



RISE REGIONAL INTEGRATED STRATEGIES IN EUROPE

Targeted Analysis 2013/2/11

ANNEX 6: Case Study Zealand Region

15/7/2012

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List of authors

Niels Boje Groth, Karina Sehested
University of Copenhagen – Forest & Landscape, Denmark (FLD)

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BACKGROUND ANALYSIS

The region in national planning

Zealand Region (Region Sjælland) is one of five administrative regions in Denmark, established by the administrative reform in 2007. The former 14 counties were merged into five regions, two of which – Zealand Region and the Capital Region -- cover the entire island of Zealand, the southern islands of Lolland and Falster and Bornholm (inserted in figure 1). Zealand Region covers an area of 7273 km² with 819,222 inhabitants (2011). Its proximity to and functional cohesion with the Capital Region (2561 km² with 1,680,271 inhabitants) is one of its characteristics. The Zealand Region is the only region in Denmark that does not include a major city. Rather, it consists of a number of equally medium-sized cities. Zealand Region includes the areas within commuting distance of the Danish capital of Copenhagen, thus benefitting from the economic development of the capital area. However, Zealand also includes peripheral agricultural areas characterized by lack of economic growth. Generally, Zealand Region suffers from comparatively low growth rates, high unemployment, a low education level, health problems among its citizens and a low level of private investment in innovation.

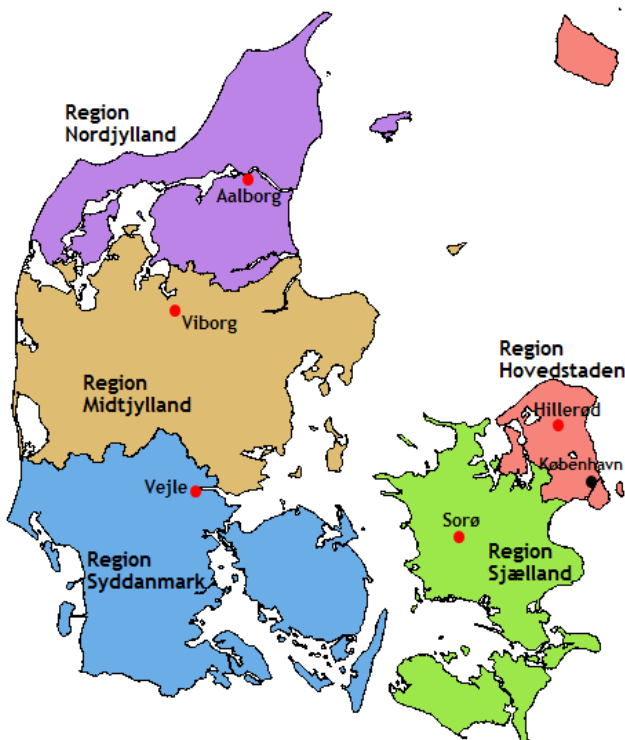


Figure 1: The administrative regions of Denmark. Zealand Region (green) and the Capital Region (red) cover the whole of the Zealand Island, the southern islands of Lolland and Falster and Bornholm, situated in the Baltic Sea and part of the Capital region, here inserted in the upper right corner.

Zealand Region's proximity to Copenhagen has had a major influence on commuting patterns, business development and the geography of income.

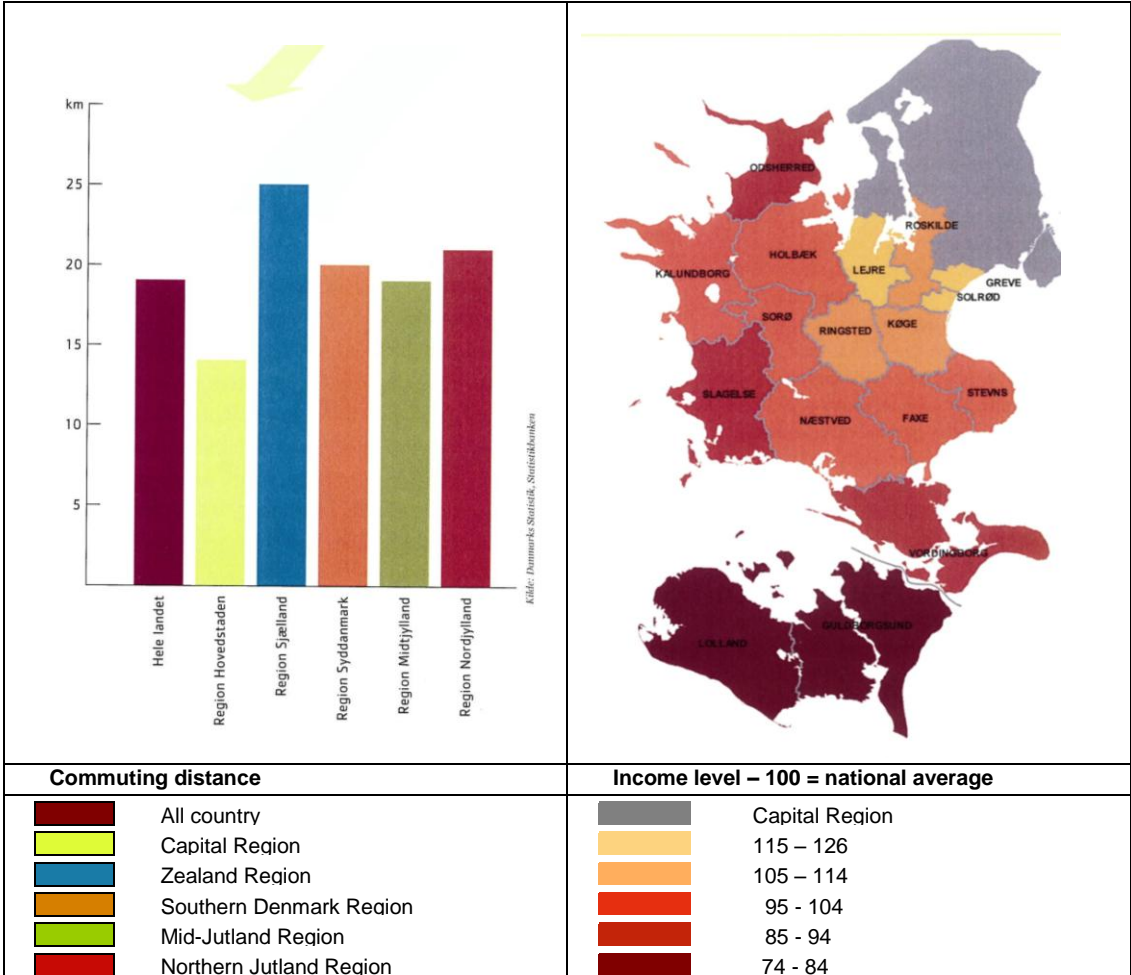


Figure 2: Commuting and income, Zealand Region. The level of income in Zealand Region is below the Danish national average. This is due especially to the low levels of profits in the business enterprises and to higher levels of unemployment. People in Zealand Region try to compensate for low wages by long-distance commuting to better paid jobs in the capital region. This is especially true for those living in the municipalities bordering the Capital Region.

In this case study of Zealand Region, we start with a short contextual and historical description of the national spatial planning system, focusing upon national regional policies and regional planning.

Next, we describe the major changes in the planning roles of the regions and municipalities that grew out of the Danish structural reform in 2007. The former regional planning role has been cut back in favour of regional strategies set up by the regional council, in cooperation with regional 'Growth Forums' and with the municipalities. These stakeholders must cooperate on rather equal terms in order to formulate integrated regional strategies. In this case study, we present two major strategies: the regional development plan and the regional business strategy.

The national typology and strategies for the region are also described in order to illustrate the key development issues in the region as seen from the vantage point of the national government. The national government does not direct the regional planning. The government offer only general trend analyses and suggestions for the development of the region. However, the national images are for the understanding of the regional development in the national context.

The main part of the case study describes two regional integrated strategies. We have information about the first strategies formulated following the reform in 2007 and the subsequent strategies formulated in 2011. We can compare the processes and discuss the development in use of tools and methods.

The national planning system

In this presentation of the Danish planning system, we deal jointly with spatial planning and regional policy, two different policy disciplines, the first focusing upon spatial order the second upon economic order. At the national level, the two policy disciplines are each nested in their own ministry, spatial planning in the Ministry of the Environment and regional policy in the Ministry of Economic and Business Affairs. Since the emergence of the first law on urban planning in 1938 and the first law on regional development in 1958, the policy frameworks of the two policy disciplines changed, as did the names and responsibilities of the ministries and the 'styles' and content of planning and policy. In table 1, a brief overview is presented.

During the first period, from 1949 to 1970, spatial planning developed as a professional discipline and as a legal framework. The period was characterised by a focus on problem-solving (urban sprawl, the functioning of cities, protection of nature, heritage and land use interests). In the planning system, no role was yet given to the regional tier. However, this does mean that the regional dimension of urban growth and planning was ignored. The most important development of the legal planning framework was the Urban Regulation Act, passed in 1949. The act implemented the zoning of urban development areas around the largest cities with the purpose of preventing urban sprawl and ensuring rational gradual urban development. For each developmental zone, urban development boards were appointed by the government. At the local level, it was acknowledged that inter-municipal coordination of urban planning was needed prior to the zoning. Therefore, during the late 1950s and 1960s, voluntary regional planning was conducted jointly by the local authorities, under the leadership of the regional centres.

As concerns regional policies, local stakeholders persuaded the parliament to focus more on unemployment in the peripheral regions. The issue was intensely debated in the late 1950s, and a law on regional development, focusing upon development of peripheral areas, was approved in 1958.

After a municipal reform in 1970, the planning system was generalised, and all types of land were included as objects for planning. The problem-solving perspective, focusing upon urban growth areas, was augmented and even replaced by a systemic planning perspective. A planning system, organised into three tiers, was organised. In each of the 14 new counties, regional planning was made obligatory. Urban systems were introduced as an object of planning, and development of a new planning methodology for the rural areas began. The urban system planning, however, proved unsuccessful. The planning principles did not match the real problems and the limited powers of the regional councils. Furthermore, the municipalities soon became hostile to regional intervention in their urban affairs. Outside the cities, however, regional planning in the rural areas was boosted by the development of the GIS techniques, facilitating analysis of conflicting land use interests and by a public sympathy for environmental protection and protection of nature.

Table 1: The development of regional planning and regional policy in Denmark.

	Regional planning	Regional focus of regional planning and policy	Regional policy
1949	Act on urban regulation	Monitoring urban growth and sprawl in urban growth regions	
.....	Voluntary regional planning	Inter-municipal coordination of urban development plans in appointed urban growth regions	
1958		Development of peripheral regions	Regional development act
1970-74	<i>Administrative reform: Formation of 14 counties – former 1300 municipalities merged into 275 larger municipalities</i> <i>Planning reform: Planning in three tiers over the entire territory (not just urban growth zones)</i>		
1970	Urban and Rural Zones Act	Protection of the entire rural land and country side in Denmark. Zoning tools for monitoring urban development and summer housing.	
1974	Municipal planning Act National and Regional Planning Act <i>Regional planning</i>	Municipal plans within the framework of regional plans Regional urban systems, protection of land use interests and environment in the rural areas and countryside	
1990		Emerging political understanding of the need for urban competitiveness and development of all regions	Repeal of Regional Development Act
2005		Economic and business development of all regions	Business Development Act <i>Regional Growth Forums</i> <i>Business development strategies</i>
2007	<i>Administrative reform: consolidating 14 counties into 5 new regions; merging 275 municipalities into 98 municipalities</i> <i>Planning reform: Spatial planning in two tiers: planning of rural areas transferred from regional to municipal responsibility; regional planning transferred from regulatory to soft tools.</i>		

2007	The Planning Act <i>Regional spatial development plans</i>	Coordination of regional stakeholders	
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Figure 2 shows the simplicity and logic of the three-tiered planning system as introduced by the planning reform in 1970-74. In practice, the system eroded and was eventually replaced by a division of labour between the (weak) regional councils that administered the rural areas and (strong) municipal councils which dealt with urban development and urban restructuring.

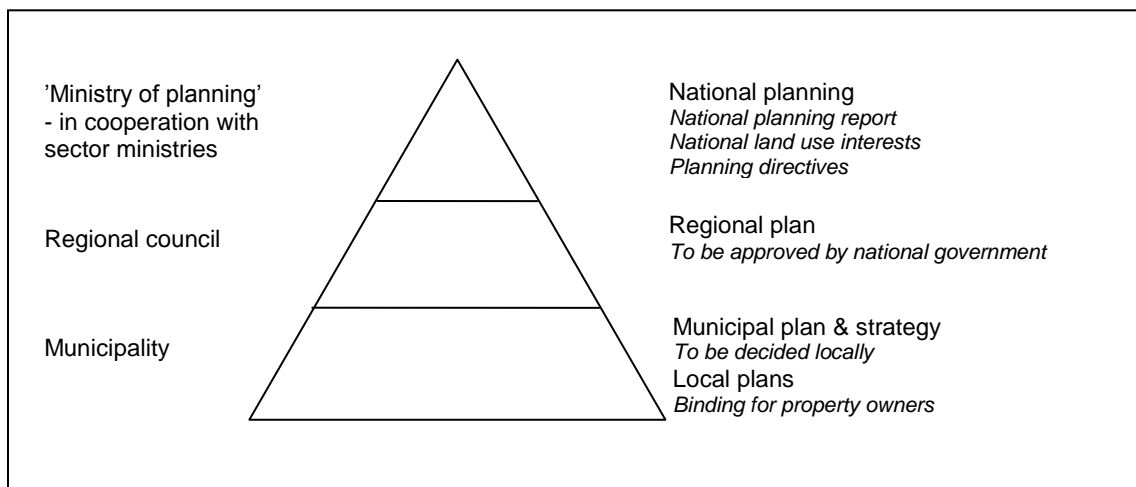


Figure 2: The Danish spatial planning system as implemented in 1970-75. Regional planning was made obligatory. Municipal plans were to be enacted by the municipal council following public consultations. For each of the three tiers, the plans covered the entire land of jurisdiction, increasingly detailed in hierarchical order - from national guidelines and planning directives, via regional plans to municipal and local plans. The simple logical system, however, was eroded by the changes of the planning agenda from urban growth to urban restructuring and by municipal dissatisfaction over regional intervention in urban issues. Municipal planning strategies were introduced only in 1992.

