



LUND
UNIVERSITY

Entrepreneurialism and sustainability in Helsingborg

A critical discourse analysis of city marketing in the urban renewal
project H+

Lund University
Department of Human Geography
Supervisor: Eric Clark

Simon Homander
Bachelor thesis autumn 2018
SGEK03

Abstract:

This essay highlights the increasingly important role of city marketing in urban renewal. In particular, it focuses on the way that discourses in city marketing can impact the social geography of the city. In light of the urban renewal project H+, this thesis examines Helsingborg's city marketing. The marketing of the project is analyzed through critical discourse analysis, drawing upon the theoretical framework that emphasizes different processes that impact the social geography of the city. The H+ renewal project includes several areas in the central parts of Helsingborg. This thesis, however, will mainly focus on an area called Söder. The thesis recognizes Söder as one of the main socially troubled areas in Helsingborg, characterized by low incomes, high unemployment rates, and immigration. The essay concludes that the discourses are influenced by inter-urban competition between cities for affluent citizens and businesses. Marketing is the primary intermediate that addresses specific social classes. The thesis identifies the discourses entrepreneurialism and sustainability to be excluding to current working-class residents of the H+ area, thereby potentially contributing to a changing social geography characterized by state-led and green gentrification.

Keywords: State-led gentrification, green gentrification, city marketing, critical discourse analysis, H+.

Table of content:

Introduction	4
<i>Research questions</i>	4
<i>Aim</i>	4
<i>Delimitations</i>	5
<i>Background</i>	6
<i>Outline</i>	9
City marketing	9
Discourse	10
<i>Entrepreneurialism</i>	12
<i>Sustainability</i>	13
Gentrification theory	15
<i>Gentrification, introduction</i>	15
<i>State-led gentrification</i>	16
<i>Green gentrification</i>	17
<i>Creative Class</i>	18
Method	19
<i>Material</i>	21
<i>Structure of the analysis</i>	22
Analysis	23
<i>Part 1</i>	23
<i>Entrepreneurialism</i>	23
<i>Sustainability</i>	28
<i>Part 2</i>	33
Conclusions	39
<i>Further research</i>	41
<i>Reflections</i>	43
References:	44

Introduction

Research questions

1. How are discourses on entrepreneurialism and sustainability manifested in the city marketing of H+?
2. How do these discourses exclude some residents while attracting others and how does this influence the social geography of the H+ area?

Aim

The objective is to examine the dominance of certain discourses in city marketing and how these discourses can potentially impact the social geography of the city. Furthermore, the essay's objective is to reveal the political and ideological nature of the discourses. Using a sample of marketing material related to the H+ project, the essay seeks to determine the terminology and concepts for each of the discourses. The thesis ambitions are to illustrate how discourses legitimize the project and how the project can potentially impact the social geography of the H+ area. The essay uses a theoretical framework consisting of theories such as state-led gentrification, green gentrification, and creative class to determine the influence of discourse on the social geography of the city.

Delimitations

The method, critical discourse analysis, limits the research to the discursive aspects of urban renewal, which means that the essay will put much emphasis on the meaning and use of language.

Another delimitation is the one that has to do with the research questions, as especially the second question narrows the aspects of the H+ project to a matter of social geography. Such a massive urban renewal project has many compelling elements allowing for other exciting research subjects. The city marketing was so impacted by discourses, however, so that became the central objective of the thesis, thereby neglecting other stimulating aspects of urban renewal.

To work with Helsingborg was a decision based on two factors. Firstly, the project itself, H+, is of such dignity that it potentially can change the entire configuration of central Helsingborg. Secondly, Helsingborg exemplifies a city which uses and has used city marketing as an active strategy in urban renewal which allows for applying a critical discourse analysis.

A vital part of the delimitations is the process of identifying discourses. As the thesis chose to focus on discourses that are in some way related to the social geography of the city, that also means neglecting other discourses that might take place. This is a choice made from two arguments. Firstly, these discourses are identified as fundamental in the city marketing, and there is little to indicate that there are in fact discourses as dominant or as important to the city marketing. Secondly, these discourses have elements that are of interest to research. Other discourses that have been neglected is both less frequent and therefore difficult to generalize, and their character is less emotive and political. As the method is critical discourse analysis, the critical aspect cannot be applied unless the discourses are disputable and can potentially influence power relations and resource allocations.

Background

This background section includes some brief insights into the H+ project with emphasis on Söder and the condition of the area using statistical indicators of relevance to the remainder of the essay. This section should mainly be viewed as informative and objective knowledge for further reading.

Statistics:

Gainful employment (förvärvsarbete).

Percentage of people age 20-64, without gainful employment 2016:

Söder	Helsingborg
43,8 %	26,1 %

Average income 2016 in thousand Swedish Kronor per year:

Söder	Helsingborg
287,6	375,4

Immigrants 2017 Söder:

Immigration status	%
Immigrants in total	45,4 %
Outside of Scandinavia	42 %
Outside of Europe	26 %

Percentage of Immigrants 2017 in Helsingborg:

Immigrants in total	32 %
---------------------	------

(Helsingborgs statistikdatabas, 2018) *Summarized by the author of the thesis.*

The statistics provide relevant measurements of the social status and configuration of Söder. It can be concluded that the area is culturally diverse. Immigrants are almost half of the population and about one-fourth of the population is born outside of Europe. Over 40% of the population in Söder lack gainful employment. In relation to Helsingborg as a whole, it is a quite extreme result. Not surprisingly this also means that the average income is low, especially compared to the city as a whole.

Every year the Swedish police publish a survey measuring safety in subareas all over the country. For many years it has been used as a decision basis for the police work and their priorities. It measures multiple aspects of safety and focuses on the experience of those living in the areas. In the latest survey, published in late 2017, Söder in Helsingborg was experienced by its residents as the most unsafe area in entire Sweden. Helsingborg's police chief argues that they need a more comprehensive solution, where the local government should increase their responsibility. The local top-politicians and chairman for "Safer Helsingborg" Christian Orsing says that the solution is long-term, and that solution involves changing the identity of Söder by building away alienation and segregation (Kristiansson 2017).

The initial stages of H+ were set already in the early 21st century, although not explicitly formulated as H+, Söder was recognized as a troubled area in need of physical renewal. The project was called 'Söder in change.' The goals were improved health, decreased unemployment and safer environments. The plan was to make Söder attractive enough for people to want to live there, visit and for more businesses to establish (Söder i Förändring, 2006). That was however just the beginning of something far more concrete and expansive, including several areas surrounding Söder. Today it includes four subareas: Gåsebäck, Husarområdet, Universitetsområdet, and Oceanhamnen. All of these subareas are closely connected to or situated in Söder. Many of the projects in these subareas are motivated on the benefit it will have to Söder as a whole. Given its complex nature geographically and the number of small projects within the larger project, the project as a whole is analyzed in the context of Söder

but with particular regard to what happens within the borders of Söder and outside. However, the fact that these areas are so closely situated to each other also means that changes in one of the subareas are likely to affect the configuration of the entire H+ area.



("Presentation of H+" 2018)

As the picture illustrates, the H+ area is situated close to the water, and all the areas are linked together and overlapping. Five thousand residences along with business offices, restaurants and meeting spaces inside and outside are estimated to establish. An essential part of the project is connecting Söder with the central Helsingborg and the new subareas Oceanhamnen and Universitetsområdet. The building of the new subareas contains hotels, offices, and services with new entrances to the central station. These are strategic investments to tie Söder with central Helsingborg (Hplus Helsingborg 2016a). The old harbor and industrial areas in the southern parts of central Helsingborg are replaced with

residences, offices, and businesses in the renewal process (Helsingborgs Stad 2014).

Outline

The essay will include a theoretical framework consisting of three distinct categories. The first one being the thesis theoretical approach to city marketing. The second part will present the two identified discourses in the city marketing and their arguments. The third part is the theoretical approach to analyzing the effect the project might have on the social geography in Helsingborg. It consists of two subcategories of gentrification, green gentrification, and state-led gentrification. Lastly, the theory of the creative class is presented. For the methodological part of the essay, the method of critical discourse analysis and the way this thesis applies it to city marketing is discussed. The first part of the analysis presents the manifestation of the two discourses separately in relation to the theoretical framework. In the second part of the analysis, a more profound discussion concerning research question two and the overlapping nature of the two discourses will take place, with the ambition of sufficiently answering both research questions.

