The value-basis of the Øresund region – does it even exist?

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Abstract

The aim of this master's thesis is to analyze how the Øresund region is discussed in the two leading Scanian morning papers; Sydsvenskan and Skånska Dagbladet. It also aims at discussing the value-basis of the Øresund region and values attributed to the Øresund co-operation. The thesis will consist of a qualitative text analysis of twenty-four articles in Sydsvenskan and seventeen in Skånska Dagbladet.

By understanding regionalism as an ideology, the objective is to study the textual manifestations of the ideological foundations in the two papers and to use these as the basis for the understanding of the paper's perspective of the region. The aim is to understand each paper's perspective and to compare them with each other in order to get a partial grasp of the Scanian notion of the region. The ambition of this thesis is *not* to determine whether there exists a regionalist movement or not in the region, but to simply use the ideological dimensions in order to understand the morning papers' perspectives and opinions about the region.

The conclusions that can be drawn in this thesis is that the Øresund region is discussed in a variety of ways, depending on the observer and the context. What is common for most articles is the existence of an intrinsic dislike towards the central power in Sweden, which could be said to form the foundation of value-basis of the region.

Key words: Øresund, Öresund, region, regionalism, value-basis, regionalization, Europeanization

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1. Introduction

The Øresund Bridge opened on the July 1, 2000 and established a permanent link between Sweden and Denmark. The opening of the Bridge put an end to the political debate about the possible creation of a link that, more or less, had been ongoing since the beginning of the 20th century.[1] Besides easing the situation for the people commuting from one side of the strait to the other for work or studies, the Bridge is also seen as a symbol of that the region has come together, which has great significance when bearing the transboundary relationship's character in mind. For centuries, the southern parts of Sweden, the provinces of Scania, Halland and Blekinge, had been part of the Danish Kingdom. This ceased to be the case after a war that ended with the signing of the Treaty of Roskilde in 1658. The Treaty of Roskilde led to that the southern provinces became part of Sweden and a border was created in the Øresund strait, both physically and mentally. [2] The separation of the Øresund resulted in that the two sides of the strait basically had no cultural contact for more than 150 years.[3]

Over three centuries later, this border was figuratively erased with the completion of the Øresund Bridge. The decision to construct the Bridge led to political efforts to create an integrated region and the decision is seen as the official start of the regionalization[4] of a connected Øresund region. After years of rather successful integration, the Swedish government decided to impose border controls as a response to the on-going refugee crisis in Europe. The border controls started on the Swedish side in mid-November, 2015 and all passengers arriving at the first train stop, Malmö Hyllie, were checked. As of January 4, 2016 the controls were extended and an ID control was installed at the Copenhagen Airport too, thus establishing one control on the Danish side of the strait and then another when arriving in Sweden. [5] With the installment of these controls the fears of a separated Øresund region were restored, and the

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[1] Richard Ek, "Öresundsregion – bli till! : de geografiska visionernas diskursiva rytm" (Doctoral diss., Lund University, 2003), 14-15

[2] Lise Lyck," Øresund Regionalisation." (Copenhagen Business School, Copenhagen: Center for Tourism and Culture Management, 2013), 1-3.

[3] Magnus Jerneck, "East Meets West. Cross.border Co-operation in the Öresund – a Succesful Case of Transnational Region-building?" in *Local and regional governance in Europe: evidence from Nordic regions*, ed. Janerik Gidlund and Magnus Jerneck. (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2000), 215.

[4] In this thesis, *regionalization* and *region-building process* will be used as synonyms describing the same process.

[5] "ID-kontroll i Danmark och gränskontroll i Sverige", Øresund Direkt. Accessed August 3, 2016: http://www.oresunddirekt.se/nyheter/graenskontroll-vid-inresa-i-sverige

political debate about the shape and future of the region got started once again. It is the renewed interest in discussing the Øresund region that has inspired this thesis.

The aim of the thesis is to analyze how the Øresund region is discussed in the two leading Scanian morning papers Sydsvenskan and Skånska Dagbladet, while also aiming at discussing the value-basis of the Øresund region and the values attributed to the Øresund co-operation. However, it is important to specify that the ambition is not to decide whether there exists a regionalist movement or ideology or not in the region. The aim is rather to use the ideological dimensions, presented in section 1.4.3 Regionalism, to understand the morning papers' perspectives and opinions about the region.

The thesis will consist of a qualitative text analysis with the aim of answering the following research questions;

- How is the Øresund region discussed in the two Scanian morning papers Sydsvenskan and Skånska Dagbladet during the period of November 12, 2015 and June 22, 2016?

- What textual manifestations do the ideological foundations of the region have?

- What similarities and differences exist between the two papers?

Besides answering these questions, the thesis will discuss *why* the region is characterized in a particular way or *why* certain differences exist between the two papers. The ambition is that this will amount to a thesis which connects to both its ontology and epistemology.

The thesis is written as part of the Master of Arts Programme in European Studies at Lund University. One of the program's focus has been directed towards the concept Europe of Regions since it could be said to be a normative fix star in the EU discourse, thus influencing the entire body of work conducted by the EU. The concept has also led to an Europeanization of regionalization processes and the study of regions within the subject of European studies could therefore be said to be necessary. The study of regions can provide us with explanations of the current state of the region itself and the European Union, while also allowing for discussions about culture, values and identities connected to a specific region. The region has been excessively studied, but there are few examples of studies focusing on the values attached to the region. The hope is therefore that this thesis will contribute with a new understanding of the Øresund region.

1.1 The structure of the thesis

The thesis will begin with a short background section about the development of the Øresund region and its regionalization process. It will then continue with a section focusing on presenting previous research within the field, with the aim of placing this study within the context of already conducted research. This will be followed with a section presenting the theoretical framework and concepts used in this thesis in order to answer the posed research questions. The theoretical framework section is divided into four subsections; operationalization of the concept region, operationalization of the concept regionalization, regionalism and the different forms of regionalism.

Once the theoretical framework is presented, the thesis will continue with a presentation of the used method and collected material. The objective is to present the method as such and the practical approach used in this thesis, while also discussing the practicalities of the collection and interpretation of data and its limitations. The questions of validity and reliability will also be shortly addressed.

The following chapter focuses on presenting the findings in the two morning papers. One section is devoted to Sydsvenskan and one section is devoted to Skånska Dagbladet. Within each section the five dimensions of regionalism as an ideology that have been guiding the process form different subsections, where the material related to each dimension is presented.

The fourth chapter consists of the analysis and discussion. Each paper will be analyzed separately and this will then be followed by a subsection where the similarities and differences between the two papers are discussed. The last chapter will briefly summarize the main findings and conclusions, while also focusing on suggestions for future research.

1.2 The Øresund region

As expressed in the introduction, the permanent link between Denmark and Sweden is seen as a symbol of that the region has come together. The discussions about a permanent link over the Øresund strait started in 1872. The first known plan was a railroad tunnel between the two cities of Helsingborg and Helsingør, a plan that rather soon was abandoned. In 1886 the first plan of establishing a tunnel between Malmö and Copenhagen saw the light. This was part of an even bigger European plan of binding together the continent, a plan which identified the Øresund strait as a missing link. [6] From that point forward, various initiatives for constructing a

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[6] Ek, "Öresundsregion – bli till!", 14.

permanent link were presented and discussed, but it was not until after the Second World War that the plans started to receive political attention. The Nordic Council was founded in 1952 and a short year into their work they adopted a recommendation stating that a permanent link should be set up between the two countries. This set off multiple new initiatives, which were more or less elaborated and received different degrees of attention. [7]

The guiding perspectives in the process were until the 1980s the national perspective, but with the European Union[8] gaining in power and influence, the European perspective became more and more important for the Øresund debate. During the 1980s the cities of Malmö and Copenhagen started discussing initiatives in order to turn the current situation around. At that time, both cities were suffering from high unemployment and industrial decline and the ambition was to create a strategy to ensure that the cities could attract foreign investors, international conferences and so on. The cities therefore launched a joint political initiative to create an international region based on extensive cross-border co-operation; *the Øresund Region*. To create a region was seen as a way of safeguarding influence and prosperity in both the national and the European context. [9] The decision to build the Øresund Bridge was an important part of the creation of the cross-border region. The decision was formally taken in 1991 after decades of debates and lobbying activities.[10] The construction of the combined bridge and tunnel started in 1995 and opened, as mentioned, on the 1st of July, 2000.

The construction and completion of the Bridge indispensably lead to an increase in efforts to integrate the region with the ambition of merging the two local territories. Since residents in the region were encouraged to commute for work, education and leisure activities it became necessary to facilitate these possibilities and to ensure an integrated region in economic, political and legal terms. It also became important to integrate the region in regards to social terms to achieve a creation of a common identity in the region and to ensure that the territories were merged mentally as well. [11][12] To achieve this integration, many new initiatives were launched and most of them consisted of establishing different working groups with the aim of overcoming certain regional obstacles. These working groups published large quantities of various reports and provided the political bodies in the region with material to use when

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[7] Ek, "Öresundsregion – bli till!", 15.
[8] At the time, the European Community.
[9] Jerneck, "East Meets West", 197

[10] "Fast förbindelse över Öresund", Sveriges Riksdag, accessed March 27, 2016: https://www.riksdagen.se/sv/Dokument-Lagar/Utskottens-dokument/Betankanden/Arenden/199091/TU31/
[11] Jerneck, "East Meets West", 199.
[12] Jerneck, "East Meets West", 209.

conducting new legislations with the hopes of creating a fully integrated region. [13] One example of a successful working group was the *Öresund Committee*, a transnational political body set up in 1993. It operated until December 31, 2015 and has now undergone a re-organization under the new name of the *Greater Copenhagen & Skåne Committee.* The ambition for both committees has been to safeguard and facilitate the integration process in fields such as the labor market, infrastructure, environment, culture and research. [14]

Despite all the efforts to integrate the region, the region building process in the Øresund region is not finished, but an on-going process. There are still multiple steps that need to be taken before the two local territories on both sides of the national border could be said to have merged both physically and mentally. The ambition is that this thesis will be able say something about how mentally merged the two territories have become, since both core values attached to the region and expressions about the Øresund culture will be discussed.

1.3 Previous research

The Øresund region has been extensively researched and one of the first conclusions that can be drawn when conducting a literature review is that most studies seem to focus on the region building process. The Øresund region was already from the beginning labelled as a role model project in the EU's regional programmes, aiming at constructing a Europe without borders. The EU label increased the academic interest in the construction process itself, since that could say something about how region building *should* be done in the rest of Europe, thus explaining the existing research's heavy focus on the process. [15] The label also resulted in the region becoming a research object in many different fields of studies, e.g. political science, European studies, communication studies and geographic studies.

Within the conducted research about the region building process, it is possible to state that the focus has primarily been put on political and economic aspects, but in various forms. One example is the study focusing simply on the development of the integration in the region, both politically, economically and socially. Another example is the study focusing on the driving forces in the region building process and whether it is a market driven process, a policy driven process or a concept driven process.[16] The third example within the research about the region building process, is the type of study focusing on the construction and functioning of the

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[13] For a full review of the initiatives, see Richard Ek, "Öresundsregion – bli till!", 17-23.
[14] Jerneck, "East Meets West", 209.
[15] Per Olof Berg and Orvar Löfgren, "Studying the Birth of a Transnational Region," in *Invoking a transnational metropolis: the making of the Øresund Region*, ed. Orvar Löfgren et al. (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2000), 8.
[16] Lyck," Øresund Regionalisation.", 7.

governance system in the region. By the choice of focal point these types of studies are predominantly politically oriented. [17]

Another segment of research about the region building process has focused mainly on the construction of the Øresund Bridge and its contribution to the process. In many of these studies, it is argued that the permanent link is what binds the region together, and therefore it is necessary to conduct research on the development of the Bridge itself.[18] A good example of this type of study is a study conducted by Fredrik Nilsson, the director of the Lund University based *Center for Öresund studies*. His study focuses on the expectations and anticipations of the Bridge's contribution to the overall region building process. In order to achieve a versatile study he touches upon different aspects related to the construction of the Bridge; economic, political, technical and aspects related to identity formation processes. [19] The engaging aspect of his study is the fact that it provides an insight to the thoughts before the Bridge even existed.