The slowdown of urban growth in the aftermath of the oil crises and the economic restructuring following the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989, created an agenda of urban restructuring and urban competitiveness with global ramifications. A shift of the regional policy paradigm also took place in the early 1990s. A governmental initiative to boost the development of Copenhagen resulted in a change of the regional policy agenda. Copenhagen suffered severely from loss of manufacturing jobs and reduced competitiveness with other European capitals. These problems paved the way for a general understanding that 'What is good for Copenhagen, is good for the country'. The time was ripe for replacing the regional subsidies with growth policies for regional centres. The Regional Development Act of 1958 was repealed in 1990. In 1992, the national planning report introduced urban SWOT analyses and the idea of urban competitiveness in a global perspective. Meanwhile, the reduction of national regional policy in 1990 was compensated by the intensification of EU regional policy in 1989, under the umbrella of structural funds, and a turn from regional relocation

funds to an effort to stimulate the economy by exploiting regional resources and potentials (Illeris 2010, p. 199ff).

The idea of regional clusters and unique niche production became popular as a common point of departure for a growing number of initiatives based on local and regional networking between municipalities ('forming urban circles'), regional councils and local business leaders. Some of these initiatives were encouraged by a 1992 law on municipal and regional participation in business development. The period was characterised by a plethora of initiatives, including EU structural funds, regional and local business initiatives and national efforts to provide local business consultancy and coordinate local and regional actors. The agenda had finally changed from assistance to development (Halkier 2008).

At the national level, the issue of peripheral regions remains a priority, but it lies within the framework of development strategies for all regions. Figure 3 shows the peripheral regions that have benefitted from this policy. Table 2 shows the amount of DKK per inhabitant provided to the regional Growth Forums.

Table 2. Funds available to the regional Growth Forums, 2007-2008

Growth Forum	Millions of DKK	DKK per inhabitant
Capital Region	312	195
Bornholm	70	1.635
Zealand	285	348
Southern Denmark	386	323
Mid-Jutland	377	305
Northern Jutland	339	586
All	1.769	323

Source: Illeris (2010), p. 55.

Table 2 reveals the peripheral status of Northern Jutland and Bornholm, the favourable position of the Capital Region and the relatively equal positions of the Zealand, Southern Denmark and Mid-Jutland regions. The data indicate that regional development has become a general issue in all regions, now supplemented by a concern for the special needs of the peripheral areas.

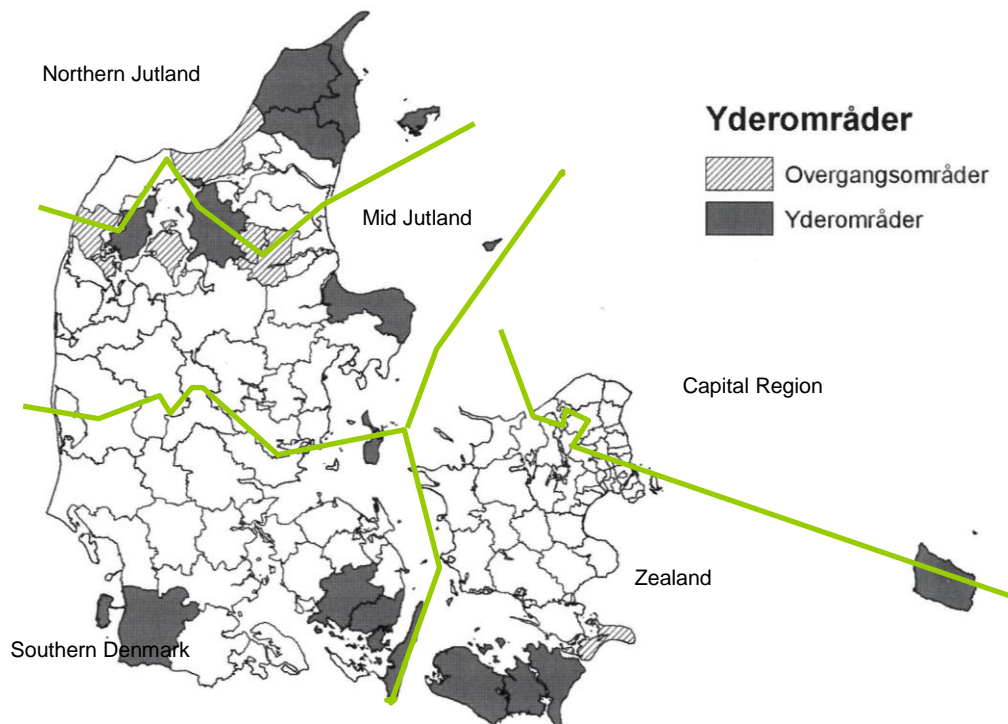


Figure 3. Peripheral areas and transition areas 2007-2013 (Illeris, 2010 p. 55, delimitation of regions added).

The role of the regional authority

With the 2007 administrative reform, the role of the regional tier changed dramatically. The former 275 municipalities were merged into 98, the 14 counties were abolished and five new regions were established. The regions are governed by regionally elected politicians, but they do not have authority to collect taxes, as with the former counties. They are restricted to operate within the budgets allocated by the national and local government.

The core responsibility of the regions is hospitals. Alongside this, the regional councils have to prepare spatial regional development plans. However, they map only the general content of the regional development plan (Danish: RUP). Mapping land use zoning is no longer part of the plan. The RUP has no legal or administrative authority over the municipal plans, although it is stated that the municipal plans must be in accordance with the RUP.

The new planning system is shown in figure 4.

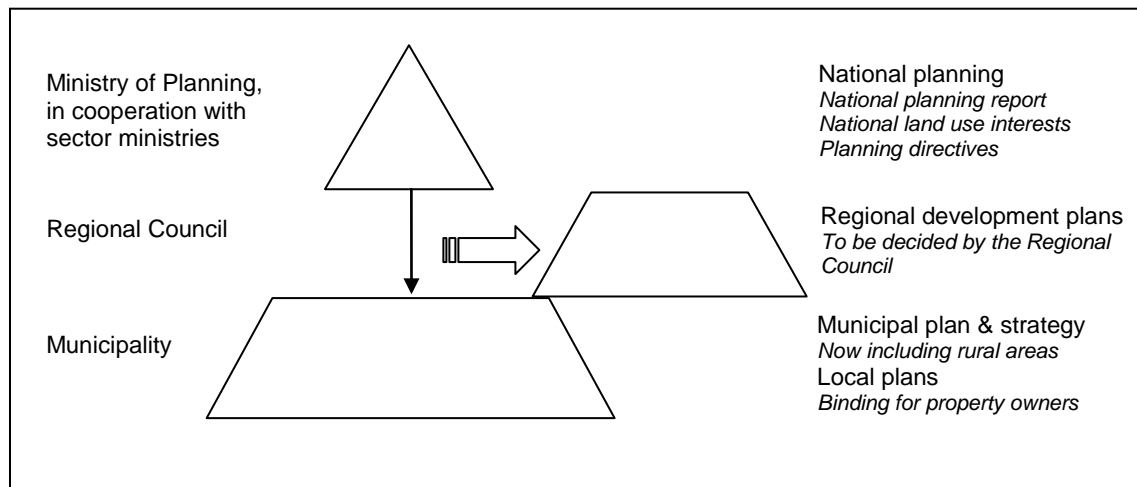


Figure 4. The Danish spatial planning system since 2007.

The regional plans, formerly with a focus on land use, have been transformed into development plans. Land-use planning in the rural areas was moved from the regional to the municipal level. The role of the regional development plans has been transformed from land use to a non-binding strategic and communicative instrument, the role of which is to facilitate dialogue between all regional stakeholders: public and private, local and regional.

A new regional policy institution was also established to facilitate regional development. This is the Regional Growth Forum, containing public and private stakeholders responsible for preparation of the regional business strategy and action plan (see below). The regional development plan uses the regional business strategy as its core input. The new system has weakened the role of regional spatial planning, but a new regional development instrument has appeared. It remains to be seen how this process will develop.

When comparing the former regional plans and the new regional development plans, the latter seem to be seriously deficient. One should, however, take notice that something *else*, rather than something *less*, has come into play. It is stated by the Danish Ministry of the Environment (2007, p. 16) that cooperation rather than regulation has come to the fore: "Regional spatial development plans are a collective project between the municipal councils, businesses, the regional council and the other actors in each region." Cooperation is a soft measure: You can invite people to meet, but you cannot compel them to cooperate. Hence, Illeris (2010), Halkier (2008) and Pedersen et al. (2010) emphasise the strengths, rather than weaknesses of the soft instrument.

Halkier (2008) notices that regions, "for the first time are held responsible for economic development of the region, and besides hospitals, regional development

for the first time has become the most important task for the regional councils (translation added).”

Illeris (2010, pp 54), emphasises that partnership agreements, as negotiated between *Denmark's Growth Board* and each of the five regional Growth Forums, show that regional Growth Forums are taken as equal partners rather than as hierarchically subordinated actors by the government. Further, the former bias of regional policies towards the rivalries between Copenhagen and peripheral regions has been replaced by a general agenda promoting economic growth in all regions, leading to a more general acceptance of regional development as a national issue of importance. Illeris emphasizes that the regional Growth Forums are mediators rather than consumers of regional funds. The Growth Forums are compelled to cooperate and negotiate. Finally, Illeris emphasizes that due to the multitude of topics for the regional development plan, the very logic and strength of the plan is to coordinate: “Former hierarchical decision systems are partly replaced by dialogue between coordinating and sector authorities as well as between state, regions and municipalities.” (op.cit. p. 58, translation added).

Pedersen et al. (2010) conclude that after the reform, the regional institutional setting reveals a new governance situation where regional governance turns into pluricentric coordination. The aspirations for coherence, unity and universal rationality in regional planning have to be given. Instead, a new perspective developed that values the floating and ‘messy’ character of coordination in the non-hierarchical situation. The fluid character of coordination is not an obstacle to overcome but a resource to be exploited in the pursuit of regional governance. Based on a study of regional governance in Zealand Region in the first four years after the reform, it is illustrated how coordination is taking place in a terrain characterized by competing situated logics that are shaped and reshaped in and through network-like coordination processes that promote the construction of shared meaning and story work.

Municipalities

According to the law, the Regional Development Plan shall be prepared in cooperation with the municipalities. To coordinate the work between regions and municipalities, the structural reform ‘invented’ a mediating body called the Municipal Contact Committee (Kontaktudvalget, KKU). Members of the KKU are the mayors of each of the municipalities in the region plus the chairman of the regional council. Besides the KKU, the region and the municipalities meet in the Growth Forum, the Health Coordination Committee and several other joint consultative committees.

After the reform, the municipalities formed their own informal regional councils in each region dealing with regional matters. One of these was the Local Government Contact Council (Kommunernes kontaktråd or KKR). The KKR are non-statutory and were formed at the initiative of Local Government Denmark (LGDK), a voluntary interest organisation of Danish municipalities, the goal of which is to establish a

strong municipal political platform in each region. Studies show that local government contact councils have developed successfully into strong forums for the municipalities (Pedersen et al. 2010, Sehested 2010). The KKR members are appointed by the municipal councils and represent the parties proportionally. The KKRs discuss all regional matters and prepare themselves for the Contact Committee meetings with the regions.

The municipalities are thus key stakeholders in terms of regional policies, and the KKRs have turned out to be very strong regional actors after the reform. In Zealand Region, the cooperation between the region and KKR was marked by conflicts during the first election period. In the second period, however, they agreed to collaborate.

Growth Forum

In each of the five Danish regions, there is a Growth Forum responsible for regional business development strategies.

The Growth Forum is a public-private policy network integrating multi-level public authorities and private actors in the region. The Growth Forum is appointed by the regional council in cooperation with regional business companies, regional institutions and labour market. From a position almost independent from the regional council - at 'arm-length distance' - they prepare inputs and recommendations for the regional council within a framework agreed upon with the government.