City marketing

The postindustrial urban space has had two characteristics, firstly investments in growth and marketing, secondly increasing social polarization (Mukhtar-Landgren, 2006). Many post-industrial cities are struggling with an identity crisis. The cities are viewed as grey concrete places without culture and nature. This crises for cities has led to an enormous increase in place marketing which is characterized by investments in local attractions or flagship projects (Ibid). To create the right image and profile, local officials and politicians use different types of

marketing strategies to attract investments to the city (Millington, Young, and Lever 1997). The city is often presented as an exciting and attractive place to live in for the modern man. It is a lifestyle. In times of competition between cities, it has become increasingly important to market the city as unified even though it might be highly socially fragmented (Cohen 1997).

The city is written from a specific perspective for a particular audience (Harvey 1997). This usually means neglecting the old identity in favor of the new (Short, et al. 1992). Discourse representing success supports an idea of how the society should be, and it signals to residents how they should be to fit in within that profile, which often means increasing segregation and exclusion (Mukhtar-Landgren 2006).

In this essay, these reflections are the theoretical point of departure for how city marketing works and the incentives for using it. City marketing is a step in identity formation, and cities actively choose discourses that often indicate success, to create a successful identity. Therefore city marketing is the most vital tool to communicate the discourses that seek to attract investment, businesses, and individuals that are attracted by the discourses.

Discourse

This part of the thesis presents the dominant discourses identified in the city marketing of the H+ project in Helsingborg. It aims at providing insights to the general traits and ideas of the discourses. The discourses are presented separately. In the analysis through critical discourse analysis, they are presented according to the terminology of the marketing and how it relates to the discourse. Within these two discourses, it is observed that marketing is a crucial discursive trait. That is not surprising given the nature of the discourses, they both seek to achieve change, where marketing is a useful tool to do this for local states. The analysis more deeply investigates how the discourses are manifested in the city

marketing of H+. This part of the essay should instead be viewed as an introduction to the general ideas and concepts of the discourses.

It should be highlighted that critical discourse analysis is both a theory and a method. Therefore the theoretical assumptions and general purpose of doing a critical discourse analysis will be presented shortly to clarify what the theoretical point of departure for doing critical discourses analysis means to this thesis.

Critical discourse analysis is a way of revealing the relationship between discourse and power, to do this however we must understand it from a relevant theoretical framework. That is how we can determine the true meaning of the language (Fairclough 2010). Discourse is ideological. The primary ambition of a discourse is not to be truthful. The critique should, therefore, emphasize what is wrong with the discourse, in what way it is untruthful to reality, or has unfair and undemocratic consequences. That is how critical discourse analysis is normative and not only descriptive (Fairclough 2010).

Van Dijk (1997) argues that critical discourse analysis involves exploring why some meanings have become privileged and why others have become marginalized, in that way we understand how meaning is created in society. That argument emphasizes the fact that critical discourse analysis is not only describing what we can see, read and hear but it is also questioning why we can not see, read or hear other discourses.

Ideological-discursive formation (IDF) is a social institution that can naturalize ideologies. The objective of critical discourse analysis is to denaturalize them and reveal the true ideological nature and identify the impact on social structures (Fairclough 2010). This thesis argues that the discourses identified in Helsingborgs city marketing have become naturalized. The following presentation of the discourses provides the argument that they are naturalized through their widespread use in urban planning and renewal.

Entrepreneurialism

Cities increasingly seek new ways to create local development and employment growth — a shift which is a consequence of the increasing inter-urban competition between cities for affluent individuals and investment (Harvey 1989). Harvey's notion of entrepreneurialism was one of the earlier recognition of the entrepreneurial emphasis in urban governance. The discourse deals with growth, concerning growth of people, businesses and the economy in its whole. Entrepreneurialism also deals with the symbolic values of the local state rather than the material consequences (Boyle, Hughes 1994). It is a shift that is visualized in the way that the local state has adapted behavior most commonly used by private actors such as risk-taking, promotion and profit motivation (Hall, Hubbard 1996).

Jessop and Sum (2000) conclude three defining features for entrepreneurial cities. Firstly, the city pursues innovative strategies that intend to enhance the economic competitiveness in relation to other cities. Secondly, these strategies are real and reflexive, and they are explicitly formulated and pursued in an active entrepreneurial fashion. Thirdly, the promoters of entrepreneurial cities adopt an entrepreneurial discourse and narrate their cities as entrepreneurial and market them as entrepreneurial as well. The third feature is of course highly interesting for this research as it argues that an essential part of entrepreneurialism is actually the adaptation of the discourse and externally communicating its presence through city or place marketing.

Another aspect of the entrepreneurial city is the fact that many times these entrepreneurial policies have failed to solve the social and economic issues apparent in many cities. That is while it might create growth and local development this is often in favor of certain elite groups, neglecting issues of socially troubled groups, which has an adverse effect on social equity and equality (Hall Hubbard, 1996).

Examples of projects in the entrepreneurial cities range from support for small businesses to building highly attractive residential areas by using different types of city marketing, often through a partnership between the municipality and private actors (Dannestam 2004). Building attractive residential areas can be viewed as a kind of flagship project, that attracts attention given their spectacular location and facilities. Such an expensive and noticeable project can, of course, have a significant impact on the rest of the project.

It can be concluded that entrepreneurialism has many aspects to it. There might not be a consensual answer to its true nature. However, from this literature presentation, we can find some consensus. For example, it seems to be a local governmental strategy, and it is also a process in which neoliberalism as an ideology is inevitable given the inter-urban competitiveness. It also tries to achieve growth through processes which are market-oriented, generally associated with private actors. Also, it seems to have a conflicting nature, in its aspiration for growth and development, social equity and equality becomes deprioritized.

Sustainability

Sustainability, climate change adaptation, and environmental consideration are all relatively newly adapted concepts taken into account in urban planning and renewal. The increasing awareness of the need for cities to adapt to climate change has led them to new policies, new ways of constructing the city and emphasis on values related to the environment. The following literature exploration suggests that this is a reoccurring theme in urban governance, that can be argued to be a discourse, both in general terms but also more explicitly concerning urban renewal. How this discourse manifests itself in the case of H+ and Helsingborg's city planning will be more explicitly analyzed and discussed in the analysis.

Discourses have drawn some attention in the gentrification literature. One argument is that a green face has been painted on gentrification where two buzzwords have been recognized to be livability and sustainability (Lees 2000). Although it is a somewhat unexplored topic, one argument is that gentrification and urban planning are closely linked to the discourse sustainability (Lees, Demeritt 1998).

Urban climate adaptation has been ideological and also strongly associated with neoliberal practices such as market-oriented governance and urban environmental entrepreneurialism. The recognition of climate change has led urban policy to react to these environmental issues through the use of competitive strategies and financial investments (Whitehead 2012). The adaptation of the sustainability discourse by neoliberal capitalism has led to a commodification of nature. Nature is transformed into economic relations, subordinated to market logic and profit (Cock 2011).

Although cities use the sustainability discourse, the actual implementation of sustainability in planning is descriptive and symbolic (Krueger, Gibbs 2007). Many cities have incorporated social elements in sustainability policies. However, these policies are unusual to promote social justice and equality. Instead, the incentive has been to establish environmental amenities that make areas more attractive (Pearsall, Pierce 2010). The adaptation of a sustainability discourse does not necessarily mean environmental development. What is essential is that the area appears to be sustainable and green. It might be hard to measure if cities that have adapted to the sustainability discourse have become greener, in many cases it could be argued that cities greenwash.

A common trait among cities is to advocate sustainability in the context of green growth, technological innovation, and similar terminology (Becker et al. 2015). That implies that there is no conflict between growth and environmental sustainability.

Gentrification theory

To analyze the impact of discourses on the social geography of the city, this part of the theoretical framework consists of social geographic theories that support the analysis. They are presented separately, but as they all deal with different aspects of social geography, they are in various ways connected and intertwined as well. State-led and green gentrification are identified as the most prominent explanations for the possible outcome of the discursive practice in H+. The creative class provides a complementary perspective as it brings insight into the mechanisms of local economy and identity.