Besides the studies focusing on political and economic aspects of the region building process, there are studies about the more cultural aspects of the process. One example of this is Orvar Löfgren's study about national identities, cultural encounters and cultural differences in the Øresund region. The ambition was to inquire if and how the establishment of the Bridge affected the notions about the Danish and Swedish identities and if a regional Øresund identity would, or even could, emerge. His study was published in 2002 and to inquire the long term affects the Bridge has had is rather challenging after just two years, hence implying a need to further research these topics after additional years of region building. Related to the long term perspective, one of the questions that Löfgren poses in his conclusions is whether the notions about the identities across the region will change and, more importantly, if the need for stereotyping will decrease, thus amounting to a focus on the similarities instead of the differences. [20] In this thesis it will not be possible to give an answer to this question, but in one way it will be possible to say something about Scanian notions and manifestations of the cultural aspects of the region and whether the need for stereotyping seems to have decreased.

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[17] Jörgen Johansson, "Regionalisation in Sweden" in *Local and regional governance in Europe: evidence from Nordic regions,* ed. Janerik Gidlund and Magnus Jerneck. (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2000), 127.

[18] Fredrik, Nilsson, *När en timme blir tio minuter: en studie av förväntan inför Öresundsbron*. (Lund: Historisk media,1999), 11.

[19] Fredrik, Nilsson, *När en timme blir tio minuter: en studie av förväntan inför Öresundsbron*. (Lund: Historisk media,1999), full book.

[20] Orvar Löfgren, "Folket på andra sidan bron: Identiteter och kulturmöten", in *På jakt efter Öresundsregionen,* ed. Harald Gustafsson. (Lund: Öresundsuniveristetet, 2002,) 7-20.

This thesis will focus on how the Øresund region is discussed in two Scanian morning papers and the basis for that discussion is an understanding of regionalism as an ideology. It is therefore necessary to include conducted research about regionalism. Regionalism has received a lot of academic interest, and a lot of the focus has been put on inquiring whether the regionalism could be classified as an *old* regionalism or a *new* regionalism. [21] When studying the type of regionalism it is possible to say something about the character of the region, which will also be done in this thesis.

Besides the research about old and new regionalism, many studies have focused on political stability as drivers of regionalism. This falls well into the bigger picture presented above regarding that most studies have a political or economic focus, while few scholars have conducted studies on the more cultural value-basis and ideological foundations of the region. [22] In her dissertation, the Swedish scholar Josefina Syssner conducted this type of systematic study of the value-basis of different forms of regionalism in two peripheral regions and she continuously encourages other scholars to conduct a similar type of study.[23] Her study has inspired this thesis, even though it will differ, mainly related to the method of choice and material. But as far as understanding regionalism as an ideology and a belief system, this thesis agrees with Syssner's approach. Thus, by altering the method, the data collected and the choice of region this thesis will contribute with something new, albeit serving as a continuation of the research already conducted and presented in this brief introduction.

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[21] Josefina Syssner, "What kind of regionalism?: regionalism and region building in northern European peripheries." (Diss., Linköping University, 2006), 13-14.
[22] Syssner, *What kind of regionalism?*, 16.
[23] Syssner, *What kind of regionalism?*, 17.

1.4 Theoretical framework

Before further explaining the theoretical framework for this thesis some general theoretical considerations will be discussed. By the choice of theory and method this thesis is naturally grounded in a social constructionist ontology and a constructivist epistemology. The social constructionist perspective implies an understanding of the reality as subjective and socially constructed. The reality is therefore heavily dependent on the observer and his/her thoughts and communication about the reality. [24] The constructivist epistemology is closely connected to the thesis' hermeneutic character, which in practice means that the material will be analyzed with the ambition of understanding and explaining.[25]

1.4.1 Operationalization of the concept *region*

To be able to successfully study the textual manifestations of the ideological foundations of the Øresund region in the two morning papers it is imperative to define what a region is and how it can be categorized, since it may have implications to how the region is discussed. Since regions have been thoroughly studied, various operationalized definitions have been created. It could be stated that there are two conditions that most researchers agree to when it comes to defining a region. The first condition is that regions are socially constructed, a perspective that this thesis naturally agrees to due to its ontology.[26] Besides a region being socially constructed, some scholars, i.a. the political scientist Michael Keating, do not see the region as something fixed, thus implying that a region can take different forms in different places and times.[27] This connects to the second condition most researchers agree to, namely that a region always exists in relation to a certain criterion, e.g. *natural* region or *administrative* region. Without the addition of such criterions, a region is simply a label for a spatial unit. [28]

As stated above a region always exists in relation to a certain criterion and in the literature it is possible to identify four recurring descriptive categories of a region; economic, historical/ethnic/cultural, administrative/planning and political regions, even if they sometimes

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[24] John W. Creswell, *Qualitative inquiry and research design: choosing among five approaches*. (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2013), 24.

[25] Anna Johansson, *Narrativ teori och metod: med livsberättelsen i fokus*. (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2005), 27.

[26] Birgit Stöber, "Fixed Link and Vague Discourses: About Culture and the Making of Cross-border Regions." *Culture Unbound: Journal of Current Cultural Research 3* (2011)*:* 231, accessed March 22, 2016. *SocINDEX with Full Text*, EBSCO*host*.

[27] Michael, Keating, "The Political Economy of Regionalism" in *The Political Economy of Regionalism*", ed. Michael Keating and John Loughlin. (London: Frank Cass, 1997), 17.

[28] Josefina Syssner, "Regionen och dess medborgare" in *Regionalpolitikens geografi: regional tillväxt i teori och praktik,* ed. Frida Andersson et al. (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2008), 38.

appear under different terms. According to Keating and John Loughlin[29] an *economic region,* sometimes labelled a functional region, has historically been defined based on its various economic characteristics, e.g. if it has been urban/rural or industrialized/deindustrialized region. Today the definition has shifted towards a region marked mainly by local or endogenous economic development. It is also sometimes defined in relations to economic globalization and technological changes within the frame of economic production. [30] A *historical/ethnic or cultural region* is a territory characterized by cultural distinctiveness or linguistic and historical criterions. The inhabitants and political actors also have a certain identity or sense of belonging, which often differs from that of the nation states'. [31] The *administrative/planning region* is principally a sub-national unity for purposes of, e.g., policy making. The number of administrative regions has increased due to the EU's regional policy funds, where regions must meet certain criterions to receive funding. This has given incentive to the creation of this type of region in many European countries, thus making it possible to state that an Europeanization of the regions has appeared. [32] The fourth type of region is a *political* one and these mostly have democratically elected councils or assemblies, i.e. regional governments. The character and competences of each regional government differs and some have autonomy, while others simply have executive powers in some specific areas, making it important to differentiate the regions claiming to be political. [33]

Besides these four categories there is one last type of region that needs to be introduced and that is the trans-border/cross-border region. These regions include part of territory of at least two states, thus sharing a national border.[34] The transnational character of the region makes the region building process a bit more complex, since it becomes necessary to combine two different national structures in to one functioning, transnational structure. [35]

1.4.2 Operationalization of the concept *regionalization*

Regionalization is a process that establishes new territorial structures, with the aim of them evolving into regions with some sort of integrated governance system. [36] A regionalization

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[29] Formerly Professor of European Politics, Cardiff University
[30] Keating, Michael and Loughlin, John, "Introduction", in *The Political Economy of Regionalism*, ed. Keating, Michael and Loughlin, John. (London: Frank Cass, 1997), 2.
[31] Keating and Loughlin, "Introduction", 3.
[32] Keating and Loughlin, "Introduction", 4.
[33] Keating and Loughlin, "Introduction", 4.
[34] Lyck," Øresund Regionalisation.", 5
[35] Magnus Jerneck, "East Meets West", 198.
[36] Lyck,"Øresund Regionalisation.", 3-5.

process can be a top-down process or a bottom-up process and the character of the process depends primarily on the initiator. But no matter the type of process, the purposes are often economic or political. [37]

Within the European context, the EU has led to a re-organization of the political landscape and it has affected the regionalization processes. In light of the ambition of a higher degree of integration within the EU, a new regionalization paradigm emerged during the 1990's. [38] It mainly led to a type of Europeanization of the regionalization processes and it became important to address and adapt to the EU within these newly established territorial structures.

Besides the Europeanization of regionalization it is imperative to discuss two different forms of regionalization processes: a process within a single region or a trans-border process. As stated in chapter 1.3.1 Operationalization of the concept *region*, the transnational character of the region can cause issues for the region building process since it becomes necessary to combine two different national structures in to one functioning, transnational structure.

However, besides the administrative struggles, there are numerous possibilities for trans-border regionalization processes. Magnus Jerneck, a Swedish professor in political science, argues that; "Regionalisation across national frontiers can lead, through acquired habit and frequent contacts, to the emergence of "transnational societies" based on a common feeling of identity."[39] A transnational society/region in this sense does not need to include all aspects of social life, but could be limited to certain questions or areas. As examples, Jerneck mentions questions such as trade and joint self-promotion in the world. [40] The possible emergence of transnational identities in cross-border regions does not necessarily mean that national or other loyalties will be abandoned. Instead these transnational identities could live side by side with other forms of identifications. [41]

1.4.3 Regionalism

The concept of regionalism has over time been understood in many different ways. One understanding of regionalism has emphasized regional culture, language and/or identity, while another understanding has focused on regionalism as an attempt to achieve political autonomy

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[37] Lyck,"Øresund Regionalisation.", 5.
[38] Lyck,"Øresund Regionalisation.", 7.
[39] Magnus Jerneck, "Nordic Politics Viewed in a Changing Territorial Perspective" in *Local and regional governance in Europe: evidence from Nordic regions*, ed. Gidlund et. al. (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2000), 20.
[40] Jerneck, "Nordic Politics", 20.
[41] Jerneck, "Nordic Politics", 20.

for the region. [42] This thesis agrees with both understandings, but concurrently opposes the assumption that regionalism is something set or fixed. Instead, regionalism is seen as something that can be defined and re-defined depending on the time and place and it can emphasize different aspects and values depending on those contexts.

As stated in the previous research chapter, few scholars have focused on the value-basis and ideological foundations of regionalism. The basis of that type of study is an understanding of regionalism as an ideology, in the sense that is a political system based on a set of norms, beliefs, demands and interests that are observable.[43] By analyzing those beliefs, demands and interests it becomes possible to understand the region and its character. Another crucial aspect of the conceptualization of regionalism as an ideology is that the beliefs, demands and interests also are used in order to mobilize the people within the region.[44] The used definition of ideology is based on the neutral definition of the concept, quite common within the social sciences. This neutral definition is rather liberal and allows a vast variety of ideas that can be included in an ideology. [45]

The understanding of regionalism as an ideology is not unique for Syssner, but has been reinforced by others, even though she was the only one introduced in the previous research chapter. One example of someone sharing her point of view is the Swedish scholar Jörgen Johansson, who concludes that regionalism always contains an ideologizing or politicizing of the region.[46] Both of them believe that by studying regionalism as an ideology, it is possible to say something about how the actors analyzed understand the world, i.e. the region itself.[47] This is the main reason to why this theoretical framework is guiding this thesis.