The Regional Growth Forum is responsible for

- The preparation of a regional business development strategy
- Watching regional and local framework conditions for growth
- Preparation of recommendations for co-financing of regional business development activities
 - Recommendations to the regional council on regional development funds
 - Recommendations to the Danish Enterprise and Construction Authority on EU Structural Funds

The Regional Growth Forum is appointed by the regional council, which also acts as the forum's secretariat. The 20 members of the Growth Forum are appointed by the regional council as follows:

3	At the initiative of the regional council
6	Representatives of municipalities as nominated by the municipal councils
6	Representatives of the business community as nominated by regional business associations
3	Representatives of knowledge and education institutions at the initiative of the regional council
2	Representatives of employers and wage earners, as nominated by labour market associations
20	Total

The regional business development strategy is supposed to provide input to the regional development plan (in Zealand Region, it is called the 'regional development strategy'). Input channels ideas from the regional business community, municipalities and knowledge institutions. In addition, the regional business strategy channels national growth strategies downwards via two specific linkages between the regional Growth Forum and the government:

1. A regional partnership agreement, annually established, between the regional Growth Forum and the government on development initiatives, on which the two parties agree to give special attention;
2. The participation in the national 'growth council', via the membership of the chairman of Growth Forum. The national growth council advises the government on national growth policy and is responsible for coordination between the national growth strategy, EU financed regional policies and the regional business development strategies set by the regional Growth Forums.

Although the regional business strategy appears as a strategy of its own, it becomes effective only through integration with other strategies and with the operations of other authorities. Hence, through the regional council, the regional business strategy obtains policy input to the Regional Development Plan (RUP or RUS); and policy background for nomination of projects to be co-financed by the regional development funds. Moreover, through the government (via the Danish Enterprise and Construction Authority) it obtains policy background for nomination of projects to be co-financed by the on EU Structural Funds.

Other regional actors

There are a number of other sector agencies and councils that form part of the regional stakeholder milieu. These include:

- The regional transport company
- The regional employment council
- The regional state environment centre
- Strategic cooperation partners

Zealand Region has entered into some important strategic co-operation agreements for trans-regional development issues. Four of the most important agreements are:

The Øresund Committee. The Øresund Committee was established as a joint Danish-Swedish forum for voluntary political cooperation. The Committee is a political constellation that promotes regional cross-border cooperation at all levels and ensures that due regard is paid to the interests of the Øresund Region by the Danish and Swedish parliaments. The Swedish members of the Committee are the Cities of Helsingborg and Malmö, the municipalities of Landskrona and Lund and Region Skåne. Members from Denmark are the cities of Frederiksberg and Copenhagen, the Zealand and Capital regions and the two regions' respective Municipal Liaison Committees (KKRs) Zealand Region.

IBU Øresund

An Interreg project concerned with infrastructure development in the Oeresund region, comprising the Capital Region, Zealand Region, Region Skåne, The County Administrative Board of Skåne, some 30 Danish and Swedish municipalities, the Swedish Transport Administration (Trafikverket), The Øesund Bridge and the Øesund Committee.

Fehmarn Belt Forum

The Fehmarn Belt Forum is an advisory board of the Fehmarn Belt Development, an agency responsible for the coordination of projects, activities, plans and strategies connected with the construction of the new Fehmarn Belt link – a bridge-tunnel link between the southern part of Zealand Region and Germany.

Ministry of the Environment

At the initiative of the Danish Government, a strategic overarching spatial vision was developed in the two Danish growth regions as a follow up to the National Spatial Planning Report 2006, which had identified two growth regions in Denmark, namely East-Jutland and the Capital Region including most of Zealand Region. The vision, entitled 'Strukturbilleder 2030, Byudvikling og infrastruktur, Region Sjælland' (Structural Images 2030. Urban Development and infrastructure in Zealand Region), was developed at national level in cooperation with Zealand Region, the municipalities in the region, the regional transport company, the Danish Road Directorate and the Danish Transport Authority.

From hierarchy to networking

As stated earlier, at the regional level, the formal hierarchical tools and relations have been replaced by the soft tools of coordination, communication and dialogue. That these tools are soft does not necessarily make them weak. From an earlier research project on decision-making in Zealand Region, we have demonstrated the interrelations between actors in regional decision-making, cf. figure 5.

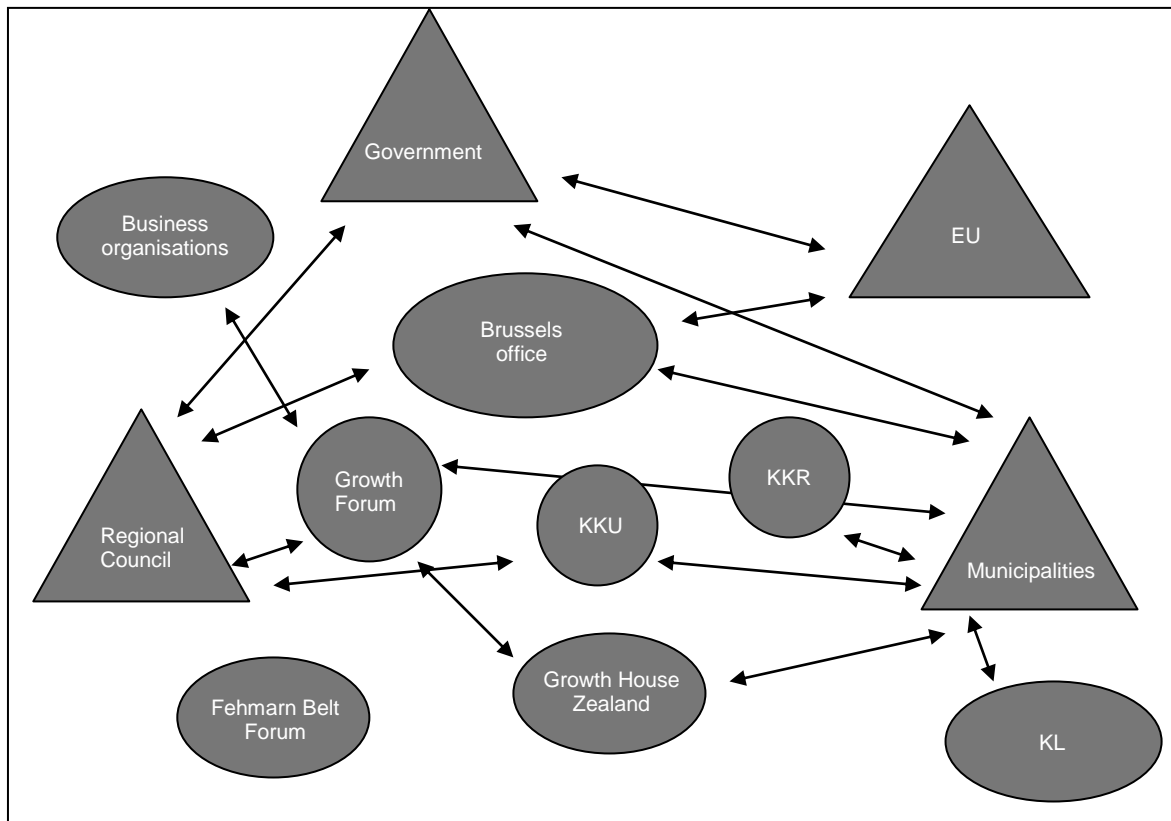


Figure 5: Key relations in formulating regional development strategies (Sørensen et al.2011).

The figure illustrates a network governance situation at the regional level. The regional council and municipalities have become equal in their influence on regional development, and several coordinating bodies have been constituted, some formal, others informal. KKR and KKR coordinate between region and municipalities. Growth Forum is a public-private policy network and coordinates between different public levels and between public and private actors. The state is still in a hierarchical position with respect to both regions and municipalities, but its governance is more through setting goals and economic frameworks than through specific regulations and laws in the area of regional development. The state (and EU institutions) acts mostly as a meta-governor over regional development.

The indirect meta-governance by the state (and EU) in regional policies and the non-hierarchical and relational governance situation at the regional level require that regional governance change from steering to what could be labelled as pluricentric coordination. It is difficult to use the concepts such as 'horizontal-' and 'vertical

coordination' in this situation. Governance relations among key actors change according to different policy issues and according to negotiation between the actors in different governance situation. Pluricentric coordination highlights the value of interpretive and relational forms of coordination that evolve around specific situated efforts to govern. The coordination is framed by public institutions within a plural democratic setting, which makes the 'pluricentric coordination' a more precise description than 'polycentric coordination'.

In the case study of Zealand Region, we will see how this is exercised in practice.

Regional planning duties according to the national planning system

In the laws and directions for regional strategy formulation, following the structural reform, we find several indications of the new relational and indirect governance situation.

The Regional Development Plan (RUP)

The regions have to prepare a Regional Development Plan every fourth year. The plan must include the Regional Business Development Strategy, which is prepared by the Growth Forum. With a comprehensive view of the region, the RUP must describe a desirable future development for the region, cities, countryside and the region's peripheral areas. Thematically, it must deal with nature and environment, business and tourism, employment, education and culture. Further, the RUP must show the relations with national and municipal planning of infrastructure as well as relations with planning of neighbouring countries in relevant fields. An action plan must be included. The RUP has no legal authority. It is an advisory and coordinating document that sets out common strategies, visions and frames for the region in cooperation with other relevant regional actors. However, the regional council is able to channel its support to strategic initiatives and it has its own funding. The municipalities are not obliged to follow the strategy, but neither can they be in opposition to the RUP. There are only a few directives in the planning act that apply to the RUP; the content and methods may differ.

The business development strategy

The business development strategy is meant to set up and prioritise activities for the enhancement of business development in the region. Activities shall focus on the framework conditions for business rather than direct subsidies. On the basis of the business development strategy, the Growth Forum submits recommendations on funding concrete project applications for regional development funds as well as the EU structural funds.

The Growth Forum monitors changes and development of the framework conditions

for business at regional and local levels and evaluate initiatives and projects set in motion by the business development strategy.

A further important framework for the business development strategy is the partnership agreement between the Growth Forum and the government.

Regional and business development in concert

The business development strategy is supposed to form an input for the regional development strategy. They should thus work in concert. The interdependency between the two strategies is obvious. All though the business strategy constitutes a frame for the regional development plan, the RUP covers more regional issues than just business and thereby becomes a constitutive framework for the subsequent business strategy.

It is interesting to note that at the national level, the two strategies belong to separate policy sectors and ministries. The regional development strategy is formed under the auspices of the Law of Planning, administered by the Ministry of the Environment, whereas the business development strategy refers to the Law of Business Development, administered by the Ministry of Economic and Business Affairs. The two ministries each have their own development interests – sometimes conflicting -- and coordination and cooperation between the ministries is not always possible at state level.

National typology of the regions

So far, we have envisaged the planning system, its development and its current state. We shall now turn to the content and ideas of national planning in order to further elucidate the position and characteristics of Zealand Region.

Danish national planning began with urban systems, turned to urban competitiveness and ended up with a regional agenda. During this evolution of the planning concepts, the planning agenda also changed. Figures 6, 7 and 8 briefly show the development.

The current national spatial planning agenda was set by the national planning report in 2006: 'The New Geography of Denmark'. A continual increase in commuting eroded former relations between cities and their hinterlands. Cities were integrated into the hinterlands of other cities as local labour markets and housing markets expanded and overlapped. The Danish economy concentrated itself in two centres, the Capital Region and the East-Jutland Region. As a consequence, urban systems were set on 'stand-by' and replaced by a regionalised planning agenda, focusing upon three kinds of regions: (1) the aforementioned two large growth regions, (2) peripheral areas and (3) regions with strong medium-sized cities.

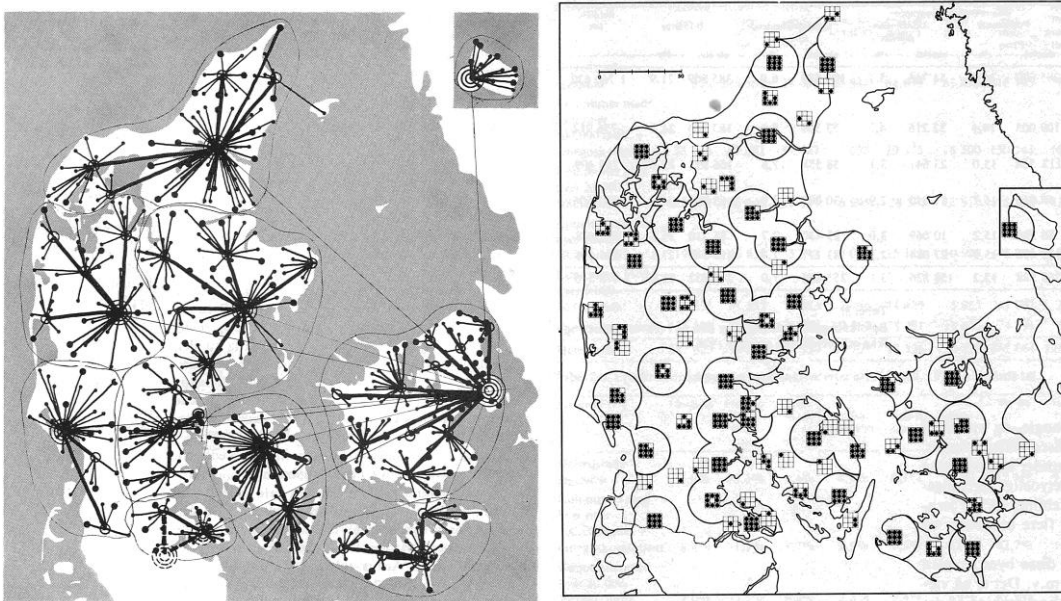


Figure 6: National planning for urban systems. The main purpose was to build up a nation-wide urban hierarchical network for equal access to centres for service and administration. Left, the first conceptualisation of the model in the Danish context, the 'star-city model' by Erik Kaufmann Rasmussen (1959). Right, the presence of nine selected centre functions in the urban system, elaborated by the National Planning Agency in 1979 to identify regional centers (Planstyrelsen, 1979).

