what influences they wish and have. In addition, interviews with five participants in the local entrepreneurial communities were conducted. All individuals were selected gradually, based on a "snowball effect" where the interviewees gave recommendations, a relevant method when wanting to find individuals rich with information regarding a certain topic (Möllerström, 2011).

The interviews were analysed by a discourse analysis. It meant interpreting meaning by finding the parts informative for the research questions, and through the answers and descriptions central discursive themes were displayed and interpreted (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009) through Dean's analytical framework, which guided but also worked parallel to the relevant document analyses. Becker (2008, p. 69) argues the value of asking "how" instead of "why". Although a form of normative higher value in asking why someone performs in a certain way, this way of asking usually puts the interviewee in a defence mode, however, shifting instead to asking how, interviewees may open up to reflect and answer: "'How?' questions [...] gave people more leeway, were less constraining, invited them to answer in any way that suited them [...]" (Becker, 1998, p.88). This is also linking to Becker's idea of imagery in approaching an area of study, meaning actions and events are results of a longer process, where different actions and events open up for an outcome, which opens up for another and so on. Becker's (1998) argument is that there is rarely a clear linear intention, but that this is a progression of

many. The interviews with city strategists focused on the following topics surrounding the city brand communication:

- Are there specific overall themes, words repeated/highlighted?
- What are their visions and goals of their work regarding the city brand communication?
- How is their work around city brand communication influencing social relations in the city? Do they have specific directions they pursue/wish to have?

The interviews with those in the entrepreneurial communities focused on how they see their work, their relation to the city and the city's brand communication work, as well as their overall lifestyle. Each interview used a semi-structured guide that derived from the above-mentioned questions. They also affected the choice of respondents and interview proceedings. Interviews lasted approximately 30-60 minutes, were recorded and subsequently transcribed. The environments were chosen by the interviewee, in order for him/her to be comfortable and to have a more conversational character, based on the idea that this less formal situation will help the interviewee relax and talk more freely regarding the topic, which should make the text more qualitative in regards to its empirical value. It ended with an open question if they felt they would like to add something, in order to stay open to other meaningful themes that might have been missed going into the interview. The use of the interviews was to get an insight into the area and how the public organizations use certain discourses and focus on how the cities should be perceived, and which influences they wish to have on (potential) city inhabitants and social relations. It was expected that the interviewees, being communicators by profession, are used to telling a certain narrative about their operations and surroundings (Eksell & Thelander, 2014), highlighting specific aspects while leaving out others, and thus this was not the single method of the study.

4.3.3 Document analysis

The documents studied for this research were texts concerned with producing an "ideal" image of the city. These were the city's communication policy documents as well as texts focusing on the city slogan, vision, image, and development. These were selected from the cities' official websites as well as at public city offices, such as city hall, during the interviews. Besides the communication strategies, most of the texts have been published as promotional material

distributed to city residents or businesses, as inlays in other magazines, as reading material at major airports in Sweden and Copenhagen as well as on Swedish trains.

The study used a discourse analysis in order to approach the power and influence processes underlying the discourses in the texts regarding city brand communication so as to understand why, as well as how, city brand communication could be used as a tool of governing. It is through discourse that governmentality is manifested (Dean, 2010). An analysis of city strategists' language and the actualized discourses is an important element in the research of contemporary social and cultural processes, such as changes in power relations and cultural values (Möllerström & Stenberg, 2014). Analysing discourses means understanding how generic truths and perceptions are created, which "has implications on how societies, organizations and individuals organize and understand their surroundings" (Möllerström & Stenberg, 2014, p. 127), making it a relevant foundation for this study on how place brand communication can be a way of governing. This entails a Foucauldian approach of a discursive perspective on governance, where language is seen as a part of shaping reality, giving it a "constitutive power since it shapes the object described and thus makes certain activities more central than others" (Möllerström & Stenberg, 2014, p. 128). In this study, the concept of discourse was used for understanding both text and context: how can the texts construct and reproduce the discourses and perceptions of the city and ourselves? The study looked at the producer and production of the text, which mentalities its discourses wish to create, and how they seek to be enacted. The document analysis focused on the following:

- Are there specific overall communicative themes?
- Which perceptions are created in the texts regarding the city? Are there contrasting images?
- Are there specific words repeated or highlighted?
- Whom is the text targeted towards?
- To whom might the text be beneficial?
- Who is highlighted in the text and who is missing from the text?

4.4 Quality criteria

In regards to methodological considerations, tradition in science has meant reflections on reliability (being accurate in measuring/interpreting so that the research is reliable also in cases not studied), validity (method is valid if it is measuring/answering what it is supposed to), as well as objectivity, in order to judge the quality of the research (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009; Heide & Simonsson, 2014). These terms however stem from natural science and an

epistemology of positivism where our knowledge of the world can be justified only by experience, observation and experiment (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009). These ideas have trickled down into social science where they are still used and argued, although there are apparent limits of naturalistic epistemology and method when applied to the social sciences (see among many Rosenberg, 2008; Becker, 2008). The study objects of the two sciences are far from similar, with naturalistic form of explanation not suitable for taking on human behaviour's reflexive and intentional abilities. If we do not regard there to be one singular true "reality", but many different images and perceptions constructing different "realities", these terms are problematic, at best. Arguing the correct method for this research thus need not to use such terms, but instead focus on the social phenomenon at large, why it is of interest to social science as well as beneficial for society, and thus finding the relevant research questions in order to study said phenomenon. In addition, being transparent on how the study is conducted and with what perspective, are of more importance for the study and its justification (Eksell & Thelander, 2014). It would be naïve to assume that any qualitative researcher should produce the same results, since this is always a matter of experience, choice of theories, editorial work (Heide & Simonsson, 2014), but instead one could argue credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability as four criteria to measure the quality of a qualitative study (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). One should point out however, that this guideline of studying phenomenon and being able to generalize in order for the study to be scientifically valuable, instead of just describing a singular case, could be questioned. In the same matter as reliability and validity are questioned due to their existence being a matter of naturalistic heritage in science, there is a possible contradiction of being able to generalize while subjectively interpreting. Nevertheless, the use of critical analysis must be considered valuable to society, not least from a democratic perspective, and being able to see and highlight patterns and power structures should not be disregarded due to methodological complexities. There is also a refined approach where, suggested by Halkier (Hedie & Simonsson, 2014), *analytical* generalization can be, for instance, in the form of positioning, meaning the researcher in the studied case finds patterns in the communication which has implications on construction of a certain image of reality. This study aims for such a form of knowledge contribution.