In order to successfully study an ideology it is important to identify certain dimensions, elements or categories that are recurring in ideologies. In her dissertation, Syssner found it necessary to alter the common perception of recurring dimensions in ideologies in order to be able to study regions and regionalism. Her conclusion was that the following five dimensions are recurring; world view, core values, organizational ideals, the means of mobilization and a

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[42] Syssner, *What kind of regionalism?*, 20.
[43] Syssner, *What kind of regionalism?,* 16-17.
[44] Syssner, *What kind of regionalism?*, 21.
[45] Göran Bergström and Kristina Boréus, "Idé- och ideologianalys", in *Textens makt och mening: metodbok i samhällsvetenskaplig text- och diskursanalys,* ed. Göran Bergström et al. (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2012), 140-141.
[46] Jörgen Johansson, "Regionalisation in Sweden", in *Local and regional governance in Europe: evidence from Nordic regions*, ed. Janerik Gidlund and Magnus Jerneck. (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2000), 131.
[47] Syssner, *What kind of regionalism?*, 42.

target group. [48] In the following paragraphs each dimension will be shortly introduced with the aim of providing an understanding of each dimension. The way which the dimensions have aided the research process will be explained in the coming chapter.

All ideologies include some sort of a *world view*. Besides just establishing a certain view of the present and future visions, many ideologies try to provide an explanation to the existing reality, e.g. the reasons behind a potential economic crisis. These explanations can include both current events and events of the past, and different examples emphasize the one or the other to more or lesser extents. In order to understand the political belief system it is necessary to find out how the world is both narrated and explained by actors at the regional level. [49] Besides focusing on the present situation, an ideology communicates *the core values* that it attaches to the region/nation state etcetera. Another crucial aspect of this dimension is the focus on culture and history.[50]

Most ideologies are action-oriented and include some sort of *organizational ideals*. Syssner argues that "ideologies not only host a set of values but link these values to action in a rather explicit way."[51] In order to carry out these actions certain organizational ideals and political methods are upheld. [52] All ideologies have different *means of mobilization*, since the ambition is to mobilize the population. These means can relate to both people's reason and logic, but also to the population's emotions. This is where romanticizing often comes into play. Different ideologies have tended to romanticize different aspects, whether it be the nation, the race or a specific life style. In studies of regionalism it has therefore become common to address these aspects. [53] The last dimension of an ideology is the *target group*. An ideology is in some way or another always oriented towards a group and directs its message to a specific someone. [54]

1.4.4 Forms of regionalism

The form of the regionalism in a particular region has also been given a great deal of academic attention, since the form effectively could say something about the character of the region and how the regional actors make sense of their reality.

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[48] Syssner, *What kind of regionalism?*, 23.
[49] Syssner, *What kind of regionalism?,* 23.
[50] Syssner, *What kind of regionalism?*, 24.
[51] Syssner, *What kind of regionalism?*, 24.
[52] Syssner, *What kind of regionalism?*, 25.
[53] Syssner, *What kind of regionalism?*, 25.
[54] Syssner, *What kind of regionalism?*, 26.

In the literature it has been most common to discuss *old* regionalism and *new regionalism*. The old regionalism is by some defined as an ethno-nationalistic movement with an intrinsic dislike towards the central state. It is also said to focus mainly on cultural values and interest and the differences in regards to these aspects between the periphery [region] and the central state. [55] On the other hand, the new regionalism is seen as driven mainly by economic self-interest and has a focus on economic growth and development. The actors in this type of regionalism are mainly regional officials working in different partnerships and coalitions. [56]

Recently a greater emphasis has been put on *neo-regionalism*, which focuses on the region within the international context. Neo-regionalism is constructed mainly on functional and/or economic conditions, but it also includes aspects related to political and cultural identity. [57] Neo-regionalism is clearly a combination of both old and new regionalism and is therefore an interesting addition, which can be applied when a region is not simply one nor the other.

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[55] Syssner, *What kind of regionalism?*, 13.

[56] Syssner, *What kind of regionalism?*, 14.

[57] Johansson, "Regionalisation in Sweden", 132.

2. Method and material

The objective with this chapter is to present the method as such and the practical approach used in this research process. Emphasis will also be on presenting and discussing the practicalities of the data collection process and how the data has been interpreted. Lastly, a subsection about the material and its limitations will be provided.

2.1 Qualitative text analysis as a research method

The objective with this subsection is to provide the reader with a general understanding of the method and to provide information about some of the most crucial decisions one must make when deciding to conduct this type of study.

In this thesis a qualitative text analysis of the ideological manifestations of the Øresund region in two Scanian newspapers will be conducted. Due to the character of the research it became logical to conduct a qualitative text analysis, since this method will aid the research process. It is also believed that an analysis of the textual manifestation of an ideology can inform the researcher about the ideology's possible agendas, political and cultural priorities etcetera, thus providing information about how the actors understand the region at hand. [58]

The method as such has historically been labelled under different terms and it has been used in a wide variety of studies, hence demonstrating its versatility. Despite the shifting terminology, the method's ambition has always been to bring about an understanding of the meaning of the texts by interpreting the content. [59] The main motivation for choosing to conduct a qualitative text analysis within the scope of this thesis is simply the wish to better understand the texts and its ideas. It is also believed that the answers to the posed research questions best will be found by both studying the whole body of text and certain important passages of text. This method will contribute with something else than just summaries of text and the usage of this method will allow for answers being found between the lines by considering the context in which the texts are produced. [60]

When conducting a qualitative text analysis it is necessary to study the text multiple times on multiple occasions and to use different strategies for each reading to ensure that nothing is

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[58] Syssner, *What kind of regionalism?*, 42.

[59] Peter Esaiasson, *Metodpraktikan: konsten att studera samhälle, individ och marknad* (Stockholm: Norstedts juridik, 2007), 237-242.

[60] Esaiasson, *Metodpraktikan*, 237.

missed.[61] It is also important to, from the outset, decide what type of study you are conducting; a study with the aim of systematizing the material or a study with the aim of critically reviewing the material. There are three different versions of systematic studies and they all have different objectives. The first type wants to clarify the writer's line of thoughts, by simply making the content comprehensible. The second and third type of systematic study both wishes to logically organize the text into different categories. [62] The studies that aim for critically reviewing the material are usually interested in analyzing to what extent the line of argumentation fulfill certain set of rational and/or moral norms, or analyzing the discourses surrounding a certain phenomenon.[63] Based on these two types of studies, the research in this thesis could be said to aim at systematizing the material. The ambition is to clarify the authors' lines of thoughts by organizing the texts in order to conclude how they express their thoughts about the Øresund region.

Before starting the process it is also important to decide whether predefined categories will be used when interpreting the material, or if an open approach to the material will be applied. When using predefined categories, the scholar decides certain categories under which all material will be gathered. Ideally, these categories should have been defined before the material is gathered. On the other hand, the open approach enables a process where the scholar systematizes the material as it is being read. This approach allows for the actual material to steer the process. [64]

In this thesis a semi-open approach to the material will be applied. The approach will be open in the sense that the material will be read before deciding whether it could be included, based on whether the selected pre-defined categories actually match the material or not. The pre-defined categories are based on Syssner's theoretical approach, which was presented in section 1.4.3 Regionalism. These pre-defined categories are: world view, core values, organizational ideals, means of mobilization and target group. The reason to apply a semi-open approach is because of the belief that this best will aid the research process, since it allows the material to steer the process without risking to lose track of the aim of the research.

The third choice that has to be made before starting the process is whether the study should focus on the messenger/writer or if the study should focus on the ideas conveyed.[65] In this study

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[61] Esaiasson, *Metodpraktikan*, 237.
[62] Esaiasson, *Metodpraktikan*, 238.
[63] Esaiasson, *Metodpraktikan*, 239.
[64] Esaiasson, *Metodpraktikan*, 245.
[65] Esaiasson, *Metodpraktikan*, 246.

the focus will be on the conveyed ideas. Some of the texts analyzed have the entire editorial staff as the sender, while some of the other texts have signed names. Since they differ it would have been impossible to consistently focus on the messenger/author, since that would have led to a lower number of included articles.

2.2 Practical approach

In the section above the research method as such has been introduced and some important choices have been made. It has been decided that it will be a qualitative text analysis aiming at systematizing the material by using a semi-open approach, which will focus on the conveyed ideas and not the messengers. In this section the ambition is to lay out the research process and how the material has been collected and interpreted.

2.2.1 Data collection

The collection of data in this thesis has been conducted via the electronic database called Retriever Research, which contains newer articles from most of the Swedish newspapers from the 1990s and onwards. The database is available for all students and employees at Lund University and it therefore became natural to conduct the material search with this database.

The process of collecting data was rather straight forward. The search words used were "Öresund" and "Øresund", i.e. both the Swedish and Danish spelling of the region. The choice to use both search words was taken to ensure that all material discussing the region would be included, since both spellings actually could be used.[66] It was decided to collect all articles between November 12, 2015 and June 22, 2016, thus on the outset basing the research on a synchronic snapshot. It is however argued that this is not the case, since the understanding of the articles also is dependent on the historical context surrounding the region.

November 12, 2015 was the day when the Swedish government decided to impose border controls in the Øresund region as a response to the on-going refugee crisis and it is therefore a natural starting point, since this decision triggered the debate about the shape and future of the region. The decision to end the search on June 22 was made because of the fact that this would allow the two papers to react to the decisions made in Mid-June in regards to extending the border controls until November 2016. Another reason for choosing the date June 22 was to enable as much material to be available as possible. The collection process was done separately for each paper and once all material mentioning the region was collected, the process of

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[66] It was also included because some Swedish companies actually use the Danish spelling, e.g. Øresundsbro Konsortiet.

selecting the useful material was started. Each article was read rather quickly with the aim of deciding whether the article said something fruitful or if it just described a certain turn of event. Other decisions related to what material was included or not will be further elaborated in section 2.3 Material and limitations.

In Sydsvenskan 270 articles mentioning the search words were found within the decided time span. From the 270 articles, twenty-four articles have been selected since they fulfilled the posed criterions. The articles were monthly distributed as following:

Jun 2016	28
Maj 2016	33
Apr 2016	30
Mar 2016	32
Feb 2016	29
Jan 2016	60
Dec 2015	43
Nov 2015	15 [67]

In Skånska Dagbladet 178 articles mentioning the search words were found. From these, seventeen articles were selected since they fulfilled the posed criterions. The articles were monthly distributed as following:

Jun 2016	15
Maj 2016	23
Apr 2016	21
Mar 2016	19
Feb 2016	19
Jan 2016	42
Dec 2015	31
Nov 2015	8 [68]

For a full list of all articles included, please see Appendix 1 and 2.

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[67] Printscreen from Retriever Research, accessed July 5, 2016.
[68] Printscreen from Retriever Research, accessed July 12, 2016.

2.2.2 The interpretation and systematization of the material

The interpretation of the material has been the biggest part of this research process, since the aim has been to bring about a better understanding of the content of the articles. Once the material was gathered the process to study and read the texts multiple times was officially started. Each paper's full body of text was studied separately and the guiding perspectives in the process were the pre-defined categories and questions set up to the material. The focus of the interpretation process has been both the implicit and the explicit expressed ideas and messages. The decision to include both has been taken in order to ensure the highest possible understanding of the material, since the study of implicit messages allows for conclusions to be made by analyzing the messages between the actual lines. [69]

As has been explained previously, Syssner's approach towards regionalism as an ideology has influenced this thesis. Her five dimensions of an ideology – world view, core values, organization ideals, means of mobilization and target group – have been leading the intellectual process, but they have also been leading in the process of interpreting the collected material. In other words, the theory has inspired the methodology. In the interpretation process the texts, or the certain passages of texts, have been put under each of the five categories depending on the nature of the content. The five dimensions have been explained in the theoretical framework section and the ambition in this section is to explain some of the questions that have been asked within each dimension when studying the material. Some of the questions have been inspired by Syssner[70], while others have been phrased by the scholar herself. However, important to stress is the fact that not *all* questions have been posed to every article, but that the questions have been kept in mind when going through the material on a more general basis.