Gentrification, introduction

Gentrification in its most simplistic form can be defined as "the transformation of a working-class or vacant area of the central city into middle-class residential or commercial use" (Lees, Slater and Wyly 2010, p.3). The study of gentrification involves many different aspects, actors, and incentives. It can be viewed from the production side, or consumption side or another dimension displayed concerning race, gender and sexuality. It can be seen in the light of urban policy or more strict economic terms such as in the rent-gap theory. This thesis, however, uses what can be viewed as sub-categories to gentrification or more specific aspects of gentrification. State-led gentrification and green gentrification are to gentrification as a general concept more specific. These subcategories of gentrification are identified as the most prominent explanations for the impact of discourse in H+ on the social geography. As gentrification, in general, is a description of a process in which the social geography changes, it provides a critical explanatory point of departure for the remainder of the essay.

State-led gentrification

Gentrification has through the years been acknowledged to have different driving actors. Although gentrification generally is associated with private actors such as entrepreneurs and real estate agents, there is much to suggest that public actors are of importance as well. This means that we have witnessed an increased involvement of the state, and especially the local state. Firstly, the increasing devolution of federal states has put more pressure on local states to use redevelopment and gentrification as methods to reach necessary tax revenue. Secondly, there are profit risks with gentrification in the urban landscape which decreases the incentives for individual capitalists. Thirdly, the general trend of post-Keynesian governance has changed the priorities of the local state, which means less action in protecting working-class interest (Hackworth Smith, 2000).

The first crucial change identified by Hackworth and Smith can be distinguished in the Swedish context. Increasing responsibility and power has moved from the national state to the local states in Sweden. This has happened mainly through the so-called "kommunala planmonopolet" which means that municipalities in Sweden since 1987 alone can decide what, where and how things will be built within their territorial borders without national state involvement (Stiftelsen Vadstena Forum 2006, p. 149-153).

Another vital aspect of state-led gentrification is the community involvement in the renewal process. One might assume that increasing local state involvement would increase the residential influence over the process and projects. However, a range of examples provides the argument that local states are highly influential in the earlier stages of the process, setting the stage for the projects, marketing it and planning it in quite extensive detail, while residents are included in the process in the very late stages. That means that decisions and detailed plans are already set and the power of the residents is, in fact, minimal (Hackworth, Smith 2000). The reason why the current population is not included until the late stages of the project could be argued to be because they are displaced as

a consequence of the project. Therefore, their opinions are viewed as irrelevant.

The reasons why local states engage in gentrification is disputable. Another argument is that gentrification is not a governmental strategy because of the need for local states to increase tax revenue, but instead, it is a way to establish a social order in socially troubled areas (Uitermark et al. 2007).

Increasing housing costs in Sweden has been a direct consequence of political decisions, policy and the deprioritization of housing (Lindbom 2001). Although this is the market which has undergone the most change in Swedish state expenditures, residents lack knowledge about the process. The lack of insight and expertise is a contributing factor to give politicians free rein in the housing market since the responsibility for higher rents become unclear (Ibid).

Green gentrification

Green gentrification, environmental gentrification or ecological gentrification is, as the names suggest a process of gentrification which makes use of sustainability and nature to gentrify. In short, the creation of green spaces, sustainable infrastructure or the environmental identity of an area is a subtle way of increasing the market value and rents, which often forces the most economically and socially vulnerable people to move elsewhere or towards homelessness (Doling 2009; McCormick, Banzhaf 2007).

The critique for environmental consideration and greening often regards social consequences, such as displacement, not environmental consideration per se. The revitalization of cities is not always necessarily negative concerning the economy or environment, but neglecting the negative social consequences of inequality and displacement is a

dangerous trend (Dale 2009). This highlights a central argument to the theory of green gentrification. Sustainable development becomes a tool to change the social geography of an area. Campbell argues that a three-dimensional conflict between environmental sustainability, economic growth, and social equity takes place in city planning. Social equity has been increasingly neglected and should preferably be included in the process of economic and environmental development and sustainability (Campbell 2007).

Wolch et al. (2014) summarize some of the social injustices of urban green spaces in the United States. Minority communities lack green space access, and urban greening creates gentrification. Green communities benefit white and affluent residents. Although creating green spaces can potentially make neighborhoods healthier and more esthetic it often also increases housing costs and rents which becomes a stepping stone for gentrification.

Creative Class

The creative class was a concept formulated by Richard Florida. It provides a general explanatory basis for how the new economy works. A fundamental argument is the rise of the creative economy. In summary, this means that knowledge and creativity have replaced natural resources and efficiency of physical labor as the primary sources of economic growth. What this means is that the competitive advantage between cities is created by generating, retaining and attracting the best talent, which explains the increasing competition between cities and regions in building the best platforms for such talent to thrive. Then the question remains, what it is that seems to attract these individuals to certain places? Florida argues that market factors have always had an impact, such as the availability of jobs, but in the new creative economy, place-based factors such as environmental quality and lifestyle are increasingly important. Concerning the environment, the argument is that in the industrial

economy the environment was viewed as a source of raw material used as input in production. In recent times, it is instead considered as a tool to attract talent for both cities and companies by being environmentally friendly and promote environmental sustainability by using natural assets for recreation and improved life quality (Florida 2005).

Bayliss argues in his examination of Copenhagen that creativity and culture have become significant tools to stimulate the economy. By promoting the city at an international level, urban planning seeks to attract investment and the creative class (Bayliss 2006). The mechanisms of a knowledge-economy mean an increasing competition between cities for inhabitants, companies, and visitors. This is the explanation for the high profile many cities seek. Every city wants a university or some other high profile cultural or creative institution. This is why local actors try to create an identity where the target group and the right kind of activities need to be established (Hospers 2003).

Method

Bryman (2012) argues for three overarching analytical questions that any discourse analysis needs to integrate:

1. What is this discourse doing?
2. How is the discourse constructed to make this happen?
3. What resources are available to perform this activity?

The method applied in this thesis seeks to address each of these questions. What the discourse is doing refers in this case to how the discourse affects the social geography of the city. How the discourse is constructed, is answered through breaking down the discourse's common traits, concepts, and terminology in the city marketing. What the available resources are, is in many ways answered as the thesis identifies city marketing as the most crucial intermediate to display and promote the discourses.

The decision to use critical discourse analysis was founded upon the recognition that city marketing was used to promote the project. What was interesting was how consistent the marketing seemed to be. There was much replication of concepts and terminology which pointed in the same direction. The critical discourse analysis allows for a deeper understanding of the relationship between marketing and social geography. To identify that the language used is more than just words and is a way in which decision-makers can change the social geography of the city is an important step to understand the purpose of city marketing and the power of discourse. It is in many ways a problematic method as it essentially means proving that there is a relationship between what is being spoken or written and how things are and can become. Most would probably regard it to be true that there is a relationship between discourse and power but to scientifically argue such a relationship is far more difficult. Otherwise, chances are that the author assumes that political rhetoric is a cover-up for shady interests when it might not be the case (Finlayson 2007). The thesis recognizes this issue. The argument made in this thesis is not that the political rhetoric necessarily has to be a cover-up for shady interests. Instead, it argues that the political rhetoric or the discourses consciously or unconsciously has real influence on the social geography of the city.

The purpose of doing critical discourse analysis is to identify the dominant discourses of urban renewal and the consequences of such a discursive practice. The argument that this thesis uses as a point of departure is that discourse legitimizes the project and the project affects the social geography of the city. City marketing is an active way for decision-makers to maximize the effect of the policy, planning, and renewal. That is also why city marketing is such an interesting object to analyze through critical discourse analysis. What is important to emphasize with this is the fact that what is communicated is not the only part of critical discourse analysis, to be sensitive to what is not communicated is argued to be equally important (Gill, 1996). That is where the statistical measurements from the background section can fulfill a complementary purpose to the

analysis as the statistics portray a conflicting picture of the H+ area that is not a part of the marketing.