Another implication on this study was the fact that the research was conducted by a scholar who is part of the entrepreneurial community in Malmö (previous small scale entrepreneur, participant in meet-ups as well as other social events), as well as a part of public promotional activities (communicator for the county council's business subsidiary Business Region Skåne). Being part of these two worlds, where perceptions of the city and its entrepreneurial community

are produced with certain agendas, should influence the research and perspective. Nonetheless, as with for instance feminist theory, being part of what is researched can open up for finding what to others is invisible or denied (Prasad, 2005). Having prior knowledge about the culture and discourses, understanding the differences in experiences, as well as access to the institutions, could be valuable tools for the research, and is linked to the criteria of research quality mentioned above, credibility, in being familiar with the culture. Equally, being open about this prior knowledge is important in understanding that this will influence the mental processes while conducting the study, which is linked to the quality criteria of transferability. This in turn leads us to reflections on ethics, where Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) argues a form of Aristotelian phronesis (practical wisdom or prudence) in that the ideal qualitative researcher knows her subject well, meaning she is sensitive and perceptive without oversimplifying, and having prior understanding about the culture and context could help this practice.

4.4.1 Translations

Academia's role in society is not only to produce valuable research but also to aim for a dispersion of this research. This study aims to do so by using the English language in order to aim for a wider contribution to the place brand communication literature. Studying place brand communication in a Swedish context included text and literature both in English as well as Swedish, meaning there was a need for translations made by the scholar. Translating interview quotes when studying discourse can be problematic however, since definitions and terms can have altered meanings and nuances in the different languages. A key here is for the scholar to be well familiar with her subject, the used languages as well as the culture, which has been argued above. Cassinger (2014) also suggests that the interview quote, no matter language or culture, is always a product of translation between the interviewer and informant, which happens under as well as after the interview. The idea of there being a truth able to be captured by the researcher should be seen as a remnant of naturalistic approach to the qualitative interview, rather than an actual possibility of the research (Cassinger, 2014). Nonetheless, this methodological factor needs to be addressed in regards to the notion of transparency argued above.

4.5 Ethical reflections

Adding ethical reflections to the factual situation of research, means informing the studied individuals and organizations about the general purpose of the study and have them aware of potential benefits and risks with participating (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Benefits in this case

could be getting mediated attention in a positive way, thus motivating their individual work, legitimizing their role within the organization, as well as gaining knowledge from an external and academic perspective on their work. Risks could be that they or their organization are not in control of the interpretation, hence they could be portrayed in a to them undesirable way. These factors should also be weighed against the notions that the interview sessions was conducted with a from the scholar open mind in order to stay sensitive to latent meanings and that interviewees should not feel attacked in any manner, leading them to answer in a defensive way. In order for the informants not to feel omitted, all names was feigned in the analysis.

5. Analysis

The research questions for this study has been how place brand communication practices govern the city and its social relations, which discourses are actualized in the city brand communication, as well as what perceptions are produced. Looking at the cities' use of branding, Stockholm and Malmö have been studied through discourse analysis with observations, interviews and documents, where Dean's (2010) analytical framework of governmentality has been used. Each section below will in regards to city brand communication and the empirical findings, present and reflect upon one of Dean's dimensions.

5.1 What does city brand communication seek to govern?

A potential power in producing and reproducing discourse, lies in creating a certain meaning which can create a mentality in others. How you perceive a place will then also influence how you think it is supposed to be and how it shall develop, as well as who you are to be and act in that space. The way one thinks about the city is influenced by the discourses in the texts created by city strategists, which influence how people act, who acts where, and what happens, in the city. Seeking to create specific mentalities (a way of thinking; an interpretation) through ideals (a goal; standard of perfection) promoted in certain discourses, influencing how individuals should perceive the city and its social relations is then a way of shaping a process which will have real consequences in the city life. The perceptions produced are 1) economic focus is a natural development, 2) the city has one true essence which needs to be communicated with one voice, 3) the modern city is an open one. Let us explore these perceptions below.

5.1.1 A perception of economic focus as natural development

In Malmö city's strategic policy document for its organization's internal and external communication, we find the introduction:

We need a clear image of Malmö

The image of Malmö is important. It is what makes Malmö's residents proud of their city, it is what gives visitors the desire to come here and experience something new and it is what makes it interesting for companies to make long-term investments in Malmo.

For Malmö to get the development we want, it is important that the image of Malmö becomes clear.

(From Varför, för vem och hur. En kortfattad presentation av hur Malmö stad kommunicerar internt och externt. Malmö stad, 2006)

The city clearly states that they want to create an image of the city that makes the residents proud of the city and they want companies to make long-term investments in the city. They also state that they want a specific development. The text reflects two key notions in the strategic authority work in the so-called post-industrial city, one being the importance of the image in governing the city, and secondly how attractiveness and long-term investments are a given and unquestioned goal for the city. Tesfahuney and Dahlstedt (2008) talk about how the conditions of the exercise of power changes in our time, which gives the appearance of being post political, a term describing a process where certain questions or fields previously regarded as political, are removed from the political. It is manifested as “development”, as society going from one lower point to one higher point. The term post political is thus useful in that it puts light on the political in the *seemingly* apolitical. The core of the definition is shown in the ideals of flexibility, growth, competition, entrepreneurship, and lies in the paradox that the more an economization is infringing the different spheres of life, the less it seems to be perceived as political and more as a given development of society (Tesfahuney & Dahlstedt, 2008). Painting this seemingly non-political picture, of the naturalness of going from one lower point to a higher point, is displayed in the city brand communication in both Stockholm and Malmö, where these mentioned ideals often are outspoken in the texts, as exemplified in the quote below which highlights the ideals of competition and ambition to grow business:

Malmö is a young, modern global city with a bright future. A green city; an events venue. Malmö lies at the heart of a region ranked as one of the world's most innovative according to the OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development); not just a result of great collaboration with the surrounding area, trade, industry and educational institutions, but also of courage, will, vision and ambition. Malmö is at the heart of the Öresund region, the Nordic area's biggest labour market. Malmö's location is simply the best.

(From Malmö – location location location; Malmö Stad, 2013)

The quote's referring to rankings is a co-occurring theme, implying something as factual. This is also shown in the quote below regarding Stockholm's brand slogan "The Capital of Scandinavia":

Stockholm's position as the capital of Scandinavia is based on results of a number of surveys, rankings and ratings that are conducted regularly.

(From *The Capital of Scandinavia*; Stockholms stad, 2015e)

The images presented here is that there is a factual position for cities, and that these surveys, rankings and ratings are truth holders. The meaning could be understood as the governing work is not governing at all, but the cities merely acting in the service of natural development to the benefit of the citizens. In the quote below, the city brand is portrayed similar to having agency, linking the city brand itself to economic strength and attractiveness of the city:

Stockholm – The Capital of Scandinavia

The brand breaking new ground

An increasing number of references are made to Stockholm's positioning as The Capital of Scandinavia in both national and international newspaper articles and literature.