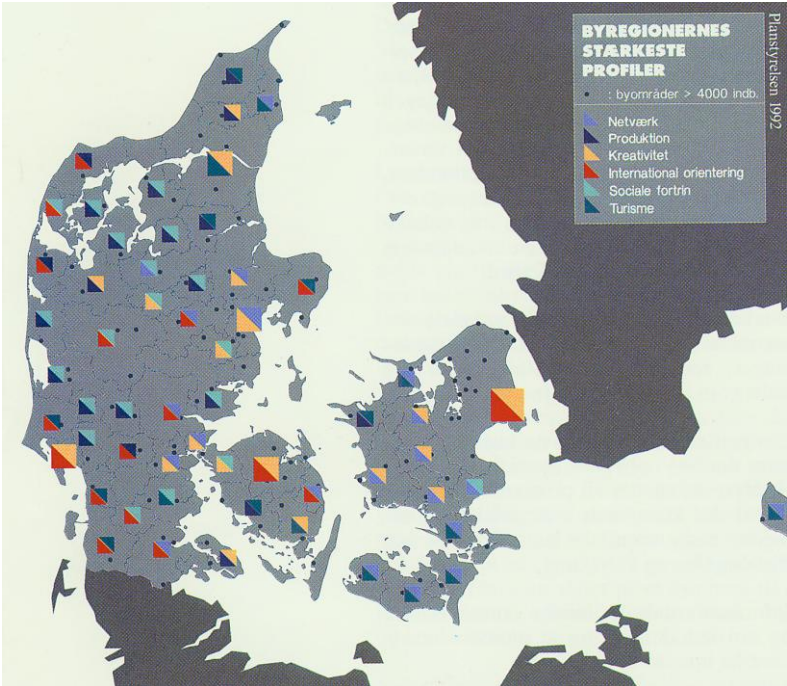


Figure 7: Mapping urban regions by 'strongest profiles'. After the oil crises of the 1970s, the fall of the Iron Curtain and increasing globalisation, national planning turned from equal access to service centres as the driver of development to the regional framework for business development, and urban competitiveness became a core issue. This figure is from the 1992 national report that maps the competitiveness of urban regions.

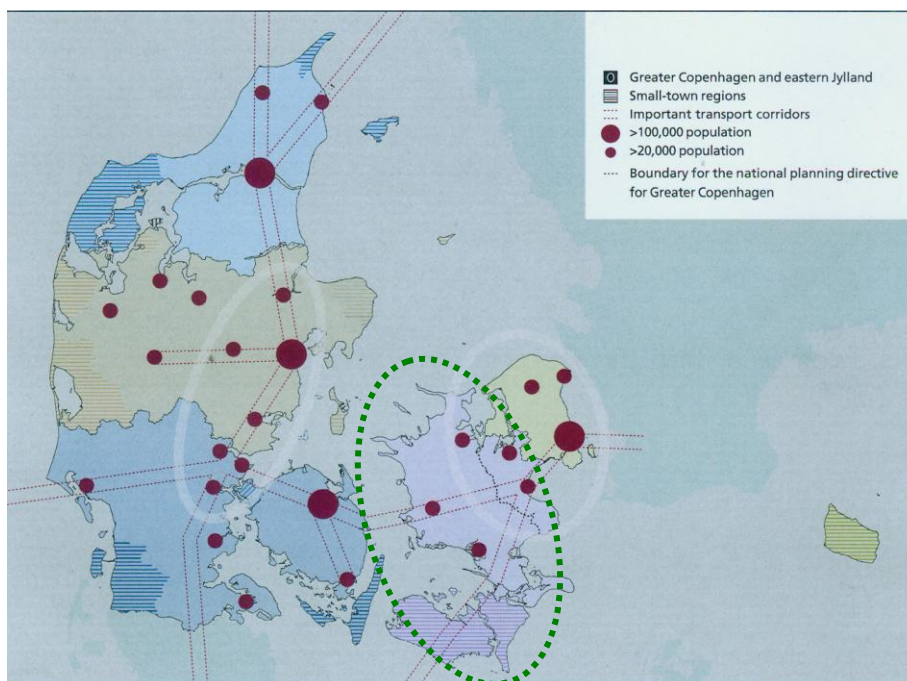


Figure 8: The geography of regions: Two growth regions, peripheries and regions with cities of different size. A continual increase in commuting eroded former relations between cities and hinterland. Local labour and housing markets expanded and overlapped. The Danish economy concentrated spatially in two centres, the Capital Region and the East-Jutland Region. As a consequence, national planning of the urban system ceased and was replaced by a regionalised planning agenda focusing upon three kinds of regions: (1) the aforementioned two large growth regions, (2) peripheral areas and (3) regions with strong medium-sized cities. The ellipse shows the position of Zealand Region.

When comparing Zealand Region with other regions, a region of high diversity appears: The north-eastern part of Zealand Region is part of the Capital growth region, whereas the southern part is characterised as remote 'small-towns region' (cf. figure 8). The diversity from the northern to the southern part of the region is one of the key characteristics of the region. It is a region of extremes, as revealed by a few indicators on population development and development of and access to work-places, cf. figures 9, 10 and 11.

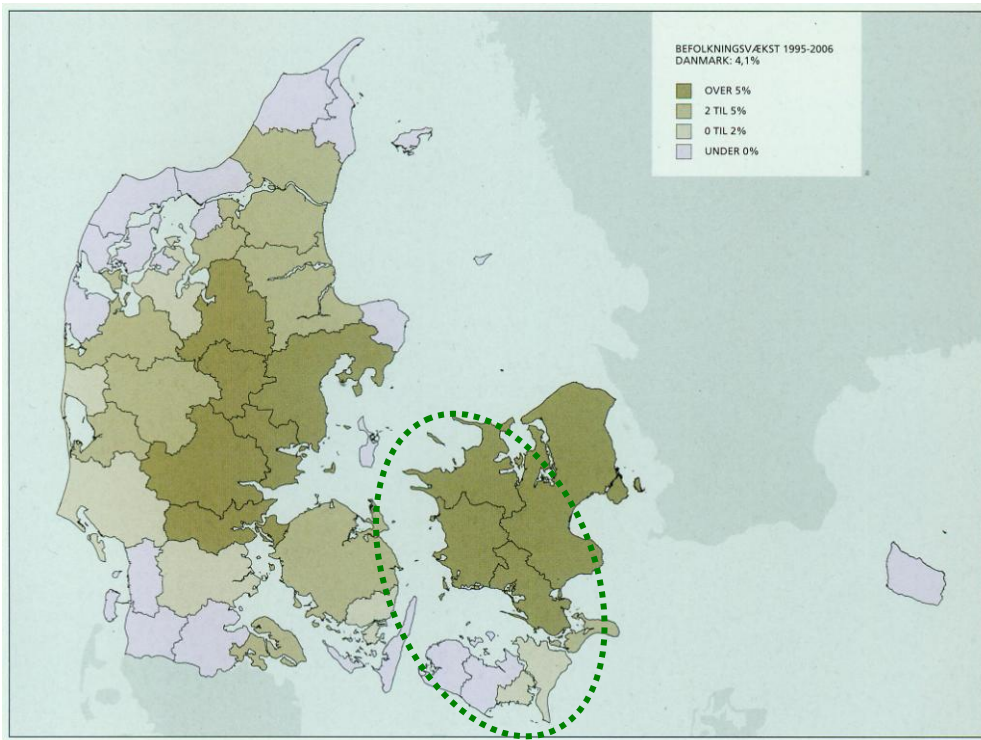


Figure 9: Development of population 1995-2006. The map shows, that population developed from below 0 to above 5% in ten years from 1995 to 2006. Both extremes – from decreasing to increasing population -- were experienced in Zealand Region. Source: Danish Ministry of the Environment (2006 p. 35).

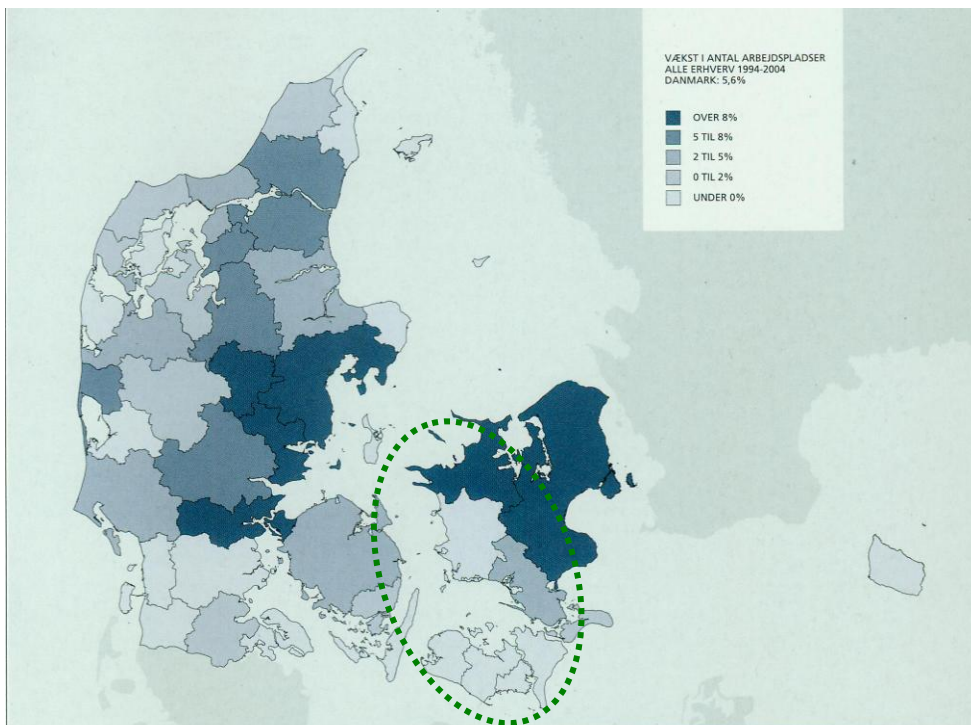


Figure 10: Growth of number of jobs 1994-2004. The map shows a pronounced diversity from the two growth regions (cf. figure 7) characterised by an increase in the number of jobs, exceeding 8% gradually descending to the lightest grey areas characterised by a decline in the number of jobs. Zealand Region includes both of these extremes from the above 8% growth in the northern part to below 0 in the southern part. Danish Ministry of the Environment (2006, p. 37)

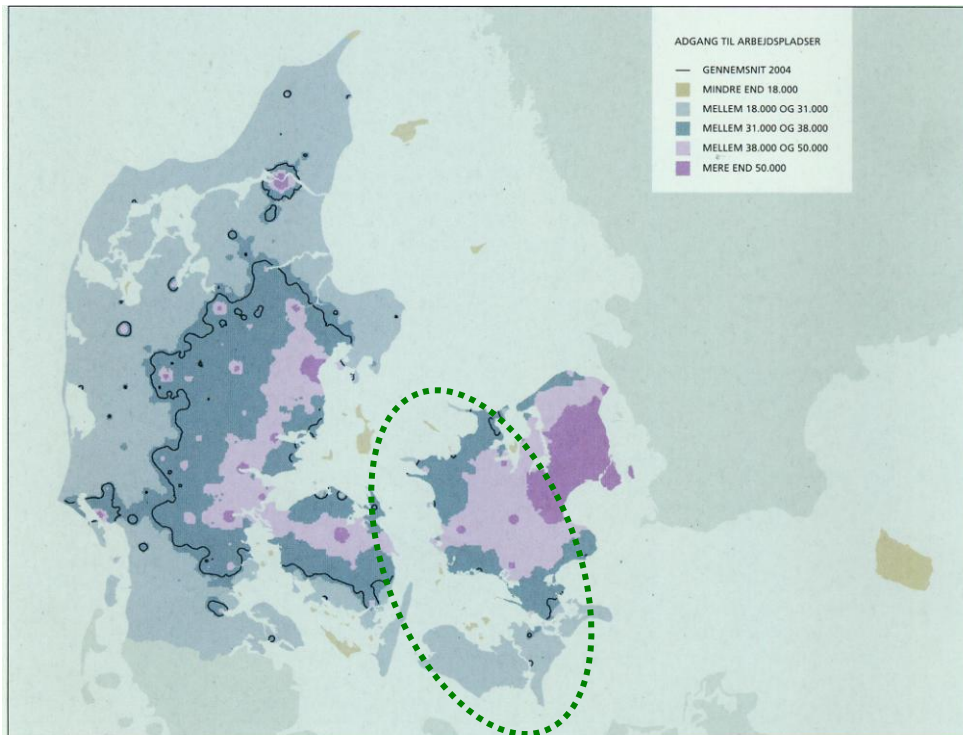


Figure 11: Accessibility to jobs 2004. Accessibility descends from more than 50,000 jobs in the dark purple areas to less than 31,000 jobs in light grey areas and less than 18,000 jobs on the island of Bornholm (light brown). The thin black lines show the borders of the average accessibility. Danish Ministry of the Environment (2006, p. 40).