The majority of the analysis will consist of text analysis, which means presenting and analyzing the terminology and concepts used in the different marketing channels. Not to be confused with conversation analysis which is a method which in greater detail deals with linguistics and transcribing, often in casual everyday conversations (Goodwin, Heritage 1990). The intention of this discourse analysis is not to analyze in any greater depth specific questions of linguistics.

Material

The material consists of a variety of sources of communication from H+, with emphasis on communication from decision-makers or people of significant influence or position of power concerning the project. These sources are press releases, social and established media, visual communication such as pictures or video and different types of documents. H+ is marketed through many different channels and to identify what could be called a discourse it is necessary to take a variety of sources in consideration.

The method is in many ways ambitious. What should be recognized however is that the material is secondary, where gathering material otherwise is a very time-consuming process. It is very common for discourse analysis to use secondary data which allows the researcher to put more emphasis on analyzing the material (Bryman, 2012). A discourse analysis using primary material could, for example, include interviews, but since this thesis argues that the central discourse intermediate is city marketing, such a method would be difficult to motivate.

The sampling is conducted from three main criteria.

1. The material is in one way or another relevant to the discourses entrepreneurialism or sustainability.

2. The publisher or the individual that communicates is a decision-maker in the project, or in some way a representative for the project.
3. The communication was in one way or another externally communicated.

As long as these criteria were fulfilled the material could potentially be used. However, some material was not used for different reasons. A common reason was that it was very similar to other material that had been previously used. As the objective is not to quantify the number of times certain concepts were communicated it would fulfill no purpose to include several quotations stating the same thing. The method is qualitative and seeks to investigate how the discourses are used and why it has consequences. If the purpose of the essay were to investigate to what exact extent the discourses were used it would have been suitable to quantify the marketing material. Such a method would be complicated in this case given the widespread use of channels the marketing uses. The critical discourse analysis, in this case, is most suitable to approach qualitatively to deepen the analysis on the social consequences.

Structure of the analysis

The analysis is divided into two separate parts. Part one is analyzing research question one, and part two investigates question two. Part one contains citations from the city marketing and discusses the relationship of the content with the discourses, with the ambition to illustrate how the discourses are manifested in the city marketing. Part two will analyze the material presented in part one on the basis of research question two. Therefore, part two will not contain additional material but instead seeks to draw upon the material from part one. This will be an analysis of how these discourses exclude some residents while attracting others and what that means for the social geography of the city.

Analysis

Part 1

1. How are discourses on entrepreneurialism and sustainability manifested in the city marketing of H+?

All quotations are translated from Swedish to English by the author of the thesis.

Entrepreneurialism

The homepage for the project is an essential source for the analysis. Under the headline "About H+," a general outline of Helsingborg and the ambitions with the project is summarized. It begins with stating that:

Helsingborg is one of the fastest growing cities in Sweden. The city has a great business culture, and the amount of newly started businesses are higher than the average in Sweden (Hplus Helsingborg 2016a).

Those first sentences include some crucial concepts, such as growth. It highlights growth in the purely economic sense, regarding newly started businesses. These values are highly economical and seek to address entrepreneurs and firms to indicate the possibilities that lie ahead in Helsingborg. What can also be emphasized is the fact that within the first few sentences Helsingborg compares themselves to other cities, referring to an above average growth of businesses nationwide. At the core of the theory of entrepreneurialism is the inter-urban competition, to be competitive, in relation to other cities. This is vital and characteristic for an entrepreneurial city, as Harvey describes it, to create growth and to be competitive in relation to competing cities is the primary goal for an entrepreneurial city (Harvey 1989).

It continues:

Many large renewal projects with exciting architecture and new creative meeting spaces shall inspire more people to develop their ideas...In other words, we know what we want and what our goals are—to create an exciting, attractive and sustainable place—a magnet for creativeness and competence (Hplus Helsingborg 2016a).

Dannestam (2004) argued that the entrepreneurial city is characterized by building highly attractive and spectacular residential areas. The quote above refers to the physical aspects of the project, such as exciting architecture and attractive places as an inspiration for entrepreneurs to develop ideas and pursue their creativeness and competence.

2035 Helsingborg should be the pulsating, mutual and global city—the city for you who want something (Hplus Helsingborg 2016a).

People who want something. This is in itself quite vague, but concerning the pulsating and global city, this refers to individuals that are attracted by a place where opportunities lie ahead. In this way, the marketing is very explicitly addressing an audience that can relate to the concepts.

One of the ambitions is to connect the subarea Söder with the center and the new areas Oceanhamnen and Universitetsområdet. Building the new blocks, that includes hotel, offices, and service have been strategic investments to connect Söder with central Helsingborg (Hplus Helsingborg 2016a).

This moves the quite general idea of the H+ project to the specific character of Söder. The physical changes of Söder are highlighted, hotels, offices, and service are all things which in one way or another indicate a new character to the area. The fact that these physical changes tie Söder to more attractive areas means that people seeking to take advantage of these areas as well will be satisfied.

In a press release through the real estate agency Jetfast, one of the small sub-projects to H+, a part of the renewal of Söder with emphasis on the private sphere of businesses called "the family Söder" is marketed. The project leader states:

It is a destination with many new concepts that the Helsingborg residents have not previously experienced in their city! (Jetfast 2018).

The municipality council chairman Danielsson argues:

To create more pulse, attraction, and safety we have on purpose invested in creating conditions for more workplaces, housing, and activities in Söder... The latest years we have seen a development-boom in Söder that will strengthen the area in many ways (Jetfast 2018).

One of the businesses that have established is "Kulturhotellet," and its founder expresses:

It is no coincidence we have developed Kulturhotellet here at Söder. There are character and dynamics in combination with the renewal work that makes us see the place as the best space in Helsingborg with most development potential in the upcoming years (Jetfast 2018).

This is central to the idea of the entrepreneurialism, small-firm growth and investment is the way to solve social issues such as 'safety.' Local development and improvement are viewed as the recognition of the economic potential for businesses and individuals, as expressed by the founder of the hotel. The changing character of the area to be a business area where corporations can establish and grow is a method that is highly distinguishable as entrepreneurial city planning. In order for entrepreneurs to invest, there must be possibilities for profit, and that is what the city indicates that there is.

In the heart of the H+ area, close to the university and Söder, Helsingborg launched a new creative meeting space called "Think Open Space."

The ambition with Think Open Space is to create a meeting space for Helsingborgs young business, culture and community creators. Also in long-term, the ambition is to attract young talent from all over the world (Helsingborgs Stad 2015).

We hope to stimulate meetings between enterprising individuals with knowledge and visions for them to trade experiences and ideas Helsingborgs Stad 2015).

Danielsson:

If Helsingborg should have the best climate for enterprising individuals and be the city where dreams come true, we should not only be leading in education and research but also when it comes to creative meeting spaces (Helsingborgs Stad 2015).

Business Director of Helsingborg Michael Fransson states that:

For one, we develop already established meeting spaces in connection to the university. Secondly, we are establishing a new and unique place in the Copenhagen-region, it is highly important that this project can develop for the city in a business-oriented way (Helsingborgs Stad 2015)

Hall and Hubbards (1996) idea of entrepreneurialism as a way for the public sector to increasingly taking part in risk-taking, promotion and profit-motivation seem like a relevant argument. The ambitions are that this creative project hopefully will develop for the city in a business-oriented way is an economic argument, seeking profit from investing in such a project. The audience for this marketing is ambitious young entrepreneurs that see potential in trading knowledge and ideas with equals. It manifests that they understand the global potential as it is explicitly formulated that the ambition is to attract young talents from all over the world in the long

run. Knowledge, innovation, and creativity should be the identity of future Helsingborg and Söder in particular.

Another interesting dimension is the fact that the regional importance of this project is emphasized through the 'Copenhagen-region' where this project is 'unique.' A very explicit way of arguing your position within the inter-urban competition discussed by Harvey (1989). To emphasize the Copenhagen-region is a way for Helsingborg to position the potential in the geographical location of the city but still arguing the uniqueness of Helsingborg within this region. It seems like a way to recognize the importance of being competitive in attracting these individuals in relation to competing cities nearby.