Stockholm's continued economic strength combined with new services result in new business and contribute to lifting the international attraction of the region. They also bear witness that Stockholm is Scandinavia's most important place for investments, establishments and visitors.

(From *Annual Report 2013*; Stockholm Business Region, 2013)

One part of the post political city brand communication, is the description of the transformation of the city, often from industrial to based on knowledge and experience, where the transformation is scripted as natural development through globalization and the progress of technology, principally the move from an industrial time to a knowledge based time as a natural progress of urban society, and not something governed, promoted or steered (Hall & Hubbard, 1998; Harvey, 1989). We find this image of a transformation in a magazine produced by Malmö city, distributed as an inlay in business magazine Dagens Industri, major airports in Sweden and Copenhagen, as well as on trains in Sweden, indicating it being targeted at working academics and business

travelers:

FROM TIME TO TIME Malmö's situation has been dire. In the middle of the 1990s, 26,000 jobs disappeared and the budget deficit reached an unbelievable SEK 1.3 billion. Malmö rose again and is now proud to boast such things as Malmö University, the Öresund Bridge, City Tunnel, Turning Torso and the rest of Västra Hamnen (West Harbour). The courage, will, vision and ambition that characterizes our city all helped to make this possible. A once-successful industrial centre in decline has transformed into a modern knowledge-based city; Malmö has a new beginning. Who could have imagined that serious discussions would be under way about a Metro under the sound between Malmö and Copenhagen?

(From *Malmö – location location location*; Malmö Stad, 2013)

The notion of constant movement is portrayed as something natural and we find also this idea of a transformation, from the *industrial* denoting a crisis, to *attractive, innovative* and *sustainable*, thus implying Malmö was not this in the industrial era. Here the text lifts how Malmö “rose again”, being able to be “proud again”, thanks to courage, will, vision and ambition, which paints the picture of a united city being courageous in its visions, implying these visions also come from the citizens and is now a success story. Will and vision are lifted as courageous traits coming from the city as a person of itself, instead of the political strategies they in fact are. This idea reflects an essentialist perspective, contrasting with viewing place brand communication as post political governance, where the marketing communication is a tool in order to represent an identity to specific audiences (Kaneva, 2011). Malmö is portrayed as having one true identity, which the brand helps to give agency, in order to correctly communicate the “real” city (this will be further discussed in 5.1.2). It is also displayed how the city planning and architecture is used here as ways of supporting these claims of success, and are ways of making sense of this city planning in retrospect. They could of course be portrayed differently: for example the Turning Torso could be seen as a “financial fiasco” for the cooperative member owned building organization HSB, with its building and operating costs plenty over budget, suffering with management difficulties as well as being unsalable (Sjögren, 2014). This however is not in line with the success story of Malmö’s transformation, where development, entrepreneurship and growth are to be promoted. City politics are here a flow of thoughts, or discourse, alongside representing a specific political practice (Dannestam, 2009). The thoughts mean normative perceptions of the city’s significance for the economic development. The communication

promotes that the city should prioritize economic development more than before, and growth strategies are linked to the city as a natural political contexture. The mentality produced here is thus one where a focus on economy is natural and not a political practice.

5.1.2 A perception of one true essence of the city communicated with one voice

*By planning and coordinating the communication, and by being consistent in message and the visual, we strengthen the image of **one** Stockholm, where all work together and strive towards mutual goals.*

(From *Kommunikationsprogram 2012-2015*; Stockholms stad, 2011)

As seen previous in the study in Malmö's communication strategy, as well as in the quote above from Stockholm city's communication policy, there is a clear request for creating one singular image, to be "clear" (Malmö stad, 2006) and "consistent" (Stockholms stad, 2011), an image to be backed mutually by all agents working with the city communication. The idea of there being only one city image reflects a tension within marketing as well as the organizational communications' field (where place brand communication has its origin): speaking with one voice versus polyphony. While plenty argue the need of communicating one coordinated message (see among others Hatch & Schultz, 2001), there are scholars countering this concept of one clear organizational voice as a standardized solution. As with the suggested naturalness of putting tax resources on city brand communication, considering shaping perceptions about the city neutral, there has in organizations been a similar function of public relations guidance serving as a corporate voice, producing and reproducing certain ideological meanings about the corporation, framing how publics should perceive the organization as a necessary and natural part of society (Logan, 2014). The personification (Cheney, Christensen, Zorn & Ganesh, 2011) is such an image, as shown in the metaphors of "speaking" with one "voice", and expected to benefit certain interest groups. An oppositional approach is the notion of polyphony (Christensen, Morsing and Cheney, 2008), where an organization is to listen and learn from the many voices of its internal and external audiences, clearly linking to a democratic idea which is also one that might be expected from a public organization such as Malmö city and Stockholm city. The one message theme can then be seen as based on hegemony and ideological discourse, as well as coordinating everyday communication activities. This idea is again reflected in Stockholm city's policy document for its communication:

For our communication to be effective, we need to be coordinated and consistent in the messages we convey. Through good cooperation both within and between our businesses, we create an internal connectedness, which in turn leads to external clarity.

(From *Kommunikationsprogram för Stockholms stad 2012-2015*; Stockholms stad, 2011)

The idea of speaking with one voice promoting one image of the city might appear apolitical and harmless in the post political society, however consequences could be that differences in the city are suppressed. This is a democratic problem since it unables excluded groups to articulate political identities (Zizek, 1999) and lowers the conflict level in the city, one could argue in the gain of an elite, manifested in those behind the visions and ideals constructing the city brand communication.

But is it possible for a city to speak with only one voice, or can we find other images, than that of a developing entrepreneurial and creative city, transpiring? In a published brochure by the Nordic City Network (2014), called a “discussion paper about the current status of Nordic urban development”, whereas Malmö and interviewed city strategist Livia North is part, it does start by naming core values: “sense of community, solidarity, democracy, inclusion, trust, equality, flexibility, respect for nature” (Nordic City Network, 2014, p. 5). Several of these could be seen as “soft” words reflecting non-monetary values, in line more with social issues of the citizens than economic growth and development. However, looking into how these words (core values) are defined in the text we find rhetoric with the ideals of knowledge, education and openness, shown in example below:

*Inclusive learning environments. New campus areas in the cities are becoming more open and integrated thus contributing to **INCLUSION** in the Nordic education system. This represents a major opportunity for developing the future knowledge societies and strengthening the inclusive city.”*

(From *Nordic Cities in Transition*; Nordic City Network, 2014)

Inclusion here is then meant as taking part of the educational system, a part of the image of a knowledge city, as described by Möllerström’s (2011) study of Malmö’s image transformation from industrial to knowledge based. Inclusion can then be seen as becoming a part of the creative

class (which will be discussed more below in regards to subject positions) in gaining “knowledge” as seen as higher education, not as for instance inclusion in any decision making process. We find this economic growth-focus in the introduction of the same material:

In recent years, all cities in Scandinavian cities [sic] have aligned themselves to the idea of the knowledge society, and the premise that knowledge creates growth.