These are the questions:

Questions about the world view:

- What is the actual world view?
- Is there a coherent world view or several contradicting ones?
- How is the Øresund region related to the EU and the rest of the world?

Questions about the core values:

- What core values are attached to the Øresund region?

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[69] Esaiasson, *Metodpraktikan*, 250.
[70] Syssner, *What kind of regionalism?*, 23-26.

- How are these values communicated?
- How does the paper talk about the Scanian culture and/or a possible Øresund culture?
- How is the region's history addressed?

Questions about the organizational ideals:

- How is the region organized?
- Is the transnational character of the region discussed and if so, in what terms?

Questions about the means of mobilization:

- What means are used to mobilize the population?
- Do the means relate to the populations' reason and logic or to its emotions?

Questions about the target group:

- How is the population/target group defined?

The above posed questions are the ones that will be leading the process forward, but it is important to once again specify that the ambition is not to decide whether there exists a regionalist movement or ideology and questions in the Øresund region or not. The ambitions is rather to use these ideological dimensions in order to understand the morning papers' perspectives and opinions about the region.

2.2.3 Validity and reliability

When conducting a qualitative text analysis it is important to address the issues of validity and reliability. Validity refers to how well the results correspond with the reality, while reliability measures if the conducted research can be replicated consistently.[71] Due to the thesis' social constructionist perspective it is difficult to agree with the perception that there is an independent reality and truth, which can cause issues in regards to validity and reliability. The material that will be analyzed is dependent on the researcher and her subjective interpretation of it, hence risking that another researcher could come up with differentiating results. However, the aim is

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[71] Göran Bergström and Kristina Boréus, "Samhällsvetenskaplig text- och diskursanalys", in *Textens makt och mening: metodbok i samhällsvetenskaplig text- och diskursanalys,* ed. Göran Bergström et al. (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2012), 41.

to minimize the risk of this by being honest with the fact that the analysis of material is based on subjective interpretations. It also important to clarify that the analyzed material has been specifically chosen for the purpose of this thesis, but that the ambition is to work as transparently as possible and to present all lines of thoughts thoroughly. This will hopefully enable the reader to follow the reasoning and understand how and why certain conclusions were drawn. [72]

2.3 Material and limitations

As stated multiple times, this thesis will focus on the ideological manifestations of the Øresund region in the two Scanian morning papers Sydsvenskan and Skånska Dagbladet. The reason to why these two morning papers have been used is because of the fact that they are the two biggest morning papers in Scania. Their editions are read by hundreds of thousands each day and their opinions about the Øresund region could therefore be said to influence many. The size of their editions is the main reason to why they have been selected for this thesis, since it makes them compatible. Another variable in regards to the selection of these papers is their different ideological orientations. As will be introduced in section 3.1.1 and 3.2.1, Sydsvenskan is an independent liberal paper, while Skånska Dagbladet sympathizes independently with the Swedish Centre Party movement. That they have two slightly different political orientations amounts to a more multifaceted research. The last variable for why these two papers have been chosen is that Sydsvenskan takes pride in arguing that they are the ones leading the Øresund integration process forward[73], while Skånska Dagbladet argues that they represent the Scanian interests[74]. Their interests in representing these actors leads to that a lot of material about Scania and the Øresund region is published, which eases the data collection process.

In each paper a data collection process was conducted and the practicalities of that process have been introduced in the section above. Since the material collected comes directly from the papers and its authors, the gathered material for the analysis are all primary sources. The material is also newly produced and has not been analyzed for the same purposes as in this thesis. The gathered material from the morning papers mostly consist of different opinion pieces, letters to the editors and/or paper and other pieces aiming at analyzing current events. All the material is gathered and stored electronically. The reason to why these types of texts were included is because of the belief that an analysis of ideological manifestations in these

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[72] Alexa Robertson. "Narrativanalys" in *Textens makt och mening: metodbok i samhällsvetenskaplig text- och diskursanalys,* ed. Göran Bergström et al. (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2012), 252-253.
[73] Ek, "Öresundsregion – bli till!", 33.
[74] "Om tidningen", Skånska Dagbladet, accessed July 24,2016: http://www.skd.se/om-tidningen/

types of texts can provide information about agenda, political priorities and how the actors themselves make sense of the world, or the region as in this case.[75] This is also the reason to why ordinary news stories were not included in the material. Those types of articles simply describe current events and attach no opinions about the events, hence making them less valuable when discussing expressions of the ideological foundations.

Since the actors/messengers will not be of focus in this thesis, a choice to include material with no specified author was taken. This means that some of the pieces analyzed have no specified sender, but instead is written by the entire editorial staff. Another choice that was made was to include pieces from others than the official staff of the paper. From the beginning this was not the plan, but it became necessary in order to gather a sufficient amount of material to be able to make any substantial conclusions. It is however worth mentioning that this choice only was taken as a response to the lacking amount of material and that the researcher is well aware of the implications this may have. Despite this awareness it was decided to include this type of material too after reading the printed version of Skånska Dagbladet, which states that they do not take responsibility for opinion pieces that they did not order. However, they do not specify what pieces are ordered to represent a certain opinion and it is therefore principally impossible to know what opinions are also the opinions of the paper. It is therefore believed that most of the pieces written by others than the paper's staff represent the opinions of the paper, unless it is clearly pointed out that they do not support the ideas or if the sender represents contradictive opinions compared to the paper's political beliefs. By this it is meant that opinion pieces in Skånska Dagbladet written by someone representing, e.g., the Swedish Social Democrat Party are not seen as representative for the paper since they openly support the Swedish Centre Party movement.

The first limitation in regards to the material used in this thesis, is the fact that the morning papers produce texts in Swedish. Since the ambition is to quote as much as possible to ensure a high reliability, it has been necessary to translate all quotes used from Swedish to English. This has been done by the scholar herself and the ambition has been to translate the passages of texts as accurately as possible, and without misrepresenting the material by adding extra connotations.

The second limitation was shortly addressed in section 2.2.1 Data collection and relates to the slightly uneven distribution of articles amongst the two papers. As stated, the data collection

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[75] Syssner, *What kind of regionalism?,* 42.

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process resulted in twenty-four articles in Sydsvenskan and seventeen articles in Skånska Dagbladet. On the outset it can be perceived as an issue for the validity of the research, but since it clearly has been stated that it is the very content of the documents that is of focus in this process, the uneven distribution is not an issue. The main priority is that the articles say something about the morning paper's perspective on the Øresund region, which the selected material do.

The last limitation, which has also shortly been addressed in some of the paragraphs above, is the fact that it has been difficult to find sufficient amounts of material. The original idea for this thesis was to compare one Scanian newspaper with a Danish counterpart, but after multiple attempts to access material from Denmark it was decided that the focus had to be on the Scanian side of the strait. The lack of access could however, in itself, say something about the information flow in the region, hence concluding that the region's population do not have the same access to information in the entire region, even though the political wish is a full integration.

3. Findings

In this chapter, the findings and results of the data collection and interpretation process will be presented. Each morning paper will be presented separately and the presentation of the results will be divided into five subsections based on the dimensions presented in section 1.4.3.

3.1 Sydsvenskan

3.1.1 Summary

Sydsvenskan was founded in 1848 and is one of the leading morning papers in the southern parts of Sweden, based in Malmö. It states on its webpage that it is an independent liberal morning paper.[76]

When conducting the material search in Sydsvenskan, 270 articles mentioning the search words were found. From these twenty-four articles were selected since they were the ones fulfilling the posed criterions. Most articles from Sydsvenskan are different types of opinion pieces and articles aiming at discussing certain events or phenomenon. As explained in the section about material and limitations (2.3) it has been necessary to include articles written both by the paper's own authors and external authors. Whether the author is internal or external is specified in Appendix 1, which presents all articles used in the interpretation process.

The included texts are all aimed to the public sphere and the paper's readers and should be classified as belonging to the genre of journalism.

3.1.2 World view

The majority of the articles published in Sydsvenskan within the decided time span express a world view where the Øresund region is neglected and ignored by the central power in Sweden. Two examples of that are the following quotes;

> "The Scanians are not excessively whiny. The problem is not located in Scania. The Scanians are not specifically easy to offend. The real problem is the attitude towards them and their region, and that the knowledge about the Øresund region seems to be deficient in Stockholm."[77]

[76] "Välkommen till oss på Sydsvenskan", Sydsvenskan, accessed July 24, 2016: http://www.sydsvenskan.se/2013-04-05/valkommen-till-oss-pa-sydsvenskan

[77] "Nej, Sundström. Kastrup tillhör också Sverige", Sydsvenskan April 12, 2016. Accessed July 5, 2016: http://web.retriever-

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"A good start would be to just listen to the Scanians. They are, in spite of everything, experts at living in the Øresund region."[78]

Within these two quotes it is possible to spot a prevalent dislike towards Stockholm and the central power. The dislike is connected with a feeling of being ignored and neglected, but also with a feeling of being misunderstood and undervalued.

"It might also be because of a shortsighted Stockholm focused perspective, where the Øresund Bridge's importance for the region – and Sweden – is severely underestimated."[79]

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"It is nothing wrong with Stockholm per say. It is the power elite's perception of Stockholm as Sweden's norm that is at fault."[80]

The focus of the articles is, in a way, to explain how the central power is neglecting the region and tearing down the years of successful integration work. But at the same time there is a lot of focus put on explaining how successful the region is. In a sense, it is therefore possible to state that the paper presents a contradictive world view where the region is categorized as belonging both to the periphery and to the center, depending on the observer. [81]

In regards to the current state in the region, most authors focus on the fact that the region is a strong and successful labor market region. But emphasis is also put on the fact that the unemployment figures are high in Malmö and that the border controls might lead to that fewer unemployed Scanians will look towards Copenhagen, as has been done before in times of crisis.

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info.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/services/archive/displayDocument?documentId=05085920160412aaa0f1236f1b74398
6c32dc2973eef6c&serviceId=2

[78] "En revolution tar fart kring Öresund. Leve den!", Sydsvenskan December 29, 2015. Accessed July 5, 2016:
http://web.retriever-
info.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/services/archive/displayDocument?documentId=0508592015122920cf86870c4367baa
42a4b9879d2688f&serviceId=2

[79] "En bro betyder så mycket. Mer.", Sydsvenskan December 4, 2015. Accessed July 5, 2016:
http://web.retriever-
info.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/services/archive/displayDocument?documentId=05085920151204c5a95db159c87a296
45ea9622fb9acd8&serviceId=2

[80] "En revolution tar fart kring Öresund. Leve den!", Sydsvenskan December 29, 2015.

[81] For example, please see "Kostnaderna står inte i proportion till signalerna", Sydsvenskan January 4, 2016.
Accessed July 5, 2016: http://web.retriever-
info.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/services/archive/displayDocument?documentId=05085920160104614d774d6bbcb790
6f24577b16715931&serviceId=2

"The unemployment figures in Malmö are close to 15 %, which is almost twice as high as in
the rest of the country. A lot of young people commute from Malmö to Danish workplaces.
These jobs, often within the service sector, are much needed."[82]

The writer of that specific article then argues that the border controls imposed by the Swedish
government will result in that the unemployment figures in the region will increase, if the border
controls are long-lasting. [83]

When it comes to the visions about the future of the region, the authors mainly focus on how a
re-organization of the border and ID controls would enable the region to strive again.[84] In
practice this means that they speak about the region after the controls are abolished. Another
vision for the future focuses on the Nordic context and the region's place within it. It is argued
that the future of the Øresund region is dependent on the development and strengthening of the
Nordic community, since the Nordic countries working closely together aids, e.g., the
integration process in the Øresund region. It is therefore argued that both regional and national
politicians should work for the further development of the already existing Nordic co-operation.