National intentional strategies or visions for the region

The scope for Zealand Region in formation of regional development strategies is to some extent set by the national government, through national policies on business development and spatial planning, national infrastructure projects and the partnership agreement between the government and the Zealand Regional Growth Forum. However some of the policies are more concerned with frameworks and directions (meta-governance) than with detailed regulation and specific actions, thus allowing for decisions and autonomous actions at the regional level.

Business development

The challenges of globalisation were faced by the government in 2006 with a new law on business development. The law was adopted just a year prior to the municipal reform and the reform of the planning system. This business development law established the regional Growth Forums. It is worth noting that regional development was taken as an important lever of national economic development. According to the law, the new regional councils were allowed to co-finance the development of framework conditions considered crucial to the development and competitiveness of enterprises and companies of the region. Such co-financing should take as point of departure recommendations from the regional Growth Forum. It is emphasised that it is only the development of the framework conditions of private business life that is

eligible; direct investment in businesses is not allowed. Funding by public actors is allowed only if it related to the improvement of framework conditions for private companies. The following activities are eligible funding:

1. Innovation, knowledge sharing and knowledge development
2. Application of new technology
3. Set up and development of new enterprises
4. Development of human resources, including regional competencies
5. Growth and development of tourism
6. Development activities of the remote peripheries

Partnership agreement

In Zealand Region, the national business policy was operationalised by the partnership agreement between the government and the Zealand Region Growth Forum, as of 14 October 2010. As point of departure, it was acknowledged that in general, the level of education in Zealand Region is lower than the national average. However, it was acknowledged that among regional assets, there are business potentials within the sectors of clean technology and pharmaceuticals/medical manufacturing.

The parties agreed to focus on:

1. Education and supply of workforce
2. Improvement of framework conditions for new companies
3. Innovation and knowledge
4. Branding and marketing of Denmark
5. Green development
6. Cross-border cooperation
7. Evaluation and measurement of effects of regional development activities.

Further, the parties agreed to a special focus on three initiatives:

1. Fehmarn Belt growth strategy
2. Strengthening education in the peripheral areas of the region
3. Development of technologies within the energy sector.

Fehmarn Belt growth strategy

As a follow-up to the agreement between Denmark and Germany on establishing a fixed link crossing the Fehmarn Belt, the parties agreed that an overall strategy shall be developed jointly by the government, Zealand Region and the Capital Region in order profit upon the growth potentials of the new Fehmarn Belt connection, in sectors such as logistics, cooperation between knowledge- and education institutions and private business life. Also, the strategy should include the development of a common labour market. The strategy should take its point of departure in the present STRING-cooperation between Region Skåne, the Capital Region, Schleswig-Holstein and Hamburg.

The location of the Fehmarn fixed link is shown in figure 12, from the National Spatial Planning report 2006. The Danish connecting point for the link is situated at Rødby.

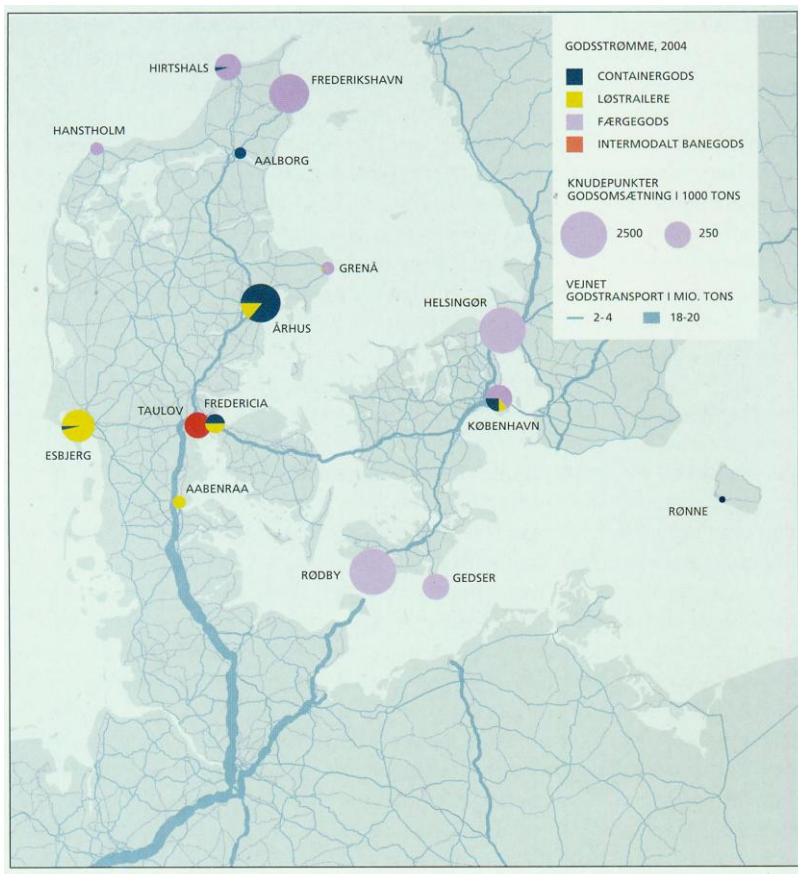


Figure 12: International flows of goods. The map shows turnover of goods at hubs of transport. The purple circle at 'Rødby' indicates the turnover of goods by ferry. The potential for railway and road transport by the future fixed link between Denmark and Germany, The Fehmarn Belt Link (source: Danish Ministry of the Environment 2006, p. 74).

Strengthening of education in the peripheral areas of the region

The parties agreed jointly to 'test and develop operational models for education campuses and cooperation between education institutions and education sectors in Zealand Region.' These initiatives should focus upon facilitation of education, especially in the peripheral areas.

Development of technologies within the energy sector.

New experiments on energy technologies and industrial symbiosis are taking place in the region, notably in Lolland and Kalundborg, respectively. The parties agreed to give these initiatives and competencies further support.

National spatial planning

Principles of the governmental business strategy are confirmed by the National Planning Report 2006. To meet the challenges from globalisation, focus must be placed on knowledge and innovation and transport. In addition, there is a need to focus on changes of the urban system and the rural areas.

Governmental policies concerning the Zealand Region were set up in the national planning report of 2006.

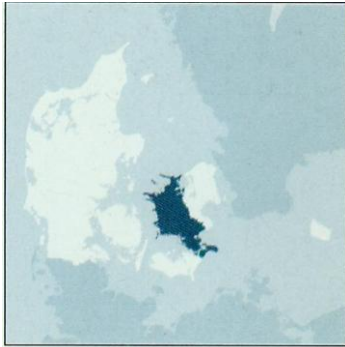


Figure 13: Policy area: 'Zealand' (National Planning Report 2006).

In the National Planning Report 2006, the government announced a follow-up initiative concerning the Zealand Region. Because of the increase in commuting, most parts of Zealand have become integrated into a single labour market. Therefore, it is of national interest that the entire area is well-functioning as local labour- and housing market. The key challenges are (1) to avoid unintended urban sprawl and (2) to cooperate on spatial planning as a tool for reducing problems stemming from traffic congestion. In line with these observations, it is stated that the Minister of the Environment (who is also responsible for planning) together with the Minister of Transport and Energy, will initiate a dialogue between the government (the two ministries), the municipalities of Zealand Region, the regional transport company and the Zealand Regional Council on future urban development (see next section).



Figure 14: Policy area: 'Peripheral areas' (National Planning Report 2006).

The southernmost part of Zealand Region is part of the areas characterised by the National Planning Report 2006 as remote areas of small towns. As a follow-up

action, the government decided to initiate a project for elucidating the role of small cities in the new municipalities and to analyse barriers to the development of rural cities and to discuss strategies for the development based upon local assets. This topic is not addressed specifically to Zealand Region, but generally to all the regions with remote areas of small rural cities.

‘Structural Images 2030’ – Zealand Region

The above-mentioned follow-up action announced by the government in the National Spatial Planning Report 2006 was kicked off at a meeting between the Minister of the Environment, the 17 municipal mayors and the chairman of Zealand Region in August 2008. Two years later, the report *Strukturbilleder 2030* (‘Structural Images 2030’) was published for public consultations. The result of the cooperation was an agreement on principles on urban planning and infrastructure for the future development of the region. The key principle agreed upon was to encourage the development of the largest of the small and medium-sized cities situated on the key railway lines radiating from Copenhagen city. Only by offering some alternative to the concentration of living in Copenhagen would it be possible to facilitate a more decentralised development in the region. It is supposed that such an alternative lies with the largest towns and cities that have a railway station (*stationsbyer*). To identify these towns, a ranking in four categories of urban size was carried out. Hence, group A were the 10 largest towns (population > 10.000 inhabitants); group B: 12 towns between 4000 and 15,000; group C: 22 towns between 2000 and 6500; and group D with 12 small towns with fewer than 2000 inhabitants. Since the classification is according to more than size, there are some overlaps. Some cities in group B are thus larger than some cities in group A. It was agreed that cities in group A should be given first priority in municipal and regional planning as well as in transport planning. Further, it was agreed that enhancing population density of the cities should be given priority as a measure of sustainability. Figure 15 shows the mapping of the four categories of towns. The map shows an integration of the infrastructure with the national major traffic connections of the region to Sweden, Germany (Fehmarn Belt) and Funen and Jutland via the Great Belt Bridge.

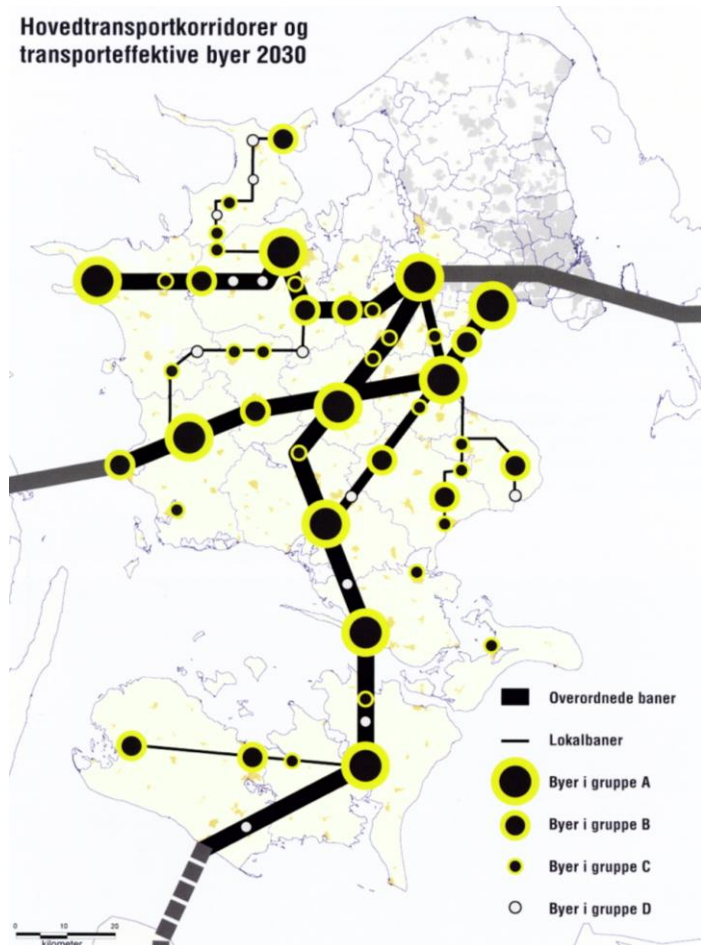


Figure 15 Structural images 2030. Urban development and infrastructure of Zealand Region. (source: By- og Landskabsstyrelsen, 2010)

REGIONAL INTEGRATION STRATEGIES

We have chosen two regional strategies prescribed by the Danish Planning Act as the Danish case study because they are the most important integrative strategies in the region.

Due to other studies of regional strategies in Zealand Region (Sørensen et al. 2011), it is possible to include a time perspective in this case study, especially in the making of the regional development plan. In Zealand Region, the name of this plan was changed to 'regional development strategy', which is why we will use the term 'strategy' in the discussion that follows. The two strategies are:

1. The Regional Development Strategy 2008 and 2011 [Den regionale udviklingsstrategi 2008 (RUS) and 2011 (proposition in hearing)].
2. Business Development Strategy 2011-2014 and Plan of Action 2011-2012 [Erhvervsudviklingsstrategi 2011-2014 og Handlingsplan 2011-2012].

The regional development strategy (RUS) 2008 and 2011

Context

The process of formulating the Regional Development Strategy (RUS) for Zealand Region illustrates a learning process. The process extended over a period of 5-6 years in the regional authority, from the first to the second version of the RUS. To understand the process of formulating the first RUS, some information about the contextual situation is needed.

The new Zealand Region was a result of the amalgamation of three very different counties, and the first years of the Region's life were influenced by the problems that typically occur when new institutions are formed or existing institutions merged. As mentioned earlier, the new Zealand Region did not have the same authority as before in the regional development: the regional authority had to move from the regulatory and hierarchical role to a future-oriented, facilitating and mobilising role. However, the region was run by the same people officials, and those elected at the regional level had to cope with a new and at times difficult situation. Everything had to be invented for the first time, and the three cultures from the former counties had to adapt to one another and develop a common new culture.