(From *Nordic Cities in Transition*; Nordic City Network, 2014)

Again, the value in the ideal of knowledge and education, is that it creates growth, the taken for granted aim of the city and its residents. The mentality produced here is thus one where communicating one true essence of the city is in favour of everyone, in regards to it creating growth.

5.1.3 A perception of an open city

In the brand communication work, we often find the word “meeting place”, displayed in the slogan of Malmö being “Meeting place Malmö” (Malmö stad, 2011, 2014b) as well as in the text below, taken from an information magazine produced by Malmö city regarding its city development:

Encourage creative meetings

Today, not only in the workplace, you might as well sit in a coffee shop to work or work from home. We see another movement, between tranquillity and city pulse.

To get creative and innovative ideas requires meetings between people and environments that attract conversation and dialogue. What happens for example if we can get the 6000 people working in the cultural and creative industries along The Line in the West Harbour to meet and converse with each other. What forces and ideas will happen then?

(From *Planering. Information från Malmö stadsbyggnadskontor*: Malmö stad, 2014c)

The open meeting place reflects a creative, spontaneous, modern city, in contrast to an old industrial city with large closed off work environments. The ideals of creativity and innovation demands according to the text meetings, but it also implies meetings between a certain *types* of workers. We see then again the connection to business and the focus on work as key, which we

can understand as an important site of the subjectification characteristic to governmentality (Rose, O'Malley & Valverde, 2006). We also find the naturalness of work being able to take place in a coffee shop or from home, which is a way of expanding the sites of subjectification. On the other hand it also excludes, since many areas of work, perhaps more traditional, are not able to take place in a coffee shop or from home, for example industrial work but also conventional city occupations such as nurses, cleaners, cashiers. The unemployed are not a part of this image either. This mentality then, promoting the idea of steering the city planning to creating “meeting-places”, actually result in a form of controlled heterogeneity (Wessel et al., 2005): What is never to be found in the city vision or image is the unwanted consequences of the entrepreneurial post-industrial city, such as the guest workers or the warehouses needed to hold the goods to be consumed. The open creative environment where citizens meet is in fact a place for a selected few with the “right” creative work and lifestyle. It may also function as normative control where the image guides the creative citizen in how to act in this environment. The mentality produced here is thus one where the modern city is open, which demands meeting places, furthering the ideals of creativity and entrepreneurship.

5.2 How does city brand communication seek to govern?

As argued above, city brand communication seeks to govern by producing specific perceptions of 1) an economic focus in the city appearing as natural development, 2) of communicating one true essence of the city with one voice, as well as 3) the modern city being an open one with meeting places for the creative entrepreneurs. We shall now study how it does so in its actualization of certain discourses in the city brand communication work, making a specific knowledge available. The found discourses in this study are the creative entrepreneurial discourse and the discourse of growth, which will be presented below.

5.2.1 The creative entrepreneurial discourse

The city brand communication has a strong emphasis on its innovative entrepreneurial climate. This is shown in the quote taken from Stockholm city explaining its city vision “Stockholm 2030”:

Innovative and growing

Stockholm attracts businesses, workers and students from around the world. The Stockholm region is known for its inspiring entrepreneurial and innovative climate,

a high-class infrastructure and for world leading research in areas such as information technology, life science and cleantech.

(From *Vision 2030*; Stockholms stad, 2015c)

The image created of an entrepreneurial city is painted with the values of creativity and innovation, as well as an ambition to always strive towards improvement. From these central values, the subject positions are created with the help of a discourse constantly focusing and promoting these as ideal (Dean's dimension of who we become when governed will be discussed further in section 5.3), When these are the ideal position accepted at large, there is thus a need constructed for an environment in the city where these values are to be acted out, thus locales for entrepreneurship appear logical and natural. On the one hand this means that the entrepreneurial attributes can be monitored and publically managed, and on the other hand it means that there is a legitimization of a city focusing on work. This is often found in the city brand communication, where the city space is talked about as in service of foremost business. Below is a quote from Malmö city's branding policy document:

Do you invest in an image? Yes, definitely. In principle, all investments in general and establishments in particular are based on expectations and those expectations are based in turn on the visionary image one can present. To actively and purposefully work with the image of Malmö is to build a strong brand.

(From *Bilden av Malmö. Varumärkesarbete*. Malmö stad, 2006)

The connection between the image of the city being in service of creating business is demonstrated and stands accepted. Malmö city then also argues its entrepreneurial climate, here via the city's official website, on its welcoming page:

The City of Malmö is enhancing an attractive business environment and a dynamic business community in Malmö.

(Malmö stad, 2015b)

Instead of for instance highlighting attractions, the authorities are lifting how Malmö is "undergoing a transition from being an industrial city to a city of knowledge" as well as how "Co-operation between colleges, science parks, and companies provides a sound basis for entrepreneurs and creative development in Malmö." (Malmö stad, 2015b). How can we

understand this dominating discourse about the city? In order to do so, one needs to understand the historical context. Wessel, Tunström and Bradley (2005) write about the Swedish city growth, displayed in the bigger city regions, and explain the need this entails for new housing, transport and public spaces. They argue the New Urbanism-ideal as rampaging in several Swedish contexts, where an urbane development should be prioritized above environmental aspects. The counter image to this dense urban grid is the suburban uniformity, focused on function and built in concrete material. “Urbanity and dense grid structures are sometimes pictured as something that ‘everyone’ wants - something that constitutes the ‘timeless’ or ‘natural’ cities.” (Wessel et al, 2005, p. 15). Orrskog (2005) sees the 1970’s as a crucial time, where the oil crisis was a surprising and hard to get over memento for the Western industrial societies and the thought of eternal material growth. The dominant story told however is the above-discussed shift to a globalised world where businesses needed to be obliged due to easy and fast moving capital between sectors and nations. This was now the main focus of governmental authority rather than a growing welfare (Orrskog, 2005). This perception of the cities is manifested in Malmö - and Stockholm city’s development in its transformation of old industrial area and harbour, such as Slakthusområdet and Hammarbyhamnen in Stockholm (Stockholms stad, 2015d; Olsson, 2008) and The West Harbour in Malmö (Möllerström, 2011).