"The Nordic countries that have so much in common should also focus on strengthening each
other's good sides in an unpredictable world."[85]

The region and its relation to the EU is discussed in many of the articles collected for this study.
The main focus of these discussions have been put on whether the border controls imposed in
the region actually are compatible with EU law or not. The paper's authors are also, in multiple
different articles, arguing that the EU as such has failed and that it will take a long time before
the confidence in the organization's capacity will be restored.

"This is a failure on so many different levels. It is a failure for the European Union, which has
not succeeded in managing the refugee crisis. The external borders broke down during the

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[82] "En revolution tar fart kring Öresund. Leve den!", Sydsvenskan December 29, 2015.
[83] "En revolution tar fart kring Öresund. Leve den!", Sydsvenskan December 29, 2015.
[84] "ID-kontroll slår sönder integrationen", Sydsvenskan December 25, 2015. Accessed July 5, 2016:
http://web.retriever-
info.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/services/archive/displayDocument?documentId=050859201512255219646f5b363efbd
b2b577b28b26b16&serviceId=2

[85] "Utveckla det nordiska samarbetet. Våga förändra i gemensamma modellen", Sydsvenskan January 15, 2016.
Accessed July 5, 2016: http://web.retriever-
info.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/services/archive/displayDocument?documentId=050859201601151342a52b482184fea
3ffdce5bab39b07&serviceId=2

summer, and they are the foundation for the Schengen Agreement and the free movement within the EU. And then, the European solidarity disappeared."[86]

Besides discussing the existing problems within the EU, emphasis is put on placing the region in a European context;

"OECD[87] has appointed the Øresund region as the most prominent example of European cross-border co-operation."[88]

In this quote it is possible to see that the Øresund region is labelled as being European, hence connecting the quote to the fact that the region was labelled as a role model project in the EU's regional programmes, as mentioned in section 1.3.

3.1.3 Core values

In order to detect the core values attached to the Øresund region in Sydsvenskan it has been necessary to focus on what implicitly is being said between the lines, since hardly any values are attached explicitly. There is however one example of when a writer discusses values, but without specifying them;

"The values that have been created under a long period of time – and which cannot be measured in money – are slowly, but steadily disappearing."[89]

By focusing on the use of language in the articles it has been possible to unthread five different values that are attached to the region and its co-operation: sense of belonging, responsibility, free movement, uniqueness and pride.

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[86] "En svart dag. Inte minst för Öresundsregionen", Sydsvenskan January 4, 2016. Accessed July 5, 2016: http://web.retriever-info.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/services/archive/displayDocument?documentId=05085920160104029abdd79030482e26854bdb60643381&serviceId=2

[87] Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
[88] "Av allt att döma strider ID-kontrollerna mot det EU-rättsliga Schengenregelverket", Sydsvenskan April 12, 2016. Accessed July 5, 2016: http://web.retriever-info.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/services/archive/displayDocument?documentId=050859201604124df6f67bb836b075d66f080917abc22d&serviceId=2

[89] "Kontrollerna förlängs, Öresundsregionen missar tåget", Sydsvenskan February 3, 2016. Accessed July 5, 2016: http://web.retriever-info.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/services/archive/displayDocument?documentId=0508592016020367a2851841ce19f411c7f1afe779f826&serviceId=2

The values of uniqueness and pride go together in the articles and are often expressed when discussing how successful the region has been and in relation to the region's history.[90] But the region's uniqueness is also being discussed in the following way;

> "The Øresund region is special and unique. It is unusual that borders run through condensed and well-populated conurbations. It is therefore not possible to congest and compare the Øresund region with other Nordic regions."[91]

The value of free movement and mobility are also recurring in the articles and it is easy to understand that the free movement in the region is the foundation of the entire region. This value is mainly discussed in relation to how the border and ID controls are preventing a free movement.

> "The argument that the main reason for living in Malmö is because of its closeness to the European continent has disappeared. Even though both Malmö and the continent are located at the exact same positions as before."[92]

The fourth core value attached to the Øresund region is responsibility, even though this value is mainly demonstrated implicitly. It is argued that the region, and its residents, are taking responsibility for both Sweden and the EU and their management of the refugee crisis. Additionally, a lot of pride is connected to the value of responsibility. [93]

The last value is the sense of belonging between the residents in the region and it is expressed multiple times that the Scanians and Danes belong together. In relation to this, there is also some emphasis put on that the rest of Sweden, and Stockholm in particular, do not seem to understand this.

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[90] For example, please see "Av allt att döma strider ID-kontrollerna mot det EU-rättsliga Schengenregelverket", Sydsvenskan April 12, 2016.

[91] "Sverige och Danmark bör titta på Manhattan-lösningen", Sydsvenskan March 18, 2016. Accessed July 5, 2016. http://web.retriever-info.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/services/archive/displayDocument?documentId=050859201603182f021374407e6345444e01e9876fd0bb&serviceId=2

[92] "Kära Stockholm, Skåne gnäller ännu", Sydsvenskan April 6, 2016. Accessed July 5, 2016: http://web.retriever-info.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/services/archive/displayDocument?documentId=05085920160406020c7e01d2d4af64d3813fb04d275aa1&serviceId=2

[93] For example, please see "En svart dag. Inte minst för Öresundsregionen", Sydsvenskan January 4, 2016.

"From a Scanian perspective, the Øresund strait is something that connects us with Sjælland, while the Stockholmers view the strait as something separating us from Denmark."[94]

The value of belonging together is also emphasized when addressing history and culture in relation to the region. The focus is however mainly put on the Nordic context and the Nordic history. The following two examples demonstrate this;

"Since the 1950s we have had a passport exemption between the Nordic countries and all together it has been very beneficial. It has strengthen us as a people, created workplaces and it has been an overall motivating factor when creating the typically Nordic."[95]

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"The Nordic countries share a common cultural history and we share the values of freedom and equal rights for all people, regardless of sex, nationality, religion or political beliefs."[96]

In these two examples focus is put on the typically Nordic and the typically Nordic values of freedom and equality for all no matter what. However, these values are also connected to the Øresund region, but solely in implicit ways.

3.1.4 Organizational ideals

The organization of the region is addressed multiple times in the articles published in Sydsvenskan. The Øresund region consist of 79 municipalities and three regions; Region Skåne, Region Hovedstaden and Region Sjælland. However, it is rather the lack of a functioning organization that is of focus in the articles and it is both the regional organization and the national organization that are of focus. One example of a writer discussing how the regional actors cannot seem to agree is the following quote;

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[94] "En del gränser definierar vår trygghet, andra får oss att känna oss instängda", Sydsvenskan February 24, 2016. Accessed July 5, 2016: http://web.retriever-info.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/services/archive/displayDocument?documentId=0508592016022400b1e6844b755a36 29badeab731b2f64&serviceId=2

[95] "I tider av kris är det viktigt att vi håller fast I våra gemensamma nordiska värden och värderingar", Sydsvenskan January 5, 2016. Accessed July 5, 2016: http://web.retriever-info.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/services/archive/displayDocument?documentId=05085920160105e8420e8edaa156c43 5b63b069ce1c853&serviceId=2

[96] "I tider av kris är det viktigt att vi håller fast I våra gemensamma nordiska värden och värderingar", Sydsvenskan January 5, 2016.

"The Danes fooled us[97]. Now we have an organization which is completely controlled by the Danes."[98]

Another example of how the Swedish and Danish's governments' co-operation is discussed is the following;

"The [Swedish] government's attitude towards Denmark has been alarming at times. Denmark seems to be seen as a counterpart instead of a partner."[99]

In spite of these examples, multiple articles try to encourage the actors to work together to come up with the best possible solutions for the region. Other articles try to highlight the fact that the partners, despite their differences, do work together on a number of issues and that it is important that they keep doing so. [100]

The transnational character of the region is also discussed extensively. It is mostly discussed as something positive and many articles highlight that the region is a unique example of successful cross-border co-operation. But a lot of focus is also directed towards discussing the troubles and obstacles that still exist, even sixteen years after that the Bridge opened.

"The Bridge lead to numerous possibilities in regards to the ability of living on one side of the strait and working and/or studying at the other. But that two countries, that from the outset seemed to be so similar, are so different came as a surprise to many. Tax rules, benefit rules, insurances – the bureaucracy on one side of the strait does not speak the same language as the bureaucracy on the other. The removing of border obstacles has been a lot more difficult than anticipated when the Bridge opened in 2000. When one border obstacle has been identified and removed, another one has appeared."[101]

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[97] In the context, *us* refers to the Scanian politicians.
[98] "Copenhagen är för Great för skåningar", Sydsvenskan May 24, 2016. Accessed July 5, 2016: http://web.retriever-info.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/services/archive/displayDocument?documentId=050859201605247e7b8c1293cd0e500c1e05a92a6f29a6&serviceId=2
[99] "Sverige och Danmark bör titta på Manhattan-lösningen", Sydsvenskan March 18, 2016.

[100] "Gränskontroll måste bli en parantes. Löfven bör åka över Sundet", Sydsvenskan January 7, 2016. Accessed July 5, 2016: http://web.retriever-info.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/services/archive/displayDocument?documentId=05085920160107a9e37ad09dc726f8455f5f9e238e5075&serviceId=2

[101] "Bron förenar. Nya hinder skapas.", Sydsvenskan March 13, 2016. Accessed July 5, 2016: http://web.retriever-info.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/services/archive/displayDocument?documentId=0508592016031355b86988926b2d1dd0a0e1bd8f9fba73d&serviceId=2

This passage of text gives evidence to the understanding of the regionalization process in the region as on-going; *once one obstacle has been removed, another one appears.* But it also conveys hope since it acknowledges that the obstacles actually are disappearing once they have been detected.

3.1.5 Means of mobilization

Within the articles published in Sydsvenskan there is not a lot of focus on trying to mobilize the population and/or readers. As demonstrated in some of the quotes above there is, however, an implicit wish for change and in order to motivate the need for change the authors relate mainly to logic and reason.

The authors are from time to time trying to bring about feelings of being neglected and ignored by the central power, as also demonstrated in some of the above presented quotes. In order to achieve those feelings the authors are mainly referring to the readers' emotions.

3.1.6 Target group

In the published articles there are few examples of the authors targeting a specific group, at least explicitly. The few examples that exist are of the writer aiming his or her message towards the entire population living in the region, e.g. Scanians and Danes.

There is also one example where the writer specifically refers to the region's population by calling them *Øresund residents[102]*. In this specific article, the writer also discusses how frustrating it is to continuously be questioned when referring to yourself as an Øresund resident and how it should become standard to refer to yourself as that, instead of specifying whether you are Scanian or Danish. [103]

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[102] The term used in Swedish is *Öresundsbo*.
[103] "Svettigt, surt vid Sundet", Sydsvenskan June 11, 2016. Accessed July 5, 2016: http://web.retriever-info.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/services/archive/displayDocument?documentId=050859201606119dc64d8634d48d2d0a28cf9ad2ae2869&serviceId=2

3.2 Skånska Dagbladet

3.2.1 Summary

Skånska Dagbladet was founded in 1888 and is another leading morning paper in Scania. The paper sympathizes independently with the Centre Party movement in Sweden and states on its webpage that they represent the Scanian population and "the little man against the elite".[104] As mentioned in the data collection section, 178 articles mentioning the search words were found within the decided time span. From these articles, seventeen have been selected to be included in this research. Since the material search in Skånska Dagbladet did not result in a great many articles, it was necessary to include different types of articles. The original idea was to only include opinion pieces written by the paper's staff, but in the end it was decided to include opinion pieces and debate articles by externals based on the logic presented in section 2.3 Material and limitations. The articles written by external authors are specified in Appendix 2.