Marketing of the project has not only been in written form but also through the use of visuals, such as video. In the early stages of the project back in 2009, the H+ office published a video describing the ambitions of the project. The project is compared to other similar former industrial areas renewal projects such as Malmö's Västra Hamnen, Copenhagen's Sydhavn, Stockholm's Hammarby Sjöstad, and Hamburg's HafenCity. It is argued that this renewal project will not only set its mark on the city itself but the entire "Öresundregion" as the creative center. Danielsson explains:

The reasons for launching this project derived from the question of how Helsingborg can attract businesses and people and what it is that will make businesses choose to locate in Helsingborg in the future rather than another place (Hpluskontoret 2009).

That statement is once again well matched with the idea of entrepreneurialism. At the very core of Helsingborg's urban planning and what is essential to the H+ project from the very start as a whole, is the question of how to outcompete other cities for new people and businesses.

The following quote from project leader Asmutorp will end the examination of the discourse entrepreneurialism. It summarizes many of the

characteristics for the discourse entrepreneurialism manifested in H+ city marketing:

With H+ a new era begins with the home of the university which has about 3000 students, new knowledge-intensive companies will locate here, and it will be among the most attractive places to live... What also makes H+ unique is the multicultural Södercity with its central location and good communications which will be even better with "Södertunneln/The southern tunnel... Söder will also be an obvious place for meetings and entertainment (Hpluskontoret 2009).

As Jessop and Sum (2000) argued, adapting to the entrepreneurial discourse and its narrative through marketing is very common. The selected material collected from the marketing summarized and discussed in this section has shed light on the crucial concepts of the entrepreneurial discourse. Creativity, innovation, and growth are concepts that recurred many times in the marketing, standard terminology for the entrepreneurial discourse. To position the city within the urban hierarchy and to find your identity is essential steps in creating necessary tax revenue or solving the social issue of certain areas. What is surprising is that many cities seem to choose the same path, which is to embrace the idea of the entrepreneurial city, Helsingborg is no exception.

Sustainability

The following quotations gathered from 'Miljöprofil H+', which means 'environmental profile H+', represents how sustainability is integrated within the project as a whole. Although not classified as external marketing but rather an internal document, it highlights a couple of interesting things useful for the remainder of the analysis,

1. Environmental profile H+ should work as a mutual framework and support for every active member of the development

process... which will result in a strong and believable environmental profile. 2. The purpose of the environmental profile is to raise the ambition so that the new subareas reaches a clear, believable and innovative environmental profile. 3. H+ should be perceived as blue and green (Hplus Helsingborg, 2016c).

These quotes are selectively chosen from a variety of discussions concerning the environmental profile in this document. The purpose of using these quotes, however, is because they all emphasize the importance of how this is perceived, experienced and interpreted by the citizens which mean that besides the fact that the project should be sustainable it should also be apparent and recognized that it is. The following material visualizes in what way external marketing can be and has been used to make people aware of the sustainable profile of H+.

In the area, a blue-green string is planned to connect the subareas and create spaces for recreation and meetings (Hplus Helsingborg, 2016a).

One of the two buzzwords in the sustainability discourse was identified by Lees (2000) as being livability. An area of a blue-green string with spaces for recreation and meetings captures what would be perceived as livable by most. The environmental emphasis on the 'blue-green' indicates the area's closeness to nature. This is also from a more critical perspective a way of increasing the attractiveness of the area by having these types of environmental amenities that Pearsall and Pierce (2010) suggested.

A whole page and a lot of informative documents on the environmental profile of H+ and Helsingborg is available at the homepage for the project as well:

The municipality of Helsingborg has a clear ambition to be a leading force in environment and sustainability, and there is every possible precondition to creating a sustainable city development

that is founded in economic, environmental and social sustainability (Hplus Helsingborg 2016b).

What is interesting with this quote is that it expands sustainability to capture economic and social aspects as well. What is meant by economic and social sustainability is not clear. However, what we do know is that it is common for the neoliberal planning to consider the economic values of the environment. Cock (2011) argued that nature and environment become subordinated to economy and growth. Such a relationship cannot be proved from what we know in this case. However, what is engaging with the quote is that in the overarching description of the sustainability of H+, economic arguments are immediately included. It highlights that sustainability by itself is not only viewed as an environmental issue but equally so economical.

The official website is a general indication of what values and concepts that seem to be important, but as a marketing channel, it is limited. Other sources have been used. The following sections discuss some of these and their content. As sustainability and livability have increasing possibilities to be marketed through different types of visuals such as images or videos, such will also be a part of the material.

In 'Fastighetsvärlden,' a large Swedish real estate journal, several of the most important decision-makers in the project express themselves. The municipal council chairman Peter Danielsson:

We are building a unique area with the latest technique, with a variety of housing in central Helsingborg by the ocean. It is a part of the long-term strategy to build a mutual city (Fastighetsvärlden 2018).

The communication executive for the project Jessica Engvall:

H+ acknowledges trying new ideas and activities, which has led to new techniques and corporations to build the new sustainable subarea (Fastighetsvärlden 2018).

The most interesting aspect that these two quotes highlight is that new technology is more or less the same thing as sustainability. At least, it is argued as a crucial aspect of sustainability. Becker et al. (2015) concluded that the sustainability discourse is often adapted to fit into the neoliberal market logic. The neoliberal solution to environmental degradation is often new technology as a way to allow economic growth to continue while still being considerate to the environment, also called 'green growth.' It is essential for a project that has an environmental profile to not only appear being sustainable in the finished project but also in the construction of it. To equalize technological innovation with sustainability is beyond doubt an interesting development of the discourse sustainability as it allows for the dominant economic system of neoliberalism to integrate the discourse.

In a marketing video of the H+ project, it is emphasized that:

Special consideration has been taken towards sustainable development both in planning and construction. It will be innovative concerning the application of new technologies for a sustainable urban community, in which consideration is given to both people and nature... H+ should be a role model for other similar projects (Hpluskontoret 2009)

This statement is very similar to the comments made in the real estate journal. Sustainability is to be innovative and find new technologies, and these technologies are considered to be so innovative and sustainable that they can be a role model for other cities, a way for the city to position themselves in the urban hierarchy which is what Whitehead (2012) would identify as urban environmental entrepreneurialism.

Through the local newspaper Helsingborgs Dagblads youtube channel, the business developer for the project speaks about the integration of sustainable development through smart consumption of energy and how this is highly important to integrate with the current population living in Söder.

Redeveloping such a socially pressured area to be more closely connected to the rest of the city is a project which needs to regard environmental aspects (24HD 2013).

It is not further expanded in what way the socially pressured population will benefit from the environmental consideration, but this is one example among few that considered the social issues of the area in relation to sustainability.

The real estate company Riksbyggen was in early 2018 starting to sell apartments in Oceanhamnen that will be finished in 2020. In a press release they were emphasizing the following:

Riksbyggen is long-term urban developers that want to contribute to Helsingborgs continuous growth. When we are building housing, we focus on questions regarding sustainability. For every new project, we use Riksbyggens unique sustainable-tools. That means that a clear goal and quality insurance guide every project regarding energy, indoor environment, material, mobility, establishment, social sustainability, and ecosystem services (Riksbyggen 2018).

Riksbyggen as one of the most important actors in the renewal project seems to share the sustainable vision that runs through the entire project. This marketing is explicitly aimed at those moving to these buildings and this area. Their selling point is beyond doubt, sustainability. As discussed, the discourse often integrates growth, and this is no exception as Riksbyggens ambition is to be a part of the continuous growth of Helsingborg.

Since the urban lifestyle has had a massively adverse effect on the environment, it is not surprising that a sustainability discourse is a natural reaction to this. It is used as a selling point in place marketing because of the increasing recognition among individuals on their lifestyle's adverse effect on the environment. What is interesting however is that the discourse seems to have adapted into the current economic system rather than changing it. It was evident in many ways in the H+ marketing that continuous growth and technological innovation was not an issue for the environment but rather viewed as the solution. The discourse runs through the project and especially the marketing, but it is not non-political since the discourse has been phased into the neoliberal urban planning process and uses the concepts associated with this ideology.

Part 2

2. How do these discourses exclude some residents while attracting others and how does this influence the social geography of the H+ area?