The West Harbour with its old, large industrial buildings and proximity to Malmö University has become an attractive neighbourhood for cultural and creative industries. There is, for example, Swedish Television at the old town wharf. The historic dockyard Varvsstaden, is not only a new business structure but is also becoming a media cluster to be reckoned with. Media Evolution City acquired Malmö City's Architectural Award 2012 for the work to create a new content and new form in a classical industrial environment. By building a new type of venue the ability of the citizens to use the area has also changed. This strengthens the area's innovative character and attracts more entrepreneurs and businesses in the creative and cultural sector.

(From Planning in Malmö 2015: 1, Malmö, 2015)

The image painted is that the development of the industrial area into business area for creative work is successful and positive in its attractiveness to entrepreneurs and business. The idea of the transformation being key is also found in Malmö city’s branding policy document:

Malmö as an industrial city is history, now Malmö is really called a knowledge city. Help came in the form of state strategic decisions, such as the system of equalization, the defined framework. But the image we created ourselves. First as a vision, then as a completed university. An image with both security and credibility. Just like the bridge. Before it came it was questioned, now no one can imagine a Malmö without it. Just as the West Harbour with the Turning Torso. Visions become reality and the image of Malmö is transformed. The more comprehensive this work is, the clearer the picture will appear, for both Malmö residents as well as visitors and business.

(From *Bilden av Malmö. Varumärkesarbete*. Malmö stad, 2006)

The portrait is thus of a city struggling where the vision of a transformation and the image-construction implementing it was the solution, in going from a city suffering to a successful city. Linking the post political society even further with business, Tesfahuney and Dahlstedt (2008, p.20) see the entrepreneur as a symbol for the speculative culture of a post political society: “they seek the rooms of opportunities, see opportunities where others see limitations and difficulties”. Municipalities have developed from providers of welfare services to also explicitly trying to promote local economic growth, often in collaboration with the business sector and private actors (Hall & Hubbard, 1998; Harvey, 1989, 2008). Changes in public administration has created a more common form of indirect goal-steering, where visions and images of the future are created by the authorities to steer the discourse and development in a certain direction, instead of specific or clear directives (Tefahuney & Dahlstedt, 2008). This visionary thinking in one way opens up the public administrative work, in the manner that it builds on an interaction between different societal actors. At the same time, the question arises: who’s vision and perception of the future is it? This highlights the other side, where this change also closes the municipality, in that the responsibility becomes more unclear with the more actors involved in the work process and the questions are formulated as apolitical (Coleman, Tombs & Whyte, 2005; Mouffe, 2000, 2005).

By linking the values engineering the subject positions to city economic outcome, the creative entrepreneurial discourse can steer the focus and thus dispersion of city resources. The focus is shown in the city brand communication’s emphasis on creative entrepreneurship, manifested in documents and texts by the city authorities, as exemplified below from Stockholm city:

The establishment of new business continues to be one of Stockholm's most important success factors. The eco-system that exists and results in attracting more, new companies to start their business in Stockholm is crucial for building the city's increasingly strong image as one of the most interesting start-up scenes in the world. The innovative climate has been manifested in a number of ways, and during the year a number of actors in the region adopted a unanimous plan to further strengthen our prominent position in this area.

(From *Annual Report 2013*; Stockholm Business Region, 2013)

In constructing space, Lefebvre (1991) talks about how ideology needs a space to which it refers, using religion as an example in its use of places for worship, where the space is used to disperse a certain vocabulary and how to embody it. The discourse of a creative entrepreneurial city on the one hand makes the subject position of a creative entrepreneur available to the individual, yet also legitimizes the city in constructing and taking up central space and turning it into business clusters. Malmö exemplifies this with the West Harbour housing incubators, media clusters and co-working spaces (Minc, 2015; Media Evolution City, 2015; STPLN, 2015). In Stockholm where housing is a crucial issue for inhabitants due to high demand and high prices, entrepreneurial houses Sup46 and Epicenter, funded by the authorities, have both gotten locations in the city centre (interview with City strategist, Stockholm).

5.2.2 A discourse of growth

Linked with the discourse of creative entrepreneurship, we find in the empirical material a discourse of growth in both Stockholm - and Malmö city's brand communication. Since the year 2005, Stockholm is marketed under the slogan "Stockholm – The Capital of Scandinavia" with the goal of making Stockholm "northern Europe's leading growth region" (Olsson, 2008, Stockholm Business Region, 2015b):

Dynamic Stockholm gearing up for continued growth

Stockholm is one of Europe's fastest growing big cities. An increasing number of people want to live and work here, and the city is regarded as an attractive location for the head offices of a great number of international companies. The Stockholm region is top-rated in the several international rankings, distinguishing itself as an innovative and prosperous city with a high standard of living.

(From *Annual Report 2013*; Stockholm Business Region, 2013)

We see the similar discourse of growth in Malmö highlighting the city being awarded a prize for being the “growth municipality” of the year:

GROWTH

Malmö is doing well and the development is reflected by 10 key performance indicators. This positive development was rewarded when the city received the prize of Growth Municipality of the Year 2009.*

(From *Malmö Snapshot 2014*; Malmö stad, 2014a)

The focus on growth is a part of the entrepreneurial city politics often put forward as the politics of necessary adaptation (Harvey, 1989; Dannestam, 2009). With our governmental analysis, we might rather regard it as a political project that is driven by several coalitions of powerful actors. It is an illustration of how public organizations are opening up to more actors in decision-making processes, processes that take place in interactions between a variety of actors rather than only inside the formal institutions of governance (Coleman, Tombs & Whyte, 2005). This entails that governing-tactics become even harder to grasp in the fine-masked net the more open to outer collaboration the municipality becomes. Since the growth discourse appears a natural aim and development of the so-called post-industrial city, collaborating with other actors in order to achieve such a growth is legitimized. An undemocratic consequence of this however can be a problem in finding a source, allocating responsibility, for decisions made influencing the urban space, such as for instance specific visions leading strategies and development planning. The access to local politics is uneven and certain groups with partisan interests of projects and redevelopment enjoy more favorable terms, achieved by it being perceived as in the name of local economic development, and then its seeming ability to act in the interests of the majority of the urban population. It is achieved by a discourse restricted to the economic growth, where the social, cultural and political content and meaning is in the dark, thus with the obvious benefits to particular sections of the community, such as developers, construction companies and consultants (Tesfahuney & Dahlstedt, 2008). The interplay of the image-making of the city and growth is shown in the text below:

Our mutual brand, Stockholm – The Capital of Scandinavia, has greatly contributed to the fact that we are now approaching our goal to become Europe's leading sustainable growth region.