The included texts are all aimed to the public sphere with the hopes of discussing, and perhaps, affecting the status quo. The texts could therefore be said to fall under the genre of journalism in the public sphere.

3.2.2 World view

When studying the world view expressed in Skånska Dagbladet it is possible to unthread two different world views. The first world view is expressed both implicitly and explicitly and is based on a feeling of inferiority towards the central power in Sweden. The authors also express a feeling of the region being neglected and ignored and that the region is not in charge of its own destiny and future. The following three quotes are examples of these expressed feelings;

"The Swedish government has to listen to the people living in the Øresund region."[105]

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[104] "Om tidningen", Skånska Dagbladet.

[105] "Fortsatta ID-kontroller utan hänsyn till Skåne", Skånska Dagbladet April 30, 2016. Acessed July 12, 2016: http://web.retriever-info.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/services/archive/displayDocument?documentId=0574712016043005a33a2ad1f8ec15ebc066b65c84c5f7&serviceId=2

"In just a couple of weeks, the Swedish government is risking to throw away years of progress. The crack created in the Øresund region is mainly a reflection of the fraction between the region's reality and the government's reality."[106]

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"The Danish Prime Minister is saying that the Swedes are separating the region and hurting the integration process. It is not out of malice, and not because of jaundice. But because the decision makers in Stockholm simply do not understand the implications of their decisions, and therefore prioritizes other things."[107]

The second world view that is presented in the articles, is a world view that places the Øresund region within a bigger Nordic context. One example where the strengthening of the Nordic community is advocated as an advantage for the Øresund region is the following passage:

"The Nordic community has a history of successful co-operation. This tradition should be restored when it comes to safeguarding the external border controls towards the rest of Europe. The Nordic governments should come to an agreement about this as soon as possible, and also decide to cover the costs together. This would, once again, enable the free movement across Øresund and it would be easier to grant asylum to those with asylum reasons."[108]

As stated in the theoretical framework section, other elements within the dimension world view include establishing a certain view of the present, while also presenting visions for the future. In regards to the current state of the region, it is possible to say that Skånska Dagbladet does not see the Øresund region building process as finished and they do not view the border controls as something aiding the integration process.[109] An example of how the authors discuss the current situation in the region is the following passage:

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[106] "ID-koll slår en kil genom Öresund", Skånska Dagbladet January 19, 2016. Acessed July 12, 2016: http://web.retriever-info.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/services/archive/displayDocument?documentId=0574712016011073f4665c429b5bbb3c7d846ae7f03141&serviceId=2

[107] "Upprepning förhindras med regional autonomi", Skånska Dagbladet December 27, 2015. Acessed July 12, 2016: http://web.retriever-info.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/services/archive/displayDocument?documentId=057471201512274d540f5f1e0441999f45a17b4a85907b&serviceId=2

[108] "Med nordisk lösning kan ID-kontrollerna slopas", Skånska Dagbladet February 8, 2016. Acessed July 12, 2016: http://web.retriever-info.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/services/archive/displayDocument?documentId=05747120160208b15ceae098252a2e5351b650c0ab79be&serviceId=2

"The unemployment is high in Malmö and the entrepreneurial climate is bad. Simultaneously, there is a high demand for workforce in Denmark. The possibilities of working in Copenhagen is not only beneficial for the employed, but for the entire Swedish tax system. Once the border controls are established, fewer Scanians will start working across the strait."[110]

In regards to the region's future, there are two different visions presented in the articles. One vision is focused on placing the Øresund region within the bigger context of the Nordic community. The advocates for this vision argues that the emphasis should be on strengthening the Nordic integration and not the integration in the Øresund region as such. [111] The other vision is an autonomous Øresund region, even though this vision only is expressed implicitly. The author argues that the establishment of an autonomous region is the only way to ensure a fully integrated region in both mental and physical terms. It is also argued that an autonomous region is the only way to avoid similar integration backlashes as the one that occurred after the establishment of the border controls. [112]

The last aspect that will be addressed in this section is how Skånska Dagbladet discusses the EU and the world, and how it places the region in relation to them both. The first observation is that there is no focus put on the rest of the world and the Øresund region's place in it. Instead, all the focus is put on the Nordic countries and the EU. As demonstrated above, there is a tendency of placing the Øresund region within a Nordic context, since the focus on the Nordic community is said to aid the integration process in Øresund. [113] When the authors then speak of the EU it is possible to say that they believe that the EU and its related Schengen Agreement are under a lot of stress at the moment. The authors even state that the EU is dissolving;

"When the EU co-operation is dissolving, it is even more important to protect and strengthen the Nordic co-operation."[114]

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[109] "Tio nordiska gränshinder löstes 2015", Skånska Dagbladet March 10, 2016. Acessed July 12, 2016: http://web.retriever-info.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/services/archive/displayDocument?documentId=05747120160310c67b9c25ef74e3f513a7e7f0b477692a&serviceId=2

[110] "ID-koll slår en kil genom Öresund", Skånska Dagbladet January 19, 2016.

[111] "Nordiska samarbetet behöver stärkas igen", Skånska Dagbladet March 7, 2016. Acessed July 12, 2016: http://web.retriever-info.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/services/archive/displayDocument?documentId=057471201603071fcab625dd8ff1a0892c6245762d4b51&serviceId=2

[112] "Upprepning förhindras med regional autonomi", Skånska Dagbladet December 27, 2015.

[113] See both "Nordiska samarbetet behöver stärkas igen", Skånska Dagbladet March 7, 2016 and "Med nordisk lösning kan ID-kontrollerna slopas", Skånska Dagbladet February 8, 2016.

[114] "Nordiska samarbetet behöver stärkas igen", Skånska Dagbladet March 7, 2016.

What is interesting is the fact that the discussion about the EU and the region's relation to it, is used as an impetus for strengthening the Nordic community.

3.2.3 Core values

The values that are attached to the Øresund region are mostly communicated implicitly in Skånska Dagbladet. This has led to that most of the outcomes within this section have come from reading between the lines and it has been necessary to take the entire article into consideration before determining whether it expressed any values attached to the region itself and not just the topic at hand.

In the gathered material it is possible to say that four core values recurrently are attached to the region. These are: unity/togetherness, responsibility, mobility/free movement and uniqueness. The value of responsibility is mainly visible in the above explained, implicit, way. Many of the articles are discussing the establishment and/or time extension of the border controls in the region and it is clear that the authors believe that the region is taking responsibility for the management of the refugee crisis. This responsibility is not only taken for Sweden and Denmark's sake, but for the entire EU.

The values of mobility and free movement are also recurring in multiple articles from different authors. One example is from a debate article published a couple of days before the border controls were installed at the Copenhagen Airport in the beginning of 2016;

> "Mobility and free movement are basic values for all modern communities. This is extra significant in the Øresund region."[115]

The third value that is attached to the region is the understanding of the region as being unique. Some of the paper's authors speak about the region's uniqueness in historical and cultural terms, but other speak about it in the sense that it is a rare example of successful integration in the Swedish context:

> "Scania is unique in Sweden as a combined conurbation and cross-border region…"[116]

The fourth value attached to the Øresund region and the co-operation across the border is unity and togetherness. It is however difficult to present quotes strengthening this observation, since

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[115] "Ogenomtänkt förslag att stänga Bron", Skånska Dagbladet December 28, 2015. Acessed July 12, 2016: http://web.retriever-info.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/services/archive/displayDocument?documentId=05747120151228a56281e38b6d6482a0d3c92761bb7087&serviceId=2

[116] "Upprepning förhindras med regional autonomi", Skånska Dagbladet December 27, 2015.

these values are expressed implicitly. [117] But there is an understanding of the region and its population keeping together in both good and bad times.

Another element within the dimension of core values is if and how the paper discusses culture. As in the rest of the articles in Skånska Dagbladet, there is a big emphasis put on the Nordic context. The following passage of text is the only one within the full set of articles where culture is explicitly addressed;

"The other day, the Norweigan ambassador in Sweden, Kai Eide, discussed the many possibilities within the Nordic countries. A lot of people are not aware of the fact that Norway and Sweden are each other's most important trade partners. The other Nordic countries are also on top of that list. But even more important is the cultural and social connection between the Nordic countries... Just being aware of the Nordic countries importance to each other – and for many citizens – is key in order for the co-operation between the countries to be prioritized."[118]

Besides culture, the region's history is addressed in two different articles. In the first article the discussion is centered on the feeling of being neglected and ignored by the central power. The author argues that this has been the case before and that it is currently happening again. [119] The second article addresses the region's history like this:

"But to sabotage regional development [in the Øresund region], as is being done with this proposal[120], is totally unprecedented in Swedish history. Or at least since 1658, if it is okay to speak freely."[121]

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[117] For example, please see "Skåne räcker bra som det är", Skånska Dagbladet March 20, 106. Acessed July 12, 2016: http://web.retriever-info.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/services/archive/displayDocument?documentId=057471201603204fd931ec07dca1d5abbd44d3d4c7f069&serviceId=2

[118] "Nordiska samarbetet behöver stärkas igen", Skånska Dagbladet March 7, 2016.
[119] "Ygeman har ansvar", Skånska Dagbladet January 24, 2016. Acessed July 12, 2016: http://web.retriever-info.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/services/archive/displayDocument?documentId=0574712016012442053715544 2ae9771bc6a9834d6f284&serviceId=2

[120] The mentioned proposal was the Swedish government's proposal of being able to safeguard the borders by closing down the Øresund Bridge.
[121] "Stänga Bron en katastrof för Skåne", Skånska Dagbladet December 4, 2015. Acessed July 12, 2016: http://web.retriever-info.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/services/archive/displayDocument?documentId=05747120151204b7ec375c3a8a290c6a11ddb58f074371&serviceId=2

As mentioned in the introduction chapter, 1658 was the year when the Treaty of Roskilde was signed, which made the provinces of Scania, Halland and Blekinge Swedish instead of Danish.

3.2.4 Organizational ideals

When it comes to the organization of the region, most authors are united in the opinion that the region is not organized in the best possible way. As stated before, the Øresund region consist of 79 municipalities and three regions; Region Skåne, Region Hovedstaden and Region Sjælland and most authors agree with that it is a strong region with a lot of potential. But many of the articles also discuss the fact that the actors do not work together and that the organization needs to be strengthen in order to be more successful than now.

"The co-operation was not working optimally – we need to work together with the things that we are actually good at."[122]

Besides this quote, it is not possible to find anything more related to the organizational ideals of the region in Skånska Dagbladet.

The articles in Skånska Dagbladet very briefly discuss the transnational character of the region. But it is mostly discussed in relation to the bureaucratic obstacles that are still existing after multiple years of region building. In one of the articles the author mentions the discussion about initiating special legislative powers in the region and how that never became reality. The author then argues that this should be reconsidered in order to avoid similar backlashes to the integration process as is seen currently with the installment of border controls. [123]

3.2.5 Means of mobilization

The means of mobilization in the articles published in Skånska Dagbladet relate both to people's reason and logic and their emotions, but they do so mainly implicitly. When the authors are trying to mobilize the readers with reason and logic, most of the focus is put on the fact that the region is supposed to be a place to strive in and where it should possible to make a career, and that this is partly prevented because of the border controls. [124] Another example of when they refer to the population's reason and logic are the articles focusing on the burden the region has had to carry for both Sweden and Denmark's sake in their management of the refugee crisis.