Discourses legitimize the project and marketing is the most effective tool of communicating the discourses. In this case, to attract a more affluent population, businesses and investment, a city must reach out to an external audience with their project. At the very core of actually reaching the intended audience, the discourse is crucial. The problem, however, is that when cities seek to attract some people, it might exclude others. This thesis argues that these discourses are not inclusive, rather the very opposite. The population situated in Söder is characterized by working-class residents with low wages and to some extent unemployment. The social issues which make it the experienced most unsafe area in entire Sweden (Kristiansson 2017) strengthens the idea of an unsuccessful area and population. What is conflicting is the fact that the identified discourses in the city marketing of the H+ area indicate the opposite, success. The

discourses do not acknowledge criminality, unemployment or immigration issues. How come? It is beyond doubt that decision-makers have recognized these issues, why is it then a priority to present an opposite image? The most convincing explanation is that discourses create the city. By creating an identity of their liking, decision-makers can change the city, even though this might mean an active exclusion of people living in these areas today and neglecting the problems they have.

What is strikingly peculiar is the way that the local state in Helsingborg is the driving force in the gentrification process. The current situation of Söder is characterized by social issues. Uitermark et al. (2007) argument is that state-led gentrification is a way for the local state to establish social order. In renewing Söder, it can be argued that creating social order is a vital incentive for the project given the current status of the area. If the renewal process is successful is yet to see, but it is still a radical method as the local state does not engage in solving the underlying economic and social problems for these individuals through different welfare services. The solution instead seems to be to force such individuals away from the area. To make this possible, discourses are crucial as they support the creation of a new identity in the area.

This is in no way a simple issue as an increasing pressure on local states to create a tax revenue sufficient enough to sustain the quality of welfare service (Stiftelsen Vadstena Forum 2006, p. 149-153) leads them to take tough decisions, where a common outcome is gentrification (Hackworth, Smith, 2000). The ambition of this essay is not to blame local decision-makers. Given the decreasing social standard and increasing social issues in Söder, local decision-makers feel obligated to renew the area, where displacement is a common consequence of the renewal. What might be the root of the problem is the decreasing responsibility of the national state. A higher involvement from the national state could decrease the inter-urban competition between cities that have devastating consequences for the weakest and poorest individuals around the country. On that note, this thesis would instead argue that the systematic ideological change in governance towards more entrepreneurial urban

governance is to blame. This is what Hackworth and Smith (2000) would call post-Keynesian governance. The problem with such governance is its occupation with competitiveness and market logic. The market and competitiveness are unlikely to serve the interest of the weakest individuals. Economically and socially weak groups represent Söder. For the local state to engage in post-Keynesian governance under such circumstances seems counterproductive. It is beyond doubt that these discourses do not serve the interest of the socially weak, and with that said, the discourses influence on the social geography is potentially significant. A gentrification process driven by the local state is in motion, and the city marketing that engages in these discourses is an essential part of achieving such a change.

Marketing, which is commonly associated with private actors has expanded to the public sector, all the way to such a relatively small city as Helsingborg. What can be concluded from this thesis is that Helsingborg is using certain selling points that are highly influenced by contemporary discourses. The discursive content of the marketing emphasizes typical neoliberal values such as entrepreneurialism. It can also be argued that sustainability is used for its economic potential rather than its environmental benefits. That is also why the thesis identifies green gentrification as a relevant concept to take in consideration. The green profile is something which permeates the entire project, from its sustainable infrastructure to its green spaces. To create a green identity is a subtle way of making an area more attractive, which in the long run increases the exchange value (Dooling 2009; Banzhaf, McCormick 2007). Green gentrification could be argued to be a more subtle and less provocative way of gentrifying, which could be the reason why it is common to use it as a strategy. The problematic aspect of it, besides displacement, is the fact that its environmental benefits are disputable. The reality is that many times the more affluent population that is attracted by sustainability has consumption habits and lifestyles that are less sustainable than the working-class. Technologically innovative systems do not necessarily compensate for this adverse environmental effect. Krueger and Gibbs (2007) argued that environmental planning is often descriptive

and symbolic. From that argument, this thesis argues that the local state, in this case, has engaged in greenwashing. Several aspects of the project as a whole could potentially contribute to an environmentally friendly city. However, there is much to suggest that the adaptation of the sustainability discourse is, in fact, descriptive and symbolic, where the main incentive is to appear sustainable. The H+ areas closeness to the water, as well as establishing green spaces are standard symbolic environmental amenities. Pearsall and Pierce (2010) suggested that the incentive for establishing environmental amenities was raising the attractiveness of an area. Raising the attractiveness is also the main ambition with the H+ project as a whole and is also the main reasons why the social geography can potentially change in the H+ area. This change in the social geography are potentially characterized by gentrification, in particular, state-led and green gentrification.

State-led gentrification and green gentrification are plausible explanations for how the social geography of the city changes. The creative class theory is useful in the sense that it provides explanations for the targeted social group of city marketing. More specifically it describes the social group that is attracted by the entrepreneurial and sustainable city. Implicitly it also covers the social groups that are excluded, which is in many ways is the social class that is the opposite or very different from the creative class. Given the emphasis on cultural projects where knowledge and ideas can be exchanged and thrive, the creative class as described by Florida (2005) seems well qualified as an explanation. This is a social class that can create economic growth from their knowledge and creativity. These individuals need a city that can provide a platform for their talent to thrive. Given the emphasis on creativity and knowledge, through the creative project "Think Open Space" as well as the university it seems as if the city marketing has recognized the importance of attracting this social group. As Florida (2005) argues, this mobile social class is attracted by a city that can provide a lifestyle. This modern lifestyle needs to integrate sustainability. For mainly two reasons this excludes more socially pressured or weak groups. Firstly, in case of a low income and poor economic resources, a sustainable lifestyle is many times, not a priority or

possibility. Therefore they can not identify with the discourse. Secondly, the actual effect of such a green profile to an area can potentially increase the rents, forcing them away from the area in the long run, which is the gentrification process with a green face. Entrepreneurialism is a discourse which is beyond doubt a neoliberal discourse. Sustainability, however, can be argued not necessarily to be originally ideological in the same sense. Without going deeper into the evolution of the discourse, other meanings to the discourse can and has taken place through the years. Van Dijk (1997) argues for the need to understand why some discourses are selected in favor of others. In the case of city marketing, the most convincing argument is the fact that urban governance in western cities has been increasingly occupied with creating growth and profit, therefore turning towards a neoliberal idea system. That is why the sustainability discourse has had this ideological turn. Fairclough (2010) argued that some discourses become naturalized. In the case of urban planning and city marketing, a neoliberal idea of sustainability has become naturalized. Although in its true nature, it is highly ideological just as entrepreneurialism. Sustainability does not necessarily have to consider the economic outcome or profit of environmental consideration. However, to work inside the neoliberal urban planning paradigm, sustainability has lost its emphasis on the environment to consider growth and profit through technological innovation.

This thesis identifies a conflict between growth, sustainability and urban renewal to equality. As Campbell (2007) argued social equality is deprioritized in favor of growth. Growth means an average increase of the economy and hopefully increased tax-income, however, what is problematic is the fact that if the current population cannot provide the amount of tax revenue necessary, their attendance in a potentially attractive area such as Söder is perceived as an obstacle to create growth. The discourses, entrepreneurialism, and sustainability is used as a tool to attract affluent individuals and businesses to central Helsingborg through an active marketing strategy. The downside is that while the attractiveness of an area like Söder or surrounding sub areas increases so do the rents, forcing away economically weak individuals and changes the social

geography of the city. It is repeatedly communicated that Söder should be linked with other central city areas. That indicates an acknowledged potential of the area that is unfulfilled. Wyly, Lees, and Slater (2010) definition of gentrification as a process in which a central city area replaces working-class residents with middle-class residents or commercial use is interesting. Given the establishment of a variety of businesses, it seems like the first step in the gentrification process is to transform the area into a commercial space. This might explain why the university, knowledge, and business-culture is such crucial concepts in the marketing of Söder. Söder as a culturally diverse area has already mechanisms that potentially can develop as the commercial center of Helsingborg, with its closeness to the city center, which is what Florida (2005) argues as a vital characteristic of how the new creative economy works. Knowledge and creativity is the most critical input to create growth. To establish Söder as the commercial center with innovators, culture, and knowledge is the identity which will change the social geography of the area. The only problem with such an identity change is, the fact that this is not the identity of current Söder, the population in Söder today is generally not people who have the necessary qualities to be useful in the creative economy or an area that is characterized by innovation, knowledge, and creativity.