The region had to work closely with the municipalities to formulate strategies. In 2007, the new 98 municipalities were established by amalgamating smaller municipalities, and they also had to establish new structures, organisations and procedures. Several tasks were transferred from the old counties to the new municipalities. All in all, this was a period of major change at regional and local levels. The first period after the structural reform was strongly influenced by politicians and employees trying to cope with the new situation and their new roles. But there were also conflicts.

The municipalities (through their national association) supported the new structural reform because they became larger and more autonomous. However, they opposed the regions having a role in regional development. Nationally, the municipal association tried to restrict the region from having any influence over regional development because they wanted the regions to concentrate on hospitals and health services, relying on the Growth Forum (where they are represented) to manage the Regional Business Strategy. They wanted to deal with all other issues themselves through the municipal contact committees (KKR). They could not see the purpose of formulating a RUP. In Zealand Region, this conflict became very influential, and the first RUS (2008) in Zealand Region became a battlefield between the region and the municipalities about who would control regional development.

A research team followed and documented the process over a four-year period, and they also intervened in the process by presenting results of the study and by introducing new forms of governing, like governance, meta-governance, pluricentric coordination and new roles for planners and politicians. Both the region and the municipalities (especially KKR) were influenced by the research process, and this should be taken into account in this case study.

The second version of the RUS (2011) was made in a quite different situation. The region and the municipalities (through KKR) decided to stop fighting and start cooperating. A new chairman of the region was elected, with an acceptance of the new role and competences to act. The regional administration carried out organisational and personal changes in the administration and developed competences that were more relevant for their new role. All actors in the region had had 4 years of experience in their new organisations and roles and in the regional situation, and it makes it much easier to create a collaborative RUP process.

Content in the two RUS

The first RUP 2008 became a RUS:

The strategy presents the agenda for a desirable development within and across a number of policy areas: nature protection, towns and territories; the environment, business development, tourism, employment, education, culture and infrastructure. Interregional relationships are addressed as well as international relationships. The strategy was drawn up in-house, with assistance from external consultants on selected topics/themes. Only some cross-cutting issues/agendas are dealt with in the document. Areas for action have open time frames. Among cross-cutting and trans-regional topics are large-scale infrastructure projects such as the future Fixed Fehmarn Link.

The regional development strategy consists of an introduction to and an overall vision of Zealand Region. The starting point is a description of the region, setting out the geographical context and socioeconomic data. The main challenges for the region and the development perspectives are described. There are five themes: The Learning Region, The Innovative Region, The Healthy Region, The Sustainable Region and The Accessible Region (infrastructure). There are two transverse or cross-cutting themes: The Coherent Region and the International Perspective. The strategy identifies 38 development goals.

Together with the RUS, five other strategic documents were also drafted by the regional administration in order to supplement the RUS. They were: The local Agenda 21 strategy, a learning strategy, a cultural strategy, an international strategy and a strategy for youth education. Only the local Agenda 21 strategy is mandatory, and it was not possible to integrate it in the RUS.

The second RUP 2011 (in public hearing):

This RUP is developed around four cross-sector themes: (1) talent and innovation, (2) build on the regions resources, (3) increasing competences at all levels and (4) Zealand Region as a link-maker.

The themes take their point of departure in the regional resources and activities already initiated and planned in the region. A vision for 2020 is presented depicting the Zealand Region as the greenest region in Europe. Ten goals are formulated – some of them with measurable targets within a certain time period. The ten goals are:

1. The welfare of the region has to rise, 2. The region is the green region of Europe in 2020. 3. Rising competences at all levels, 4. Nature, culture and cities will be used to make an attractive region, 5. A region in economic balance, 6. The public sector as driver for innovation and development, 7. Attract testing and demonstration projects, 8. High accessibility in the whole region, 9. Exploit the regional location as a link maker in the development corridor between east and west Denmark, Scandinavia and the rest of Europe, 10. The region should create an inter-regional link to regions close to the borders and sustain the international cooperation.

The Action Plan for 2012-13: in the Action Plan, the cross-cutting four themes structure the presentation of existing and planned activities labelled as “Effects”. This is the first attempt to work with measurable targets in the RUS process.

The local Agenda 21 Strategy is still drafted in a separate document, but in shorter form.

The differences in the content of the strategies are:

The first RUS:

- It includes different strategies in an overall frame covering most of the regional activity areas.
- It contains sector strategies with only a few cross cutting themes.
- The sector strategies are formulated without much cooperation between regional departments.
- It presents the problems of the region and visions for the solutions of these problems as seen from the regional level.
- The RUS is quite long (40 pages) and includes some documentation, and the attached strategies are about 30 pages each. Together, a comprehensive document.

The second RUS:

- It is a single strategy bringing together most strategies, but focusing on specific issues such as climate, green growth, education and interregional as well as international cooperation.
- It has a stricter focus on selected issues that have been agreed upon by a large group of regional actors.
- It is structured by cross-cutting themes but still has 10 goals reflecting different interests in the region.
- It builds on resources in the region and changes focus from problems to potentials.
- It is based on existing and planned activities when presenting further actions and visions.
- It is a short strategy (19 pages) with a separate documentation annex and a action document.

In the description of the process, we find the explanation for the difference between the two strategies.

How and who: the process

The processes of the two RUSs are very different and illustrate the movement from a more traditional planning process towards a process based on facilitation and collaboration in regional planning. The new institutional setting in the region requires the latter form of regional planning, but in the first years of the new region, the region and other regional actors had difficulties in changing their roles. It was a learning process for all regional actors in how to cope with a pluricentric regional planning.

RUP 2008: from RUP to RUS

Regional planning was kicked off by the Growth Forum in 2006. When the Growth Forum had prepared the Business Development Strategies, the new regional council in 2007 initiated the regional planning process. The first task was to produce the first version of a Regional Development Plan (RUP). There are only very few directives in the planning law concerning regional planning, thus leaving it to the region to develop this new regional planning instrument. The RUP is not a legal binding plan, but it must coordinate and present possible directions and frames for regional development. Furthermore, the regional council has to act as a facilitator for cooperation between the different actors in regional development.

The first proposal for a RUP was drafted mainly by the planners of the regional administration. They started assembling statistical information about the region and hired a private consultancy firm to develop a model about 'the good life' in the region. They wanted to construct a structural comprehensive model with detailed information that the municipalities could use in their planning. The first documents presented to

the politicians were rejected as too comprehensive and technical, and the planners were asked to make a political document in cooperation with the municipalities.

The planners thus had to start from scratch. Discussions on fundamental issues resulted in changing the 'plan' into a 'strategy' in order to emphasize how the new document differed from the traditional kind of plans. By switching the concepts, the planners wanted to focus on the process and dialogue rather than on the outcome and product. As a consequence, regional perspectives replaced legal regulations.

At the same time, the planners arranged several meetings and a large kick-off conference, inviting a number of various regional actors to discuss the contents of the regional strategy. They used the input to suggest 5 central themes for the regional development strategy. These themes became the structure of the final strategy.

Next in the process, the region arranged 5 dialogue meetings about the five themes. The meetings were held in different geographical locations in the region and again, all relevant regional actors were invited. Input from these meetings was integrated into the strategy afterwards. A formal public hearing period was arranged and finally, the regional council adopted the strategy in May 2008. As mentioned, the regional development strategy consisted of several sector strategies with a common frame. It had no action or project plan attached.

This process seems straight forward. However, it proved not to be. It was very complicated and filled with conflicts internal to the regional administration as well as external in relation with the KKR. These conflicts influenced the achievements of strategy. The municipalities did not develop any ownership of the strategy, and they wanted the strategy to make 'as little damage as possible', as stated by the KKR. Without municipal ownership, the strategy could not be implemented.

But what went wrong in the process?

First, the regional administration found it difficult to alter its role to the new situation established by the structural reform. Further, the administration had great difficulties in coordinating the functional sectors of the regional administration. Also, the coordination between the business development strategy and the regional strategy became difficult, even though the civil servants working with the two strategies were located in the same department. The new region had organised the administration in the traditional form, with specialised units managed by specialised professionals and with a hierarchical management system. It was very difficult for the planners to work across the specialised units, and there were conflicts in the lower management level about the division of labour. A lot of efforts were made in the first years to make this administrative system work. By the end of the first election period, however, the situation had changed. At the same time, the planners had to develop new roles and

competences. Some planners had to leave the organisation and new ones were entering. At the political level, the similar role conflicts existed. The regional politicians could no longer act exert their authority over the local politicians, and several conflicts concerning political authority evolved between the two political levels in the process.

Secondly, the municipalities did not want to cooperate with the region, nor did they want the regional development strategy to succeed. They thought that the regional council was acting as if they were the command authorities. In general, the municipalities they opposed the whole idea of a regional development strategy. As mentioned earlier, they saw only the need for the business strategy. The municipalities in the region decided jointly through their organisation, the KKR, that a steering group of the responsible regional managers and a few municipal executives had to follow the process very closely and that the region was not allowed to contact other municipal planners without permission from this steering group. In this group, every sentence in the strategy was discussed and fought over. The steering group became the scene of power struggles between the region and municipalities.

RUS 2011(in public hearing):

The experience of the process of the first RUS formed the background for the next one: now they knew what the process should not be.

The KKR decided to work with the region and not against the region. The regional council and administration made the following decisions about the strategy, illustrating the contrast with the first RUS process:

1. This strategy had to build on the knowledge, input and initiatives already achieved from working with the first RUS. All actors did by now know about the specific problems of the region.
2. The strategy should not focus on problems but on the resources of the region.
3. The content should be structured by cross-sector themes.
4. The strategy had to be short and easy to read. Documentation was not to be included but presented in a separate document.
5. The strategy should integrate other strategies so as to minimize the number of regional strategies; the politicians requested a stronger degree of strategic cohesion.
6. This time, an action plan should be part of the strategy
7. The political level in the municipalities had to be integrated into the process.
8. The South Denmark and Capital regions had to be consulted.

While the first process included a broad participation of regional actors, it concentrated on developing ownership at the political level in the municipalities. Four meetings with municipal politicians was arranged at different locations in the region, and the regional administration and politicians got to know the ideas of the local

politicians. Input from these meetings can be found in the final strategy. A common steering group between the region and the municipality still functions, but with new participants, and the regional council can now make direct contact with the municipalities. The steering group has developed into a proper collaboration between region and municipalities. The KKR has accepted the RUS and the action plan before the hearing period. They feel that the process has functioned well and that the regional council now listens to the municipalities. The KKR feel that they have learned how to facilitate regional activities. Furthermore, they use their specialised knowledge in a collaborative and not authoritarian way. The KKR finds the cooperation very fruitful and important for the further development of the region.

Since finalizing the RUS 2008, the region and KKR have drafted two other strategies in a collaborative process: a common climate strategy and a strategy for increasing the level of education in the region, known as 'Prepared for Competences' (Kompetenceparat – 2020). Both these strategies and the recent activities attached to the strategies are integrated into RUS 2011.

Instruments

The region has only few resources to initiate its own development projects, and they are dependent on other actors to act. The planning act also removed the planning authority in regional planning from the regions. In the planning act, the new role of the region in regional development is described as a facilitator for cooperation between different regional actors and as agenda-setting in regional matters. The question is: what instruments has the region used to fulfil this new role?

Financial support

The region has some of its own development funds to support their strategies, but the amount is not large. Directing funding can be used only on a limited basis. The region is largely dependent on others to finance and implement the RUS.

The Growth Forum administers the EU structural funds, in the sense that they assess the applications and prepare recommendations for final decisions to be made by the Danish Business Authority. The Growth Forum also monitors watch over applications and projects for funding by the regional council and submits recommendation to the regional council. Usually, but not always, the regional council follows the recommendations of the Growth Forum.

Analytical work and data production

One of the important instruments used in the region to make the RUP was to collect and analyse information about the socio-economic status of the region compared to other regions. They created specialised expert and scientific knowledge about the region and used this knowledge to inform and convince politicians and municipalities about the challenges in the region.

This analytical work has formed the background for building up a common understanding among regional actors about the problems of the region and about the regional identity. The regional administration is highly respected by their cooperating partners as very competent and capable within different specialised policy areas. Over time, the regional administration has learned how to use this knowledge in a non-authoritative, collaborative way.

The regional administration is the only regional actor able to provide this overview and analytical knowledge about the development in different regional areas, and they intend to continue using this instrument to influence the regional agenda.

Facilitation and networking

In the region, the role as a facilitator has been constantly discussed and developed since the beginning of the first RUS process. In the first RUS process, the region hired private consultants as process managers to handle meetings and seminars with several regional actors involved. However, the competences have slowly been developed in the regional administration, and the municipalities have expressed the view that the region has progressed in developing this role.

The region facilitates an increasing amount of cooperation between regional actors. One task is to make the other regional actors think strategically at the regional level and work together in formulating effective strategies. Another task is to facilitate concrete projects to fulfil the strategies. Furthermore, the region facilitates common regional lobbying activity at the national level, e.g. lobbying for infrastructure investments, and in the EU through their Brussels office, activities organised jointly by Zealand Region and the region's municipalities.

The region and municipalities mention some important examples of this facilitation activity:

- Corporation between region, municipalities and traffic companies to transport and transport infrastructure investment from the state.
- Cooperation between state, region and municipalities about a Climate Strategy.
- Cooperation and networks among various knowledge institutions in order to deal with problem of education in the region.
- Cooperation between region, municipalities and education institutions in formulating an education strategy in the region (Kompetenceparat 2020).
- Forum for higher education: meeting four times a year between providers of higher education.
- The future of higher education: a network of key actors in the area of education to discuss the future.