(From *Varumärkesplattform*; Stockholms stad, 2015d)

Opening up to such influence from other actors, could not only have democratic consequences in responsibility for decision making as well as benefitting certain groups, but also hinder the public authorities in needing to adapt to the other actors agendas, not being able to make unpopular decisions although beneficial to the citizens. This could for instance be keeping central space, and thus expensive land, open for public use, or housing a youth club instead of a business cluster. Instead of growth, city brand communication could very well highlight a society of different cultures and ways of life, as well as urban planning could turn the old industrial space into other functions rather than business. We then find how the city brand communication is instrumental in maintaining a certain social system, which could be argued unequal, designed to exploit the citizens in taking the subject position of creative entrepreneurs, further promoting a business and economic oriented politics as natural development. This benefits city developers and businesses, where the public organisations focus on servicing the businesses over welfare issues.

5.3 Who do we become when we are governed by city brand communication?

A Foucauldian understanding of knowledge means that knowledge not only represents the world but also produces it and its subjects (Dean, 2010). Subjectivity is thus discursively produced, which reflects the aspect of governmentality's self-governing. Using Dean's (2010) analytical lens, we can study which subject positions are made available and valuable through the city brand communication. What makes the city residents governable in a certain way is the city brand communication stimulating them toward a subjectivity of a creative entrepreneurial class. The idea of a creative class as Florida (2006) has coined them, reflects a certain group and lifestyle to be normative. As previously pointed out in this research, the idea of a creative class as drivers in the economic growth has been a seductive one among city managers and strategists (Peck, 2005), which has highly influenced the city brand communication. In said communication the creatives are often connected to the entrepreneurial, knowledge based and growth aiming city as the ideal citizen, reflecting the mentality of the city having one voice or image constantly promoted, while other possible subject positions are rarely seen, or perhaps only in a negative light as "the other". In the city vision of Stockholm, we find an example of the promotion of a creative resident:

Centre of a strong and growing region

Stockholm is an obvious centre in the continued growth of the region of Stockholm, Sweden's economic engine and a prerequisite for the entire country's growth. There are world-class educations, well-educated and creative residents with good language skills and a first-class living environment. For locals, visitors and businesses, a greater Stockholm has also become a better Stockholm.

(From *Vision 2030*; Stockholms stad, 2015c)

The ideal citizen is lifted as a creative, well-educated individual, supporting the city in being the country's "economic engine". A senior city strategist in Stockholm also talks about this ideal of a creative resident:

[...]creative Stockholm is a way of thinking freely, I can and I dare to do something of their own. Music is one of those examples. Form and design, we have Furniture Weeks now, we had Fashion Week last week, and this whole January-February period is very much focused on form and design. So it is clear when we consider startups, we think the field of ICT, we think in the life sciences and health, and we think in creative clusters.

The reasoning reflects the constant relation promoted between creativity and economy, with a link between creative residents and economic outcome for the city. The ideal citizen thus is a creative individual, pictured as being "free" and "daring" which entails performing in being entrepreneurial, thus being a part of a business oriented city. The rhetoric of freedom: "thinking freely", "I can and dare to do something", "of their own", suggests a free creative individual which in the neo-liberal city is turned into an entrepreneur. The creative class is constructed as one that is characterized by its freedom of doing their own thing, to be ambitious, and have a free mind (Fougeré & Solitander, 2007). But by adopting these values, taking on this subject position, this "freedom" turns into the self-governing aspect of governmentality (Rose, 1999). We can see the control practice of flexibility displayed in the creative ideal, which also historically has been associated with positive entrepreneurial characteristics (Sennett, 2000). It's a double value for the city in that the citizen is both organized into an business oriented lifestyle, but also functions as a symbol of the city, attracting investors to invest or other skilled workforce to want to move there. In the city brand communication, the place in itself is a part of creating the setting for the creativity to occur, a part which is thought of as a competitive force in the globalized market

(Dinnie, 2011). This is manifested in the idea of branding the city, for instance in the talk of “positioning” the city (see for instance Stockholm Business Region, 2015a). We also find the creative entrepreneurial ethos in an interview with a senior city strategist in Malmö:

When we measure, the outside world say that it's in Malmö that new things are happening all the time, the city is like on the go [...] it's a conscious effort by us to work with the young entrepreneurs [...] I mean entrepreneurs have come and want something, so we can look at creating the conditions, but it's like, they coming up with the ideas.

The reasoning comes in an idea of a creative economy, where wealth is generated by the city’s ability to control, shape and organize human creative capabilities and intellectual labour (Fougeré & Solitander, 2007). The subject position created is a trending creative ethos that is urban, talented as well as competitive in its entrepreneurial drive. We can then argue how the city brand communication in producing a creative entrepreneurial subject position, can be a way of reformulating a politic focused on economy into an a-political humanistic and collaborative framework. It works as a process of sensemaking for the individual, in choices and aims when it comes to education, work and lifestyle. From a neo-liberal city politics perspective, it is a process for capitalism to further appropriate the language (Fougeré & Solitander, 2007). What is not raised in the produced texts or in the interviews is the consequence a creative work force has on working conditions, which involve less unionized, outsourced, seasonal, temporary and self-employed labour (Hesmondhalg & Baker, 2010). In aiming for the ideals of being creative, flexible and free, the normative work conditions are likely to become more unstable and uncertain as well as influence how work conditions are to be understood in general.

5.3.1 Taking the subject position of a creative entrepreneur

The creative entrepreneurial ethos’ self-governing aspect can be argued from reflecting on the perceptions of the individuals in the entrepreneurial communities in Stockholm and Malmö. Findings in the interviews show that despite those collaborating with and/or funded by political organizations, their choices of starting up business of their own, becoming entrepreneurs and working within entrepreneurial networks, to them appeared not linked to politics but as natural development of how work is done and how modern cities are run. Even though Stockholm’s entrepreneurial scene is getting more attention from politicians, as well as physical presence

during the entrepreneurial meet-ups, the work is seen as not political. As an example of how present the politicians are, during my observation at the STHLM TECH Meetup, an entrepreneur from stage directly addressed the city's deputy mayor in the audience and asked for permission to stage a music meetup in Humleparken. The perceived non-politicalness of the cities focus on branding, based on ideas of development and growth, appears evident in this research looking at the production but also use of the city space, where the influences stretch out into how inhabitants in the city go about their workdays. When asked if he saw his work as being political, entrepreneur Pitkin whose work is funded by Stockholm Business Region answered "I don't have thoughts like that.". But also privately funded, non collaborative with the city Entreprenörskyrkan (Entrepreneurial church), entrepreneurs Sudarski and Vallas appeared perplexed by the question, first quiet then shaking their heads while Vallas stated "No, I wouldn't say that it is... Well...no.". It is interesting also to note that the moment before Vallas was describing their organization's goal to actually question what a workplace is, working to ensure that everyone in the space felt safe which he argued was the most important corner stone before any sales pitch or seminar. Vallas also talked about Entreprenörskyrkan as an "experiment" stating:

We don't have an exact picture "this is how we want it". We have some pillars to be able to be who you are, you'll create without having to ask permission, you should get the free space, but then all are part of it. So you take all the responsibility, if something is missing so 'yeah but fix it then'.