[122] "Alla kan inte vinna på Greater Copenhagen", Skånska Dagbladet June 19, 2016. Accessed July 12, 2016: http://web.retriever-info.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/services/archive/displayDocument?documentId=057471201606195b136c1c2832bb40ab9165da4e52c1f1&serviceId=2

[123] "Upprepning förhindras med regional autonomi", Skånska Dagbladet December 27, 2015.
[124] "ID-koll slår en kil genom Öresund", Skånska Dagbladet January 19, 2016.

There are also a couple of articles which simply focus on the amount of money that the border controls cost and how that money could have been invested in other projects instead. [125]

The paper's authors are also trying to relate to the readers' emotions about feeling neglected and abandoned by the central power.[126] By trigging this feeling they are trying to mobilize them so that they would demand a change of the current situation and so that they would demand more influence in decisions directly affecting the region. The ambition with this is most likely to encourage the Scanian population to react towards the central power and the politicians governing Sweden.

3.2.6 Target group

In the full set of articles published in Skånska Dagbladet, it is possible to state that the target group is the entire population living in the region, with a natural emphasis on the Scanian population due to the paper's language and target audience. The Scanian population is addressed multiple times and one example is the following passage:

"The everyday life of hundreds of thousands of Scanian people are changing negatively. We, the Scanian politicians, are elected by the Scanian population and need to act in the Scanians interest." [127]

Another example of when the author directs its message towards a certain target group is the following;

"For decades, the Scanians and Danes have worked together for a greater integration in the Øresund region." [128]

In this quote the writer adresses the entire region's population, thus acknowledging that the region consists of both Scanians and Danes.

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[125] "ID-kontrollerna kostar en miljon kronor om dagen", Skånska Dagbladet January 22, 2016. Acessed July 12, 2016: http://web.retriever-info.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/services/archive/displayDocument?documentId=057471201601220fd0dc89aa1e13333 56ef8309bd1dfc8&serviceId=2
[126] "Ygeman har ansvar", Skånska Dagbladet January 24, 2016
[127] "ID-koll slår en kil genom Öresund", Skånska Dagbladet January 19, 2016.
[128] "ID-koll slår en kil genom Öresund", Skånska Dagbladet January 19, 2016.

4. Analysis and discussion

The textual manifestations of the ideological foundations in both of the morning papers have been presented in chapter 3. The results were presented according to the dimensions presented in section 1.4.3 and the coming sections aim at further discussing and analyzing some of the important findings. The ambitions is to bring about a better understanding of the results, while also connecting the findings with the previous research section (1.3) and the theoretical framework section (1.4). Each paper will be analyzed separately and this will be followed by a section where the similarities and differences between the two papers are discussed.

4.1 Sydsvenskan

Before starting the discussion about the presented dimensions, the character of the region will be discussed according to the theoretical material presented in section 1.4.1. By considering the full body of articles in the paper it is possible to state that Sydsvenskan talks about the Øresund region differently depending on the context. In practice this results in that the paper and its writers sometimes refer to the region as an economic one, while they at other times see it as a historical region or a political. Additionally, the region is always referred to as a cross-border region, hence adding a dimension of the understanding of the region as an, e.g., economic *cross-border* region or a historical *cross-border* region. These findings correspond with the material presented in the theoretical framework and strengthens the understanding of regions as socially constructed.

In relation to the character of the region it is possible to discuss what form of regionalism that is prevalent in the articles about the region. As mentioned in section 1.4.4, most scholars have focused on old and new regionalism. But within the scope of this thesis and the material presented it is possible to argue that the understanding of regionalism as one or the other is a bit outdated. The articles in Sydsvenskan convey the fundamentals of both old and new regionalism. A lot of focus is put on the dislike towards the central state as within an old form of regionalism, while another focus is put on economic growth and development as within new regionalism. It is therefore argued that Sydsvenskan understands it as neo-regionalism, which was introduced in the mentioned section. Neo-regionalism focuses both on the region within the international context in political and economic terms, but it also focuses on the so called soft values, such as cultural identity and sense of belonging. This is also done in the articles published in Sydsvenskan and it is therefore argued that the Øresund region should be seen a good example of this type of regionalism.

In relation to focusing on the region within the international context, some of the materials' focus is put on the EU and on placing the region within the European context. What is most evident in the published articles is the belief that the EU as such has failed and that the border controls imposed in the Øresund region is a testimony to this. Another noticeable finding in the articles is the understanding that the EU and the region mutually influence and affect each other. It is believed that it is impossible to separate them from each other, or to understand the Øresund region without taking Europe and the EU into consideration. Therefore, when analyzing the articles it is clear that an Europeanization of the regionalization process in the Øresund region has taken place.

When it comes to the textual manifestations of the ideological foundations of the region, the findings under each dimension have been presented in the previous chapter. The most noticeable aspect of the articles is the prevalent dislike towards the central power, i.e. Stockholm, and the regional feeling of being neglected, ignored and misunderstood. This goes well together with the statement above regarding that some of the fundamental aspects of old regionalism are represented in Sydsvenskan. Old regionalism is in a way based on an understanding of the world as one part belonging to the center and another part belonging to the periphery. Additionally, the articles place the region as belonging both to the center and to the periphery, hence establishing a quite contradictive world view. However, important to specify is that the labelling depends on the observer. In practice this means that the articles tries to argue that the central power, i.e. Stockholm, immediately places the Øresund region as belonging to the periphery due to its geographical location, when the region in reality should be placed in the center based on its importance for the Swedish connection with the European continent.

The writers also argue that the center's lack of knowledge about the periphery, i.e. the Øresund region, is the reason to why border and ID controls could be established in the region at all. If the region would have been seen as important and as belonging to the core of Sweden, these *damaging*[129] controls would never have been established. This amounts to a perception of the world, where the center is deliberately destroying the periphery, which in turn creates feelings of being neglected. This feeling is communicated in most of the articles in Sydsvenskan and do in a way form the basis of the regional Øresund identity and world view.

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[129] The writers' word.

In section 3.1.3, the core values attached to the region and the way the region's history and culture are addressed were of focus. Sydsvenskan attaches five recurring values to the region and these are: sense of belonging, responsibility, free movement, uniqueness and pride. By analyzing the way the writers discuss the values of uniqueness, pride and the sense of belonging it is possible to detect that these values also form the basis for the regional identity. When speaking of pride they use it in a way to encourage the readers to feel proud of the region, its history and its culture. To focus on the region's history as a unifying factor for today is intriguing when bearing the transboundary relationship throughout the years in mind. As stated in the introduction section, the Southern parts of Sweden were for centuries part of the Danish Kingdom. After years of war, the Treaty of Roskilde, which made Scania part of Sweden, was signed in 1658. The border that was created in the aftermath of the treaty lead to that the cultural contacts between the two sides of the strait were non-existent for 150 years. The region's history therefore consist of years of separation. It is therefore intriguing and thought-provoking that Sydsvenskan uses the history as a unifying factor and as a motive to why the region and its people belong together today, even if the approach is quite common within national narratives and the creation of identities.

The last finding that will be further analyzed and discussed is the fact that one of the writers refer to the people living in the region as *Øresund residents*[130]. This should be understood as quite a statement, since it implies that the residents are one and the same instead of residents with two different nationalities living in the same region. By using the term *Øresund resident* you signify a common identity, a common culture and a common future. It is also a statement in the sense that it argues that a transnational society and identity have emerged. As presented in the theoretical framework, the emergence of these types of identities does not necessarily mean that national loyalties and identities are abandoned. This is not the case in the Øresund region either, according to Sydsvenskan. It is just one identity that exists alongside many others.

However, this does not mean that the need for stereotyping has decreased, as Orvar Löfgren wished for in 2002. The differences between the Scanians and the Danes are still highlighted, but it is as if the establishment of the border controls has led to that the differences are disregarded in favor for a higher cause. When studying the paper's coverage of the development of the border and ID controls it is quite clear that the residents in the region are coming closer together for every day that passes by. The identity that has emerged is basically based on a

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[130] The term used in Swedish is *Öresundsbo*.

common dislike towards the central powers. It is however too early after the establishment of the border controls to be able to say if this observation has any substance in the long term perspective, or if it just seems as if the people has come together due to the fact that they currently share a common unprecedented experience.

4.2 Skånska Dagbladet

When studying all of the articles published in Skånska Dagbladet within the decided time span you receive an ambiguous understanding of the region. On the one hand it is seen as an administrative, economic region and on the other hand it is seen as part of a bigger Nordic cultural and/or historical community, hence strengthening the understanding of regions as socially constructed and dependent on the observer. Since the focus in most of the articles is put on placing the region within the Nordic context, it could perceived as if the cross-border status is disregarded. There are only two particular articles where the cross-border status is discussed. One is an article focusing on the governments' lack of interest in overcoming existing border obstacles.[131] The other article acknowledges that both Scanians and Danes have worked together in order to improve the integration of the region. [132] Since there is an overall lack of focus of the cross-border status, it is therefore argued that Skånska Dagbladet focuses mainly on Scania. But what is intriguing is the fact that the concept of Scania seems to include at least the Øresund Bridge and Copenhagen Airport, thus amounting to a perspective on Scania as expanded beyond the physical borders. The fact that Scania is part of a cross-border region is therefore acknowledged, but it is not the focus.

If shifting the focus from the type of region it is to what form of regionalism that is prevalent in the morning paper's articles, it is possible to state that it leans towards new regionalism. When discussing the region as a whole it is mainly done in economic terms focusing on growth and development, which are fundamental aspects of this form of regionalism. However, the dichotomy center vs. periphery is still present in the articles, which gives a hint of that an old regionalism exists as well. This thesis would however like to argue that the expressions supporting an old regionalism are not connected to the Øresund region as a whole, but only to the Scanian side of the strait. It might seem peculiar, but the fact is that the expressions supporting the existence of an old regionalism in Scania are connected solely to Scanian history and culture. To give an example; in one of the articles it is argued that the region should become

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[131] For an example, please see "Upprepning förhindras med regional autonomi", Skånska Dagbladet December 27, 2015.Ø

[132] "ID-koll slår en kil genom Öresund", Skånska Dagbladet January 19, 2016.

autonomous, a character feature of the old regionalism. However, this autonomous region does not include the Danish side of the Øresund region, hence making it possible to argue that there exist an old regionalist movement in Scania. Additionally, the fact that only the Scanian side is part of these wishes for autonomy makes it impossible to suggest that the form of regionalism is neo-regionalism, since that also would acquire that the entire Øresund region was included.

As stated multiple times in the findings chapter, a lot of the articles in Skånska Dagbladet promote the Nordic context. But there is also an emphasis on the European context, at least to some extent. When the paper discusses the EU it is mainly done in relation to that it is troubled at the time and that the Øresund region is taking responsibility for the failing co-operation. Within the articles it is also possible to spot that an Europeanization of the region has taken place. It is most evident in the terms that the region and its actors consistently need to take the European context into consideration and that the region is adapting to the EU's development and policies.

As mentioned when discussing the form of regionalism in Skånska Dagbladet, the center vs. periphery dichotomy is present. Almost all the analyzed articles express a perception of the reality where Scania and the Øresund region are inferior to the central power elite located in Stockholm. Besides feeling inferior, the feelings of being neglected and ignored are well represented and these have amounted to the overall feeling of not being in charge of the region's own destiny and future. It could therefore be said to exist some sort of hopelessness in the articles published in Skånska Dagbladet. With this in mind it becomes easier to understand why the writers promote the strengthening of the Nordic community. The hope is that the strengthening of that community could lead to a situation where the region and its importance for the Scandinavian countries and markets is acknowledged. This would in turn ease the feeling of being neglected and instead empower the region's actors and make them feel in charge of their region's future again.