- Facilitation of meeting between wineries in region in order to support their development and integrate them into a joint strategy about food production in the region.
- Facilitation of meetings between national politicians elected in the region in order to create a common understanding of the problems and needs of the region between region and parliament.

There are plenty of examples of this facilitating role as a new way of influencing regional development. As the regional council chairman has stated: 'We do not have power in the traditional sense and not a lot of money. The only thing we can do is to facilitate and create cooperation and get others to act.'

Vision formulation and consensus-making

In the early years, politicians in the region were interested in developing a common identity and common understanding of the new Zealand Region. What was precise nature of the region in terms of data, and where were the most urgent challenges? The concept of the region as a 'bridging' region was developed in several seminars and conferences with many regional actors, and some of the meetings were managed by professional process facilitators. This visioning process was broad and involved all areas of interest in the region. The idea was to integrate as many regional actors and interests as possible in order to develop a common understanding and identity. The region was well aware that formulating a vision was part of their new role.

The first visioning process was about creating 'the good life' in the region, and in this sense it was very broad in its perspective. Consultants helped with developing a model and with process facilitation to make the process open and inclusive. The result was the five themes mentioned above. The main problem with the strategy-making was that there never developed a broad ownership to the strategy and that the planning department acted more as strategy makers than as strategy finders in a collaborative process..

Strategy-making: cohesion or complementation?

In the regional administration, the search continues for more cohesion within and between strategies. The RUS is suggested as the higher order strategy that can integrate all other regional strategies.

The regional politicians see it differently. They do not mind that different strategies are formulated (although they also prefer fewer strategies and goals than in the first RUS), nor do they see the need for a straight line or cohesion between the strategies. The making of a strategy is viewed more as a productive process joining people and interests in engaged discussions and decisions about important political issues in the region. The strategies may and should inspire one another, and it is not important to create a hierarchy between the strategies. In the process of making the

second RUS, it was discussed a lot in the regional council whether to have a separate Agenda 21 and perhaps a climate strategy or whether the Agenda 21 strategy should be integrated into the RUS. A compromise was to draft a briefer Agenda 21 strategy as a separate document.

The interest in the region has moved from broad visioning to selecting a few areas and issues on which to act. Climate, green growth/tech, health and education are the new focus areas in the region. Furthermore, the interest is focusing on making the strategies operational and measurable through projects and activities. Both in the political and administrative regional systems, there is a need to measure results and effects of the strategies.

In the first RUS period, there was almost no connection between the RUS and the Business Development Plan (described below). In the making of the second RUS, however, the connection between the two strategies has become clearer. The Business Development Plan (BDP) has influenced the RUS 2011 in its focus on green growth and education, and the RUS has influenced the BDP in its focus on climate, sustainable growth and the international perspectives. They overlap in several areas, but the RUS must still be broader than the BDP. In the region, it has become more difficult to separate the two strategies in the daily work of regional development. However, it is stressed that it is very important that the strategies be formulated by two different actors: one by the regional authority and the other by the Growth Forum with the municipalities and private interests represented. In the region, they envision a process in the second RUS period where the strategies will complement each other.

Achievements

The first RUS 2008 was a combination of several sector strategies without any action plans. The region is dependent on other actors to implement the plan, and when the municipalities did not want the RUP to become a success, it was a great disappointment in the region. However, several themes found in the 2008 RUS can also be found in RUS 2011.

The most important achievement of the first RUS might be that a common picture and understanding of the region's problems was formulated, making it possible for the various stakeholders to act together to deal with regional problems, e.g. low education. In the new region, there was at first a great need to construct a common identity and framework, and the discussions about the different issues with a lot of actors involved, enabling them to get to know each other, was surely needed at the time. It has become the point of departure for a lot of common initiatives in the region and development of new, more focused strategies in the RUS 2011. The issues of climate, green growth and education prevail from these networking processes and from the formulation of common understanding.

In cooperation with other regional actors, the region has initiated a number of projects to implement some of the strategies in RUS 2008. Listed below are activities of the Growth Forum from 2007 to 2011 (Region Sjælland p. 45):

Table 3: Growth Forum activities (2007 – 2011). Topics and funding (mio €)

Business Development Strategy 2011-2014	Number of activities	Regional Funding	Structural Funds obj. 2
Energy, environment & clean tech	4,9	12,8	18,0
Medico/pharmacy & health innovation	1,9	5,2	1,2
Food and agriculture	3,3	3,7	4,1
Tourism and events	2,9	10,8	2,0
Innovation and internatinalisation of enterprises	6,4	21,9	7,5
Working skills for the future jobmarked	6,1	4,9	22,0
The regional between metropolises	2,3	3,6	0,0
Total	27,9	62,9	54,8

Source: Region Sjælland 2012b, p. 45.

In the interviews, respondents discuss how to measure effects. A lot of the work in the region has only indirect effect. An example is that the region can facilitate the meeting between regional actors and the making of strategies in collaborative processes about raising the level of education in the region. They have been very successful in doing so: there are plenty of networks, strategies and projects. This is an indirect or implicit effect. However, in terms of an actual increase in the level of education among the region's citizens, they have to wait and see and hope for the best! There will be other factors influencing this result, and it can be very difficult to measure a linear and causal link between the facilitation and the educational level.

In the region, they are occupied by this discussion and are working on developing measures and documenting results and effects of the strategies.

Regional agenda and positioning

In the first RUS process, there was a great effort to construct an identity of the region as a 'bridging' region (connecting the capital region, the Øresund region and Northern Germany) and as a region close to the metropolitan area, but with its own development possibilities. In the region, there were conflicting interests between cities and geographical areas of the region, and the first years were used to balance interests. Two towns in the region, Roskilde and Køge, argued that they were more related to the Capital Region and had difficulties with being part of the new Zealand Region. In the first period after the 2007 structural reform, the importance of integrating the periphery into the regional development strategy was also stressed. Several decisions were made in order to support development throughout the entire region in the form of a decentralised regional model.

In the second RUS, the idea of regional development has changed toward a more centralised model. Now, two growth areas/cities have been selected: Roskilde and Køge in order to generally strengthen the regional competitiveness and to attract some of the development that would otherwise locate in the Capital Region. The idea is that these regional centres have to connect with knowledge and educational institutions in order to enhance their competitiveness. The peripheral areas need to have proper service institutions and adequate public transport. This new regional development idea has been agreed upon both by the state and the municipalities.

If we look outside the region, a model from the first RUS shows very well how the region is perceived according to different relations and tasks. Here we see multiple identities of the region through the different kinds of cooperation with the outside world.

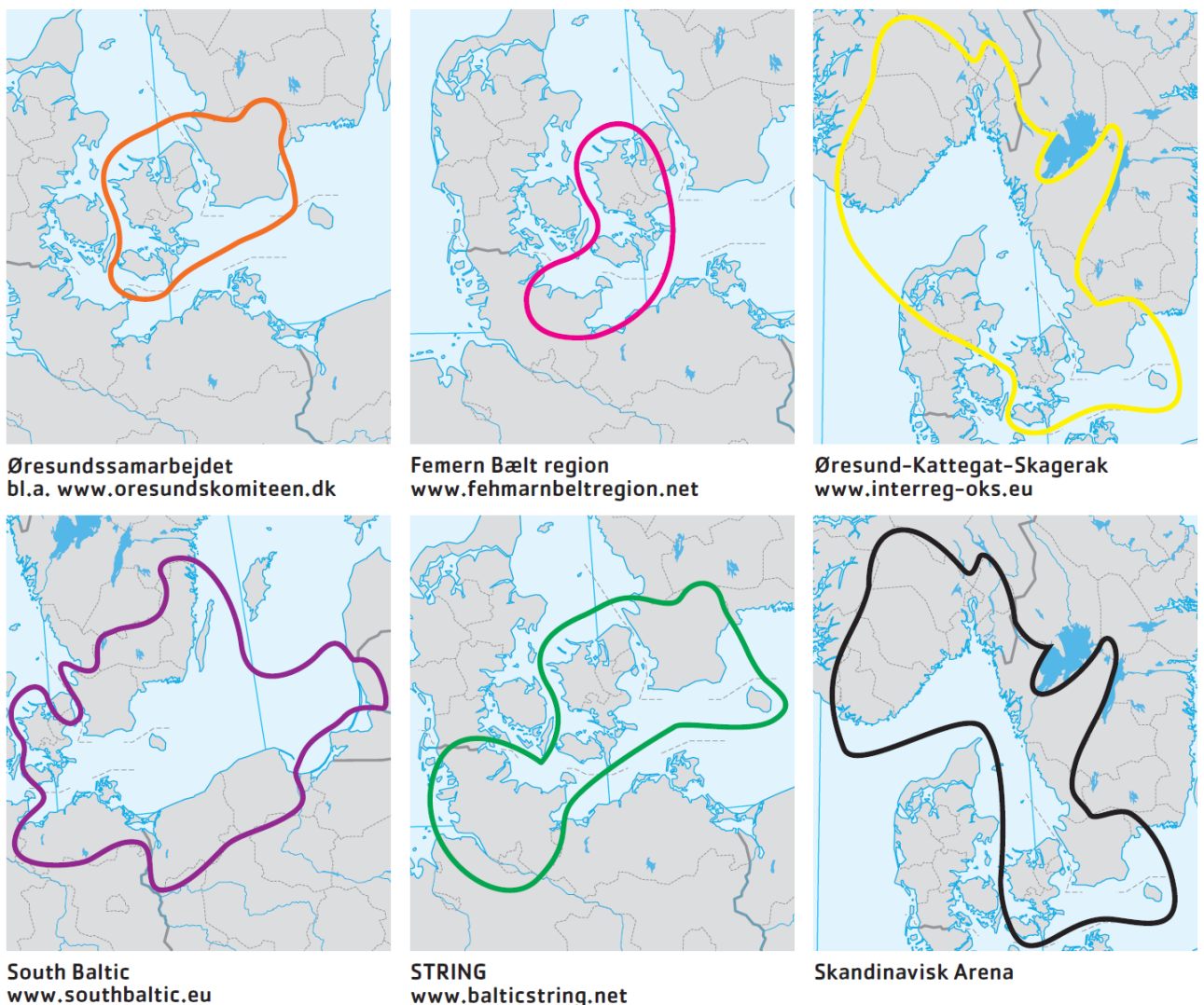


Figure 16: Examples of the variety and overlapping policy territories of Zealand Region. Source: RUS 2008, p.25.

After the decision about the Fehmarn Belt connection has been made, this cooperation is the most important, together with the STRING cooperation. The chairman of the Zealand Regional Council is also chairman of the STRING cooperation and represented in all the other important cooperation showed above. He constitutes a personal link and coordination between the different cooperation arrangements. The regional politicians are increasingly involved in international cooperation, and most recently, cooperation has been established with a large region in China.

Regional Business Strategy

Context

The regional business strategy was elaborated by Growth Forum Zealand. Growth Forum Zealand was established in 2006, and as a new policy institution, it had to invent everything from the beginning. The Law on the Growth Forums did not describe the functioning or methods of how they should operate. There are only few specific guidelines in the law.

In Zealand Region, the interest for participation in the new Growth Forum was high among regional actors. Therefore, a decision was made that besides the representatives elected to the Growth Forum, there was established a very broad secretariat (70-80 participants) where all interested parties could participate and follow discussions about the business development. A small administrative secretariat in the region served as support for the Growth Forum.

The Growth Forum Zealand held four meetings during the year and, due to the large number of participants, a chairmanship was elected to manage the daily activities. It was also decided that the Growth Forum should arrange a conference once a year to discuss the business strategy and regional matters. At this conference, the broad secretariat is participating.

In the first period, Growth Forum Zealand had to construct its routines and procedures, and the members had to get to know one another. In the first period, the Growth Forum had a wide agenda and initiated activities within various areas. The work routine became bureaucratic, with a very long agenda on the meetings and a heavy reading load for members for each issue on the agenda. There was not much discussion at the meetings. The meetings became decision meetings, with discussions and mandates decided beforehand.

During the first period, this manner of work was criticised, especially by members from private organisations. They wanted a more focused and more efficient way of working in the Growth Forum.

In the drafting of the first business strategy, there was only little cooperation with the regional planners who were formulating the regional development strategy as mentioned earlier. The administrative secretariat for Growth Forum Zealand had its own section and administrative leader, as did the regional development section. This would also be changed by the end of the first period so as to make coordination easier.

After the next election, a third of the members in the Growth Forum were newcomers, including the chairman, who is also the chairman of the region. A new way of organising the work was introduced, as we shall see below.

Content

The current regional business strategy of Zealand Region is the second produced by the Growth Forum. It is produced in concert with an action plan^{2 3}. It was decided that this business strategy should be more focused, with precise goals that would limit the area of activities. Activities should serve to strengthen the growth areas in the region.

The resulting business development emphasizes four action areas:

1. Strengthening business development in the green sectors (cleantech, energy, pharma, food and tourism)
2. Innovation and internationalisation of companies
3. Increasing the competencies of the labour force
4. Developing potential as a region connecting the two neighbouring metropolises, Hamburg and Copenhagen, following the construction of the Fehmarn Belt connection.