The idea of a free creative individual is displayed in this perception, reflecting the subject position of a creative entrepreneurial ethos. Looking at corporate and office culture, this is something which could be regarded as going against the norm, which also appeared to be recognised by Sudarski and Vallas, stating regarding their co-working space "you should be able to be kind of weird as well. Here it's strange if someone comes in with a tie and suit". The value of being free, going against the norm, not needing permission to create, reflects this said ideal. The reasoning also reflects a value in being flexible yet at the same time individually responsible for ones surroundings. The point to be made here is consequently that in believing in their independence, the creative entrepreneurs have a sense of not being governed.

The city brand communication encourages a society where it is personally desirable to take the subject position of a creative entrepreneurial ethos. The individual is then included in society, a good citizen and symbol of a well-educated, modern and hip individual with humanistic ideals. She is a part of an apparent equal society where she is valued on soft values such as creativity,

but also her hard work, while at the same time she has freedom of choice in work and lifestyle to fulfil herself as an individual. She is independent from an employer, while at the same time making her creativity and skills a resource to be used by the city. Why this freedom has the very similar image of a creative entrepreneur can be explained by dispersion and fascination with ideas such as Florida's (2006), included in the creative entrepreneurial – and growth discourses. Through people's will to enact their lives in terms of flexibility, enterprise choice and creativity, a neo-liberal form of governing towards a business focused politics and society can be achieved.

5.4 Why is city brand communication governing that way?

In Dean's (2010) fourth dimension of the analytical lens, we need a two-folded approach since there are different aspects of the question. One aspect is the individual, meaning why it is valuable to aim for the subject position of the creative entrepreneur. The other aspect is from the perspective of government, where we pay attention to what may be the instrumental value of a dominant character of a creative entrepreneur. The two-folded approach allows us to grasp the self-governing notion of governmentality, where knowledge made available through discourses actualized in the city brand communication, influence specific norms and reasons shaping the behaviour of the individual. As argued above, the city brand communication seeks to govern perceptions of how we think about the city and ourselves, through the creative entrepreneurial - as well as growth discourse. The discourses promote ideals of being creative, free and flexible, as well as competitive and business oriented, which are positioned as desirable not only to the creative entrepreneur on a personal level, but likewise to society. This social worth is produced through the discourses just mentioned by linking these ideals that promote the creative entrepreneurial ethos, to a successful economic outcome for the city. We can see it done below in Stockholm city's explanation of the vision behind the city brand communication:

Reaching out to the world

In a globalized world, international cooperation is increasingly important. As the competition between cities and regions is increasing, it is of great importance for Stockholm to strengthen its position on the international arena as an innovative and creative city with industries that are global role models. Stockholm shall be a city known for knowledge, tolerance, diversity, transparency, durability and a high quality of life. Stockholm needs to collaborate with and learn from other cities, regions and countries to cope with the increasingly fierce competition. It is also

important to long term and consistently continue the work of internationally marketing Stockholm with the message “Stockholm – The Capital of Scandinavia”.
(From *Vision och verklighet*; Stockholms stad, 2014)

The message is clear: a globalized world naturally demands a city to strengthen its position, to be an innovative and creative city, and to communicate the correct city image to the outside world. There is an inherent risk to the city; if this focus is lost the city will not survive threatening competition. The city brand communication legitimizes itself in this picture, highlighting the need for the city to position and market itself, to focus on creative entrepreneurs and value entrepreneurial creative residents. The argument of social worth is then fundamentally that it makes economic sense: the city needs creative entrepreneurs in order to “cope with the increasingly fierce competition” from a globalized market. When individuals believe in this argument, they can be governed by conducting themselves as suitable creative entrepreneurial subjects. The value to a neo-liberal government is how it promotes individuality where it is up to us to make our life fulfilling and safe, not government. This makes us responsible for taking care of the development of our creativity, which can then be exploited by government in order to achieve an economic outcome. Through the free will of individuals aiming for the position of a creative entrepreneur, governing at a distance can be achieved. What makes up the personal worth is intertwined with this social value, where being part of the ethos of a creative entrepreneur is belonging to an elite, highly ranked and promoted in society. In an interview with entrepreneur Anderson, he reflected on this wanting to be a part of the community, being a part of where it was happening:

[...] Stockholm is now days on an international level highly regarded, really, a hot spot. I mean I read at least once a month about Stockholm on these kinds of Top Ten lists. It has a good spot, with Spotify and Klarna being shining examples [...]

The quote represents a theme in the interviews with the entrepreneurs, but also the city strategists, where Anderson wants to feel that he is in the “hot spot”, and wishes to be associated with those startup companies that have been successful financially as well as medially. Getting access to this centre of where things are happening is personally desirable, which will be accomplished by being creative, enterprising, hard-working and self-actualizing. The individual who carries these traits will be elevated by society, a part of the elite.

5.5 Models of the findings: Stockholm and Malmö

We have now approached and structured our findings with the help of Dean's (2010) analytical lens of governmentality, aimed to answer the research questions. In order to achieve an overview of the conclusions, themes from the research findings have been organized in figure 1 below so as to showcase what have been the highlighted messages in the city brand communication of case studies Stockholm and Malmö.

<i>Analysis of governmentality</i>	What it seeks to govern	How it seeks to govern	Who we become when governed	Why we are governed
Stockholm	<p>Perception of city: World-class, economic centre, competitive, global.</p> <p>Perception of self: Aim to become the next entrepreneurial success.</p>	Focus on growth via statistics, rankings, self-realization.	Educated, innovative, competitive, entrepreneurial.	<p>Individual approach: Be part of an elite, yet independent.</p> <p>City approach: Economic gain. Averting risk of suggested globalized competition.</p>
Malmö	<p>Perception of city: Transformed, open, competitive.</p> <p>Perception of self: Aim to realize your creative ideas.</p>	Focus on transformation from industrial city to knowledge city, focus on self-realization.	Educated, creative, fulfilled, entrepreneurial	<p>Individual approach: Be part of a community, yet independent.</p> <p>City approach: Economic gain. Averting risk of suggested previous city decline.</p>

Figure 1

The cities were chosen due to their active work with communicating a city brand, selected due to their different locations and sizes that were expected to add diverse understandings of the communication work and focus. Looking more closely at figure 1, we come to understand that the cities' brand communication rest on assumptions that are not that distinctive after all. The underlying values are comparable, with an aim of a mentality produced by the ideals of innovation, creativity and entrepreneurship, reasoned by the rationality of freedom. A model showcasing the overall findings can thus be seen in figure 2 below.