The values that recurrently are attached to the region are unity/togetherness, responsibility, mobility/free movement and uniqueness. The value of responsibility has already been addressed, since it primarily is related to the feeling of taking responsibility for the entire EU's and Sweden and Denmark's management of the refugee crisis. What is worth mentioning in regards to this is that when the writers discuss the burden the region has had to carry, it is argued that this is accepted by the region's population because it is in their nature to take responsibility. It is almost like the writers try to argue that any other region would not have accepted the

responsibility that the region has had to take. It could consequently be argued that the value of taking responsibility is an intrinsic, core value for the region's residents.

Another finding in Skånska Dagbladet is that free movement and mobility are values that are prized. When analyzing the emphasis that is put on these it is possible to state that the two values are the basis for the entire regional life style and identity. It is also the only example of when something is romanticized. In the articles it is argued that the border and ID controls are preventing the Øresund life style, and this specific life style is praised multiple times, hence reminding of the common feature of romanticizing different aspects within ideologies.

The other values that are attached to the region are attached in rather implicit ways and it is not possible to state that the values are used as a basis for a regional Øresund identity or as a basis for arguing that, that type of identity already has emerged. The values of unity and uniqueness are mentioned multiple times, but as in other examples in Skånska Dagbladet the focus is on the Scanian or the Nordic unity. This value could therefore be said to be used in order to strengthen the already existing Scanian identity. This identity is based on a common culture, history and general sense of belonging.

That the focus is put on Scania is, as demonstrated in this analysis section, rather symptomatic for the full set of articles in the morning paper. The focus is never on discussing or promoting a regional Øresund identity. The focus is not the regional Øresund history or culture. Instead, the focus is constantly aimed at the Scanian or the Nordic.

4.3 Similarities and differences

In this section the objective is to discuss the similarities and differences that exist between the two papers. The ambition is also to try and understand why these differences exists and to provide suggestions for future research. The structure of this section will mimic the subsections above, i.e. discussing the similarities and differences in regards to the character of the region, the Europeanization of the region, the form of regionalism and lastly the results from the five dimensions presented in the findings chapter.

However, the first aspect that will be discussed is the gathered material. In Sydsvenskan, 270 articles mentioning the search words were found and twenty-four articles were selected to be part of this research process. In Skånska Dagbladet, 178 articles were found and seventeen articles were selected. This means that in both papers a great many articles were rejected, since they did not contribute to a better understanding of the region. It could be argued that the number of articles is not enough in order to be generalizable, but it is still deemed as sufficient

in order to say something about how the papers discuss the region and the value-basis of it. The only thing that could have ensured a higher degree of generalizability would be to further expand the collection process, either by adding extra actors or by stretching the selected time span that was chosen.

When it comes to the character of the region the similarity between the papers lies in that they both see the region differently depending on the context. As stated in both subsections above, this strengthens the conceptualization presented in the theoretical framework regarding that regions are socially constructed and dependent on the observer. Both paper also argues that an Europeanization of the region has taken place, which leads to that the region's relation to and relationship with the EU is continuously addressed in the articles.

What differs in the papers is their emphasis, or lack thereof, on the region's cross-border status. Sydsvenskan constantly discusses and reminds the reader that the region consist of two national territories that have been merged in both physical and mental terms. Skånska Dagbladet is instead focused only on the Scanian side of the region. It is not as if they ignore that the region is comprised by two national territories, but due to their geographical location they simply focus on Scania. The differences in regards to the extent of focus on the cross-border status might also be because of the papers' differences in target audiences. As stated in section 2.3 Material and limitations, Sydsvenskan takes pride in arguing that they are the ones leading the Øresund integration process forward, while Skånska Dagbladet argues that they represent the Scanian population and its interests. When considering those ambitions, the paper's different levels of attention towards the cross-border character becomes more comprehensible. Those ambitions could also be used as explanations to why the papers differ so much in regards to their overall focal points. As understood in section 4.2, Skånska Dagbladet does not focus on the entire Øresund region. Their focus is mainly put on Scania, Scanian interests and the entire Nordic community, and this causes problems for this study. In the beginning of the research process, these two morning papers were selected since they were believed to be compatible in regards to size, target group and content. It is not argued that they are incompatible, but they are not as compatible as initially perceived. This has led to difficulties in the comparison between the two, since they on paper appear to speak of the same region, but actually understand it differently.

What was rather difficult to determine was what type of regionalism that was expressed in the two morning papers. In Sydsvenskan the articles expressed the type as neo-regionalism, while Skånska Dagbladet rather focuses on new regionalism within the full region of Øresund. What is thought-provoking in this case is that the two forms of regionalism is a difference between

the two papers, but also a similarity. Both forms of regionalism include an emphasis on economic terms such as growth and development, which means that both papers view the region in these terms. The difference among them is the focus on culture and history. Both papers focus on these aspects, but in relation to different geographical units, as demonstrated in the paragraph above. Sydsvenskan discusses culture and history in relation to the whole of the region, while Skånska Dagbladet "only" speaks about those aspects in relation to half the region, e.g. Scania. It is therefore impossible to state that Skånska Dagbladet sees it as neo-regionalism, since that would require that the entire Øresund region should be addressed in regards to all aspects. This thesis would however like to argue that more emphasis should be put on studying neo-regionalism, since it is believed that this could provide an understanding of the regions in Europe today. Few regions could be classified as "just" old regionalism or "just" new regionalism, and it is therefore imperative that more focus is aimed towards research about neo-regionalism, since it is believed to be a very beneficial concept when trying to understand regions such as the Øresund region. It is also argued that the Øresund region could be used as a role model example of neo-regionalism and it could therefore be further studied in order to elaborate the existing theory.

Another similarity, even though it is expressed to various degrees in each paper, is the existence of the dichotomy center vs. periphery. There is an intrinsic dislike aimed towards the central power in Sweden [Stockholm] and there are expressions for feeling inferior and neglected in both papers. The intrinsic and prevalent dislike towards the central power in Sweden could be argued to be the foundation of the region's value-basis. Focus in this paragraph will however not be on discussing the common dislike towards Stockholm, but rather on why there is an excessive focus on Stockholm and hardly any on Copenhagen. The focus on Stockholm is based on both experiences of the past and experiences of the present. But the experiences of the present could not be said to be just because of the Swedish center's [Stockholm] neglect of the periphery [Øresund region]. The central power in Denmark, and the EU, has its responsibility too for the current situation. However, there is hardly any focus put on the fact that the Danish government is not pushing forward a development where the border controls, as an example, can be co-organized on one location instead of two as it is today. It is not possible within the scope of this thesis to further research why the negative focus is only directed towards Stockholm, but it would be intriguing to further research whether this has been a trend throughout the entire regionalization process.

The next similarity that needs to be further discussed is the lack of explicit expressions of values attached to the region. As demonstrated in the findings chapter it was necessary to focus the interpretation process on reading between the lines and considering the entire article before coming to any conclusions. The inspiration for this thesis was Syssner's recommendation of further studying the value-basis of regionalism, which led to the decision to use her theoretical framework of regionalism as an ideology as the basis for the theoretical and methodological approach in this thesis. The approach has enabled an understanding of the region and its character, but it has not enabled an understanding of the value-basis of the region. The values that are attached were found mainly when reading between the lines, i.e. implicitly, and the expressions are so few that it becomes impossible to use them as a basis for determining the value-basis of the region.

However, this is not the approach's fault, it is simply the lack of explicit expressions of values that is at fault. It was not expected at the outset of this research process that the values connected to the region and a possible regional identity would be many. But it is still seen as peculiar that there are so few examples and it is believed that it would be beneficial to conduct a study including multiple morning papers and analyze whether it is a general trend when it comes to discussing Swedish regions. If this should be the case, the study should also try to research the reasons to why Swedish papers and actors are so hesitant in regards to attaching the softer, cultural values to a specific region.

5. Conclusions

The aim of this master's thesis was to analyze how the Øresund region is discussed in the two Scanian morning papers Sydsvenskan and Skånska Dagbladet. The thesis also aimed at discussing the value-basis of the region and the values attributed to the cross-border co-operation. By understanding regionalism as an ideology, the five dimensions of an ideology (world view, core values, organizational ideals, means of mobilization and target group) were used when interpreting the articles from the morning papers.

The first conclusion relates to the character of the region and what form of regionalism that is prevalent in the material. In the papers the Øresund region is addressed as an economic region, an administrative region and a cultural/historical region. This amounts to the conclusion that the region is seen differently in both papers depending on the place and context, thus strengthening the conceptualization of regions as socially constructed and that they without the addition of any criterion simply represent spatial units. The labelling of the region as an economic region leads to that the fundamentals of new regionalism are expressed in both papers. However, Sydsvenskan chooses to focus on the cultural aspects of the Øresund region as well, while Skånska Dagbladet chooses to discuss culture in relation only to half the region, e.g. Scania. It is therefore possible to conclude that the form of regionalism in Skånska Dagbladet simply is new regionalism, while Sydsvenskan is conveying all the fundamental aspects of neo-regionalism. An intra-academic implication of this conclusion is the recommendation that more emphasis should be directed towards studying neo-regionalism, since it in this thesis is argued that this form of regionalism best can explain the Øresund region of today. It is also believed that the further elaboration of the existing theories about neo-regionalism could result in a new tool that can be used when studying regions with the aim of understanding Europe of today.

The biggest difference amongst the two papers is their various degrees of attention aimed towards the region's cross-border status. Sydsvenskan continuously discusses the entire Øresund region and the cross-border status therefore becomes an integral part of their perspective on the region. On the other hand, Skånska Dagbladet does not focus on the entire Øresund region, but merely on the Scanian side of the strait. Skånska Dagbladet's choice of focal point naturally amounts to that the cross-border status is not the focus. The fact that the two papers appear to speak of the same region, but in reality understand it differently has caused problems for this study. It is willingly admitted that this is one of this study's biggest weaknesses.

The fourth conclusion in this thesis is that the dichotomy center vs. periphery is well represented in both papers. There are also multiple expressions for the feelings of being neglected, ignored and inferior to the central power in Sweden, which in total results to the perception of not being in charge of the region's own destiny. The intrinsic and prevalent dislike towards the central power in Sweden [Stockholm] could be argued to be the foundation of the region's value-basis.

The fifth conclusion is that the regionalization process in the Øresund region is an on-going process, without any end in sight. Evident in the papers is also the understanding that an Europeanization of the regionalization process has taken place and the region is continuously placed in relation to the EU.

The next conclusion is related to the title of this thesis, which in turn relates to the aim of this study. The aim was to study and discuss the value-basis of the Øresund region, but as demonstrated by the title of the thesis *The value-basis of the Øresund region – does it even exist?* it was very difficult to find expressions of values attached to the region. The values that are attached were found mainly when reading between the lines, i.e. implicitly, and the expressions are so few that it becomes impossible to use them as a basis for determining the value-basis of the region.

The last conclusion is related to the theoretical framework used. The basis for the thesis is the understanding of regionalism as an ideology and the five dimensions presented by Syssner were used in order to interpret and discuss the character of the region. The five dimensions were world view, core values, organizational ideals, means of mobilization and target group. This thesis would however like to argue that a re-focusing of the framework should be considered. In order to be able to successfully study the character and value-basis of a region, the dimensions of world view and organizational ideals should be rephrased, since the terms causes confusions. It is therefore argued that the dimension of world view should be termed *the character of the region* and that the dimension of organizational ideals should be included in this new dimension. It is believed that a re-focusing of this kind would amount to that the theoretical framework better would fit the European regions of today and therefore would enhance its applicability within the subject of European studies.

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