Conclusions

The material exemplified multiple ways that entrepreneurialism and sustainability are manifested in Helsingborg's city marketing. Sustainability is potentially more challenging to identify as it can have multiple meanings. However, in this thesis, the focus for the discourse sustainability was how local decision-makers used it in urban renewal. When narrowing the attention of the discourse to urban governance, it became quite clear how the sustainability discourse was applied. If one looked at another situation or perspective, it can be assumed that the sustainability discourse could take a different approach. Entrepreneurialism was more straightforward in that sense, as the discourse is more deeply rooted in an ideological tradition.

Entrepreneurialism could mainly be identified in Helsingborg's city marketing for the intensive use of concepts associated with competition between cities and focus on questions of local growth and development. Competitive strategies and advantages in relation to other cities are essential. Innovation, knowledge, and creativity were viewed as crucial inputs to create local development and competitiveness. This is also where the discourses were overlapping. Innovation and knowledge are essential to developing new technology, and new technology was equated with sustainability in the city marketing. The interpretation of sustainability as technological innovation is a highly ideological positioning of the discourse. The argument is that growth through innovation and new technology is a necessary precondition for sustainability. To not consider the conflict between growth and sustainability manifests a common neoliberal approach to sustainability. Even though one might assume a conflicting relationship between entrepreneurialism and sustainability, this was not the case in Helsingborg's treatment of the discourses as they are instead viewed as intertwined and dependent upon each other. This is an essential analytical conclusion made in this thesis. Discourses can be alternated to fit into the specific context. Sustainability can have different

meanings depending on the context. In this case, it was part of a neoliberal agenda, something which permeates the marketing in general.

Besides technological innovation, there were a few other important concepts that could be used to identify the sustainability discourse. One interesting aspect is the broad definition of sustainability, that includes both social and economic sustainability. Very rarely sustainability was spoken about as only an environmental issue. It erodes the value of the concept to consider almost every possible aspect of sustainability, but it might be necessary in order for the discourse to successfully be intertwined with entrepreneurialism. Another thing that is highly distinguishable in city marketing was the lifestyle. Sustainability is closely connected to livability. To be close to nature with recreation spaces, while knowing your waste is taken care of and biking to work is all part of a lifestyle. The sustainability discourse offers a modern lifestyle, considerate and closely situated to nature. That is also why Helsingborg pays much attention to the closeness to water and not least the urban green spaces established in the areas in the marketing. The greenwashing that the H+ project has engaged in raises the exchange value, not least for housing. Greenwashing is argued as relevant in this case based on the city marketing's emphasis on environmental amenities that are mostly of symbolic and aesthetic value.

From the identified discourses and the way they are manifested, this thesis argued for consequences in the social geography of the city. What these two discourses have in common is that they both attract individuals that subscribe to a lifestyle and identity that indicate success. Initially, this might not be an issue. However, the fact that a substantial part of the H+ area is inhabited by people that might not subscribe to such a lifestyle is excluding. The project's ambition is raising the attractiveness of Söder, which might be motivated given the current status of the area. However, changing it using these discourses is an excluding process. Given the statistical measurements that indicated a socially and economically weak population in Söder, it is difficult to integrate them in the discourses. The changes in the social geography, based on the nature of the discourses are potentially characterized by gentrification. Green gentrification is

argued on the basis of the treatment of sustainability in city marketing. Sustainability is used to increase the attractiveness of the area through its green profile, which in practice often leads to higher rents and displacement as a consequence. State-led gentrification is argued as a relevant theory since the local state is identified as the driving force in renewing the area through marketing discourses that are excluding. Also, from the findings in the analysis, state-led gentrification is also relevant in the sense that the renewal process lack national-state involvement. The combination decreasing national-state responsibility and higher public engagement in urban renewal on a local scale create the foundation for state-led gentrification. The creative class theory explained the characteristics of the targeted audience that the marketing seeks to attract, implicitly excluding the current residents through the discursive practice. The creative class had a complementary purpose to the gentrification theories, instead of explaining the process of gentrification, it highlighted the potential characteristics of the new social class in the H+ area. The creative, knowledgeable and sustainable identity is not only radically different from the current identity of the area as a whole but also radically different from the identity and reality of the people currently living in these areas. This is the main reason why a change in social geography is inevitable. The discursive practice of the city marketing is aspiring to find new paths for local development and economic profit. Displacement, exclusion, and gentrification are tools that the local state is willing to use to achieve this.

Further research

There are several aspects of the H+ project that could be further investigated as the project progresses. This thesis is written in the early stages of the project, emphasizing the potential outcome of the discursive practice that the city marketing engages in. Analyzing the actual outcome of the project would test the conclusions made in this thesis. If the arguments made in this thesis are correct, the social geography of the H+

area and Söder, in particular, will be characterized by a more affluent population. As the thesis has also argued that decision-makers have engaged in greenwashing, this is something that could also be tested. If the H+ area in the future is environmentally more sustainable than today, the argument might need to be reconsidered or alternated. There might be a research gap concerning to what extent sustainability is used for its potential market-value in city marketing, instead of implementing policy and planning that are beneficial to the environment. Local states engaging in greenwashing as a competitive strategy is potentially devastating for the environment. Therefore, to acknowledge potential discrepancy between reality and marketing regarding sustainability is of importance.

There are also exciting aspects of the H+ project that could be investigated more generally. From the literature that this thesis took in consideration, the discourses are not unique for Helsingborg. However, a majority of the earlier research has focused on entrepreneurialism and sustainability in larger cities than Helsingborg. Therefore it could potentially be the case that there is a lack of research on smaller cities that might engage in the same type of discursive practice. The interplay between discourse and social geography is increasingly recognized in research. Although, this thesis focused on the specific intermediated city marketing which potentially can create new ways of understanding social geographic processes driven by the discursive practice of public decision-makers. A fascinating research topic discussed in this thesis, related to public decision-making, is the consequences of minimum national state involvement in Sweden. The linkage between lower national state involvement in urban renewal, and increasing segregation and inequality could be further investigated. In general, the interplay and relationship between discourse, city marketing, and urban renewal have many compelling aspects, some of them discussed in this thesis. Although each of these aspects is not unique research subjects by themselves, their relationship is more rarely studied. In this thesis, it is argued that discourses have a substantial impact on the potential outcome of urban renewal and city marketing is a crucial intermediate to maximize the effect

of the discourse on urban renewal. This relationship could be further investigated to provide a more profound understanding.

Reflections

It is disputable if cities should be governed as businesses and if they should engage in marketing, competitive strategies or discourses that are excluding. The primary responsibility of the public sector, whether that may be the local or national state should be to prioritize their current population, in particular, the weakest individuals in society, not outcompete them for economic profit. An essential conclusion is that the local state does in fact act more or less as a firm. Marketing is a method of increasing profit, a business tool. The discourses are business-oriented as well, it is beyond dispute that entrepreneurialism in its essence is a way of increasing your competitiveness. What is more surprising, however, is that sustainability as well is argued in this thesis to be a competitive strategy tool. The combination of competitive discourses and the business tool marketing is the fundamental source of changing the social geography in Helsingborg. An area such as Söder, with problems that are rooted in economic and social inequality, might not benefit from competitive strategies and a constant strive towards economic growth.

The fact is that changing the social geography of the city through exclusion and gentrification might be perceived as the only possible solution for local states. To have such socially pressured areas creating safety issues and less tax revenue for the local state decreases their chances of providing sufficient essential welfare services. However, excluding the weakest individuals in society as a consequence of inter-urban competition for more affluent residents is not a solution that in the long run can be classified as sustainable. A higher degree of national state involvement could potentially reduce the incentives for local states to engage in competitive strategies. Reducing the autonomy of local states could decrease the inter-urban competition and restructure the priorities of local states to avoid gentrification, segregation, and inequality instead of creating it.