<i>Analysis of governmentality</i>	What it seeks to govern	How it seeks to govern	Who we become when governed	Why we are governed
City brand communication	Perception of 1) economic focus as natural development 2) a city with one true essence 3) city as open	1) Creative entrepreneurial discourse 2) Growth discourse Ideals of innovation, creativity, entrepreneurship. Rationality of freedom.	Creative entrepreneurs.	1) Individual wants to be a part of the winners in society. 2) City officials want to run a city that is a part of the winners.

Figure 2

6. Conclusions

This study has argued that the place brand communication field has an overwhelming focus on its practicality as a management strategy, together with regarding it as a neutral activity overlooking the political decisions behind as well as its consequences. With cities around the world increasingly turning to this form of strategic communication, the purpose of the research has been to address this problem and contribute to the academic field by highlighting the power aspect of place brand communication, showing how it is not a neutral activity but a political practice entailing specific power relations. The suggested solution has been to approach place brand communication with a governmentality perspective, exemplified with the city brand communication of case studies Stockholm and Malmö. In order to reach this aim, the study has used the research questions:

- How does place brand communication practices govern the city and its social relations?
- Which discourses are actualized in the city brand communication?
- What perceptions are produced through the city brand communication?

Through an analysis of governmentality using Dean's (2010) framework, it has argued that what city brand communication seeks to govern is our perceptions of the city and its social relations. The perceptions it seeks to produce are 1) an economic focus is a natural development, 2) the city has one true essence that should be communicated with one voice, 3) the modern city is open, with meeting places for the creative entrepreneurs. It seeks to produce these perceptions by making knowledge available through actualizing the creative entrepreneurial discourse as well as the discourse of growth, promoting the ideals of creativity, innovation and entrepreneurship. Linking these discourses and ideals help shape a general rationality of freedom, seen as self-realization and personal fulfillment through work. The city brand communication encourages a society where it is personally desirable to take the subject position of a creative entrepreneurial ethos, since this includes the individual as a part of the winners in society, while at the same time allowing her to feel free and independent. The value from the government perspective is the link created between creative residents and economic outcome for the city. The neo-liberal government benefits from the fundamental promotion of individuality where it is up to us to make our life fulfilling and safe, not government. The city brand communication thus entails a discursive instrumentality in maintaining a certain social system, designed to exploit the individual in taking the subject position of creative entrepreneur. This makes us responsible for

taking care of the development of our creativity, which can then be exploited by government in order to achieve an economic outcome. Governing at a distance can thus be achieved according to what we consider to be truths about our existence, meaning we can be fulfilled and self-realized through creative work. The free will of individuals aiming for the position of a creative entrepreneur then legitimizes an economic focus in the political practices of city government.

6.1 Contributions of the study

The contribution of this study to previous research lies in addressing the neglect of power relations in the place brand communication literature. Its aim has been to develop the analysis of place brand communication. Displaying power relations can be done by the use of a governmentality perspective suggested in this research, since this perspective explores power as what makes our social surroundings look the way they do and talked about in certain ways while other possibilities are excluded. Through this perspective we can see how place brand communication makes certain knowledge available to us through discourse creating who we are and what we know. It has shown that this form of strategic communication is a practice with political consequences: It gives city government power in creating norms, influencing individuals living or wanting to move to the city. It creates consequences on how individuals govern themselves in choosing creative and entrepreneurial work. It has thus developed the analysis of place brand communication in showing that it mustn't be looked upon as an unproblematic management tool, a part of a natural development where globalization creates certain conditions, but that place brand communication can create norms instrumental in reproducing unequal social systems. The perspective of governmentality has shown that the place brand communication is a technology of governance in focusing on growth and creative entrepreneurialism, creating subject positions. The study has thus contributed to the field by showing that place brand communication is a political practice which can be used to govern activity, social life and individual conduct. The framework presented in this research can then be used by other scholars in wanting to further examine the political aspects of place brand communication.

It is important to acknowledge that city brand communication does not *need* to focus on growth, entrepreneurship nor the creative class, but that these are decisions made. It does not have to create one coherent image, which selectively leaves out contrasting perspectives, as well as those not included in the previous. On the contrary, city brand communication indeed could be used to create a common culture and to unify a city and its residents. This research has studied the city brand communication of Stockholm and Malmö. Certainly, we shall not undermine the

complexity of one city's issues nor can we copy-paste its processes directly onto other cities. With that being said, they can however work as examples to help put forward criticism, much in the way an analysis of governmentality can, which has also been an aim of this research.

6.2 Future research

This research has taken a special interest in why city branding has been so appealing to city managers. It has wished to exemplify the ways in which place brand communication and its practices enter and alter the construction of governance and the subject positions promoted. However, as governmentality analysis stresses, it is a mapping of rationalities and techniques and does not assume these have been accepted or implemented. Consequently, suggested future research is to take on a clear user perspective in studying place brand communication, how the mentalities and ideals promoted by city brand communication are perceived, used and enacted by the city residents in general. Perhaps its most value would be to add understandings in studying those *not* shown in the image created. Are they influenced and if so in what way? What are the consequences of city brand communication for those not able to take on the subject positions promoted? Considering the growing establishment of cities being in need of strategic city brand communication, inspired by work from influencers such as Florida (2006) focused on attracting and promoting the “right” individuals, the future value of raising those left out this city should be substantial.

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7.2 Observations

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Media Evolution City, publicly owned co-working space, Malmö. 2014-12-01, 2015-01-16

Impace Hub, privately owned co-working space, London. 2015-02-04

Minc, publicly owned co-working space and incubator, Malmö. 2015-02-13

Entreprenörskyrkan, privately owned co-working space, Stockholm. 2015-03-25

The Ground, privately owned co-working space, Malmö. 2015-04-03, 2015-04-04, 2015-04-05

Interview guide City strategist

Short presentation of the study

- Please describe your work with city branding
 - Specific vision? Goal?
- Who are your stakeholders?
- What do you want to communicate?
- How do you communicate?
 - Specific technological tools?
 - Gate keepers?
 - Networks?
- Do you want to change the city image?
 - From what to what?
 - Why?
- How does the city image differ from others?
- How do you want to see the city develop?
- Do you have any specific regions/networks/sources (blogs, literature) as role models?
- Do you have competitors?
 - External?
 - Internal?
- How are you financed? Why?
 - Pros
 - Cons

- How do you know if you fulfil your overall organizational goal?
- Do you see your work as political?

Interview guide Entrepreneur

Short presentation of the study

- Please describe what you do
- How would you describe your lifestyle?
- What is your perception of the city?
- How do you want to see the city develop?
- Is the city brand important to you?
- Do you see your work as political?