References:

- Bayliss D. (2006) The rise of the creative city: Culture and creativity in Copenhagen. *European Planning Studies*. 2007;15(7):889-903.
- Becker C, Ewringmann D, Faber M, Petersen T, Zahrnt A. (2015) Endangering the natural basis of life is unjust: On the status and future of the sustainability discourse. *Ethics, Policy & Environment*. 2015;18(1):60-67.
- Boyle M, Hughes G. (1994) The politics of urban entrepreneurialism in Glasgow. *Geoforum*. 1994;25(4):453-470.
- Bryman A. (2012) *Social Research Methods*. Prentice Hall, 4th ed.
- Campbell S. (2007), Green Cities, Growing Cities, Just Cities?: Urban Planning and Contradictions of Sustainable Development. *Journal of the American Planning Association*. 2007;62(3):296-312.
- Cock J. (2011) The 'Green economy': A just and sustainable development path or a 'Wolf in sheep's clothing'? *Global Labour Journal*. 2014;5(1).
- Cohen P. (1997) Out of the melting pot into the fire next time: Imagining the east end as city, body, text. In: Westwood S, Williams J (eds) *Imagining Cities*. Scripts, Signs and Memories, London, Routledge.
- Dale A. (2009) Sustainable development for some: Green urban development and affordability. *Local Environment*. 2009;14(7):669-681.
- Dannestam T. The theories and politics of entrepreneurial cities - A theoretical summing up and the next step forward. 2004. Unpublished paper.
- Dooling S. Newman (2009) Ecological gentrification: A research agenda exploring justice in the city. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*. 2009;33(3): 621-639.
- Fairclough N. (2010) *Critical discourse analysis : The critical study of language*. Harlow : Longman, 2. ed.

Fastighetsvärlden (2018), *Byggstart för helt ny stadsdel i Helsingborg*. News article. Available at: <https://www.fastighetsvarlden.se/notiser/byggstart-en-helt-ny-stadsdel-helsingborg/>

Finlayson A. (2007) From beliefs to arguments: Interpretive methodology and rhetorical political analysis. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*. 2007;9(4):545-563.

Florida R. (2005) *The Flight of the Creative Class. The New Global Competition for Talent*, Harper Collins, 1st ed.

Gill R. (1996) Discourse analysis: practical implementation. *British Psychological Society*: 141-158.

Goodwin C, Heritage J. (1990) *Conversation Analysis*. *Annual Review Anthropology* 1990: 19: 283-307.

Hackworth J, Smith N. (2000) The changing state of gentrification. *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie*. 2001;92(4):464-477.

Hall T, Hubbard P. (1996) The entrepreneurial city: New urban politics, new urban geographies? *Progress in Human Geography*. 1996;20(2):153-174.

Harvey D. (1989) From managerialism to entrepreneurialism: The transformation in urban governance in late capitalism. *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography*. 1989;71(1):3.

Harvey D. (1997) *Contested cities: Social process and spatial form*. *Transforming Cities*.

Helsingborgs Stad (2018), *Statistical database*
<http://statistik.helsingborg.se/PXWeb/pxweb/sv/helsingborg/?rxid=87351850-9e7b-4f84-b8ff-bfb506558491>

Helsingborgs Stad (2015) *Startskott för ny kreativ mötesplats i Helsingborg*, News Article. Available at: <http://www.mynewsdesk.com/se/helsingborg/pressreleases/startskott-foer-ny-kreativ-moetesplats-i-helsingborg-1226619>

- Helsingborgs Stad (2014) *H+*. Available at: <https://helsingborg.se/trafik-och-stadsplanering/stadsutvecklingsprojekt/h/>
- Hospers G. (2003) Creative cities: Breeding places in the knowledge economy. *Know Techn Pol.* 2003;16(3):143-162.
- Hplus Helsingborg (2016a) *Om H+*. Available at: <https://hplus.helsingborg.se/om-h/>
- Hplus Helsingborg (2016b) *Hållbarhet*. Available at: <https://hplus.helsingborg.se/miljo/>
- Hplus Helsingborg (2016c) *Miljöprofil H-plus (document)* Available at: <https://hplus.helsingborg.se/miljo/>
- Hpluskontoret, (2009) *Film om det spännande stadsförnyelse projektet H+ i Helsingborg*. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ke0R2RNHXT0>
- Jessop B, Sum N. (2000) An entrepreneurial city in action: Hong kong's emerging strategies in and for (inter)urban competition. *Urban Studies.* 2000;37(12):2287-2313.
- Jetfast (2018) Familjen SÖDER börjar etablera sig. Available at: <http://www.mynewsdesk.com/se/jefast/pressreleases/familjen-soeder-boerjar-etablera-sig-2540104>
- Kristiansson, Ulf. (2017) *"Polismätning chockar Helsingborg-Söderbor ottryggast i hela Sverige"*, News article, 2017-12-06. Available at: <https://www.hd.se/2017-12-06/soderbor-otryggast-i-sverige>
- Krueger R, Gibbs D. (2007) Introduction, *Problematizing the Politics of Sustainability*. In: Krueger R, Gibbs D. *The sustainable development paradox: urban political economy in the United States and Europe*. New York: The Guilford Press: 1-12.
- Lees L, Demeritt D. (1998) Envisioning the livable city: The interplay of "sin city" and "sim city" in vancouver's planning discourse. *Urban Geography.* 1998;19(4):332-359.

Lees L. (2000) A Reappraisal of Gentrification: Towards a Geography of Gentrification. In: Lees L, Slater T, Wyly E. (eds) (2010) *The Gentrification Reader*, London, Routledge 1st ed.

Lees L, Slater T, Wyly E (2010), *The Gentrification Reader*, London, Routledge, 1st ed.

Lindbom A. (2001) Dismantling Swedish housing policy. *Governance*. 2001;14(4): 503-526.

McCormick E, Banzhaf S (2007). Moving beyond cleanup: Identifying the crucibles of environmental gentrification. National Center for Environmental Economics.

Millington, Steve, Young, Craig and Jonathan Lever (1997), A bibliography of city marketing. *Journal of Regional and Local studies*, 1997; 17: 16-18.

Mukthar-Landgren D. (2005) Den delade staden- välfärd för alla i kunskapsstaden Malmö. *Fronesis*, 18: 120-132.

Pearsall H, Pierce J. (2010) Urban sustainability and environmental justice: Evaluating the linkages in public planning/policy discourse. *Local Environment*. 2010;15(6):569-580.

Riksbyggen (2018), *Säljstart för Riksbyggen Brf Oceankajen- 46 lägenheter med havet som granne*. Available at: <http://www.mynewsdesk.com/se/riksbyggen/pressreleases/saeljstart-foer-riksbyggens-brf-oceankajen-46-laegenheter-med-havet-som-granne-2413401>

Short JR, Benton LM, Luce WB, Walton J. (1992) Reconstructing the image of an industrial city. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. 1993;83(2): 207-224.

Stiftelsen Vadstena Forum, 2006, Planering med nya förutsättningar- ny lagstiftning, nya värderingar.

Söder i förändring (2006) *Rapport- Processen Söder i förändring, så här gick det till (Document)* Available from: <https://hplus.helsingborg.se/om-h/>

Uitermark J, Duyvendak JW, Kleinhans R. (2007) Gentrification as a governmental strategy: Social control and social cohesion in Hoogvliet, Rotterdam. *Environment and Planning A*. 2007;39(1):125-141.

Van Dijk, T.A. (1997) *Discourse as interaction in Society*, in Van Dijk, T.A(ed) *Discourse as Social interaction, Discourse Studies II. A Multidisciplinary Introduction*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Whitehead M. (2012) Neoliberal urban environmentalism and the adaptive city. *Urban Studies*. 2013;50(7):1348-1367.

Wolch JR, Byrne J, Newell JP. (2014) Urban green space, public health, and environmental justice: The challenge of making cities 'just green enough'. *Landscape and Urban Planning*. 2014;125:234-244.

24HD (2013) *Energi för framtiden: Visionen för Helsingborg i H+*. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y3g_o9cRd0s