The action plan specifies eight topics to be given priority in 2011 and 2012: (1) market-driven business clusters, (2) internationalisation of business companies, (3) development of green industries, (4) improving the education system, (5) innovation in the health sector, (6) developing the growth potentials following from the Fehmarn belt connection, (7) improving the flexibility of the education system, (8) innovation in companies.

For Growth Forum Zealand, it is important that activities and projects are connected and build on each other instead of working on their own in different directions.

In the business strategy, we now find similarities to the regional development strategy. The two administrative sections started to work together, and they now focus on the same issues and share data about development in the region.

How, who and achievements

How was the process established?

As mentioned earlier, the Growth Forum consists of regional and municipal actors, representatives from knowledge institutions, from local industry and labour market. The regional chairman is also the chairman of the Growth Forum. Growth Forum Zealand changed one-third of its members after the second election, including its chairman.

In the second election period, the Growth Forum changed its way of working due to the criticisms mentioned above. The broad secretariat, with the large group of members, was eliminated, as was the chairmanship.

The new chairman wanted the Growth Forum meeting to be more strategic, with discussions of relevant themes for the strategy and the future development. The result was more strategic cases on the meeting and fewer administrative cases. The purpose was to compel the participants to discuss with each other and to develop common ideas and meanings which would strengthen ownership of the strategy. The chairman of KKR also was included in the Forum (which was not the case in the first period) in order to secure a strong relation to the KKR.

Instead of the broad secretariat, a reference group was established for each of the parties in the Forum. They were kept informed, remained open for professional dialogue and support for Forum members and invited to seminars and conferences. The Forum members organise meetings for preparation with their respective reference groups prior the meetings in the Growth Forum.

In the process of formulating the business strategy, there are several strategy seminars where the strategy is discussed with the larger group of interested parties. There is a big interest in the region to follow the process and influence it. In this way, the secretary and chairmanship try to get informed about developments in the region, to obtain new ideas and to develop ownership of the strategy. The seminars and annual conference are also meant to be tools for networking for the regional actors.

The new way of working has diminished the amount of meetings and use of resources that were getting too demanding. The secretariat still works on developing the process to make it more efficient without losing the broad participation and interest in the region.

The cooperation within the regional administration about the strategies has also changed. A new organisational structure was made which meant that the employees responsible for the two strategies had the same administrative leader, and they started to work closely together. Presently, they are developing a common understanding of the problems and needs in the region and of the strategies needed.

What kinds of relations to other actors were established during the process?

It is worth mentioning that besides establishing new relations with other actors during the process, relations between the members of the new Growth Forum were formed and new avenues of cooperation were opened. Thus, in a group interview with the head of University College Zealand, the head of the Zealand Institute of Business and Technology and a representative from the Danish Chamber of Commerce, it was emphasised that new relations were formed between the members of the different sectors of the Growth Forum, i.e. the business sector, the municipalities and the education institutions. They all began to arrange preparatory meetings prior to the actual meetings of the forum. The strengthening of relations internal to the different sectors was not reported negative, e.g. leading to confrontations between the sectors. "We are of course divided into sectors in the Growth Forum, but the meeting of the different sectors, the municipalities and the business sector creates a new common basis for the region. Therefore, in my opinion, we have an important mission bringing this region together and based upon a joint understanding of the kind of problems we have." The informants commented on cooperation thusly: "The cooperation between the business sector, education institutions and the municipalities has created an enormous sharing of knowledge and networking and, in turn, made us capable of doing things together. This is very result-oriented."

Rather than leading to confrontations between the sectors of the Growth Forum, each sector developed new competencies, alliances and opportunities for building up strategic leadership: 'We would never have established cooperation on education if it were not for the Growth Forum. The consortia in the education sector formed during the first period would never have been established if the Growth Forum had not brought us together. And, probably, other sectors experienced the same.' In the business sector, it was mentioned that participation in the Growth Forum was first ignored by the Chamber of Commerce. Later on, however, the Chamber of Commerce realised that a regional arena for business policy had been created and had to be taken seriously. The traditional national policy-making of the Chamber of Commerce thus became more regionally-oriented.

The Growth Forum also established a number of external strategic relations. In connection with the eight topics that formed the skeleton of the 2011-2012 action plan. The Growth Forums action plan systematically describes the actions and partners to be involved strategically or as subcontractors and expected effects of the actions.

Cooperation agreements have been established with six organisations:

1. Copenhagen Capacity (for marketing the region)
2. Technical University of Denmark (business networking on selected technologies)

3. Invest Denmark (marketing towards foreign investors)
4. Danish Technological Institute (technological innovation of companies)
5. Roskilde University (innovation via cooperation between researchers, students and companies)
6. Eastern Danish Tourism (marketing Zealand Region as a destination for tourism and conferences).

In addition to these partners, the following institutions are mentioned as cooperating partners for the 2011-2012 action programme:

7. Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Fisheries
8. National Knowledge Centre on Food and Health, VIFFOS
9. Green Center
10. Danish Meat Institute
11. The Danish Meat Trade College
12. Øresund Food Network
13. Research Centre Flakkebjerg
14. CAT Invest Zealand
15. Business Schools of Zealand Region
16. University College Zealand
17. Growth House Zealand
18. String Partners

With the exception of the String Partners, all partners mentioned are located in close proximity, i.e. in Copenhagen or in the Zealand Region, cf. figure 17

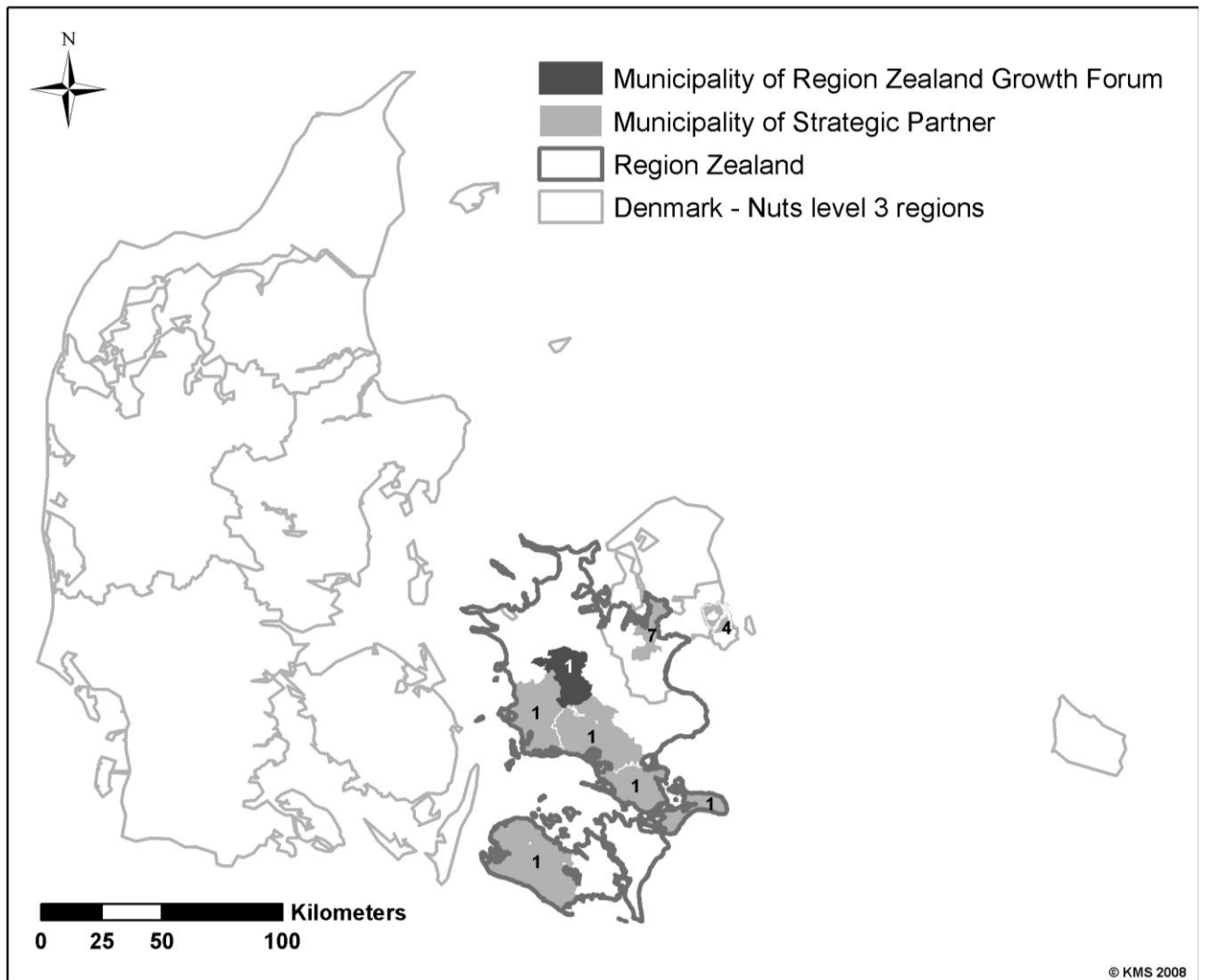


Figure 17: Cooperation partners, Zealand Region Growth Forum

What was achieved?

Concrete outcomes of the business strategy were not explicit. ‘We try to evaluate the results of our strategies, but it is very difficult. It is, thus difficult to see what the strategies are creating in the way of jobs, welfare and growth.’

However, some of the interviewees experienced positive impacts from cooperation in the Growth Forum, as with the above mentioned new profitable networking relations established by the education institutions. These kinds of achievements, an outcome of the process rather than the strategies, are indirect achievements, but they need to be taken into consideration along with direct outcomes. This point was explicitly emphasized by the three senior officials of Zealand Region (PAMB). They argued that indirect effects occur when the business development activities get new actors to start talking together and exchanging experience in their own interest, or when an institution changes policy focus from a formerly purely national one to a more regionally-based issue. This was the case when the members of the new Growth

Forum inspired the Danish Chamber of Commerce to include a regional dimension in the Chamber's formerly nationally-oriented business policy.

Are the achievements satisfying?

The interviewees expressed diverging attitudes about the results of the business strategy and activities of the Growth Forum. Those profiting from the new opportunities of networking established by their participation in the Growth Forum took notice of the indirect achievements and seemed to have positive expectations as to the future direct outcomes of the strategies.

The representative of the business sector, although not mentioning any indirect positive impacts of the Growth Forum activities, emphasized the lack of direct positive outcomes. Generally, he was sceptical due to the structural weaknesses of the current business development tools, such as the bias towards funding public institutions rather than private companies created by the EU 'de minimis' rule (limiting direct funding of private companies). He recommended a much more realistic interplay between business development strategies and more focus on the realities facing the business sector in the region.

It goes without saying, however, that assessments of the outcomes of projects and strategies is generally a core issue not only in the Growth Forum but also in the Regional Council. Members of these forums feel responsible for demonstrating the benefits from the spending on projects. Therefore, consultants have been hired to assess the outcomes. The Growth Forum has turned its strategy from mere evaluation of project applications to actively taking part in developing projects and or stipulating milestones for progress reporting. These efforts have overtly influenced the layout and methodology of the Business Development Strategy. Thus, the previously mentioned eight topics for action forming the skeleton of the strategy include explicit measures for evaluating impact. For example, the effect of market-driven cluster actions must include (1) development of new quality food products, (2) more new entrepreneurs in the area of food production, (3) an application for new funding, ... and four more milestones. It is interesting to note is that the milestones used include outcomes in the real world as well as actions to be taken. However, there are no indirect outcomes. In the table below, the number of action-milestones and outcome-milestones are shown:

		Topics for action								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
		Marked driven clusters	International companies	The Green Laboratory	Education	Health innovation	Between the Metropoles	Flexibility in education	Innovation in companies	
Indicators	No. of actions taken	27	4	4	3	4	1	5	4	2
	No. of outcomes achieved	19	3	2	3	1	4	2	2	2

Table 4: Topics and indicators for actions – the Regional Business Development Strategy, Zealand Region. The table shows the headings of eight topics for actions and the number of indicators set up for measuring actions taken and outcomes achieved.

Summing up the lessons from the interviews, outcome assessment is a core issue. There is awareness not just about the technicalities of assessment methods. Members of the Growth Forum and the Regional Council are deeply concerned about the efficiency of strategy-making. Two aspects of efficiency have come to the fore. On the one hand, shortcomings in instrumental efficiency were emphasised by the representative of the business sector: the strategic instruments were viewed as being incompatible with the real problems to be solved. On the other hand, the efficiency of existing institutions was identified as an outcome of the mere process of strategy-making.

What were the key instruments used?

1. Visioning

In the early period of the Growth Forum, constructing visions was part of the Forum's identity-building construction. Data were collected that would provide an image of the region, and several seminars and conferences were used to develop visions and strategies. The result was strategies and projects within a wide activity area in the region.

The use of visioning in the next business strategy, however, is modest. A common idea of the region and its problems was developed. Focus was placed on how strategies, projects and effects have entered the agenda. One member of the Growth Forum argued that strategies have to be based upon thorough knowledge of the situation: 'who you are, and where you are'. Visions of the future concrete – and measurable – should be set up, with goals to be achieved. This idea of solid anchoring of the visioning in existing problems to be dealt with and within the realm of the instruments available to the Growth Forum, is carried out, as mentioned earlier,

with an almost transparent logic in the eight action topics of the business development strategy.

The need for a 'down-to-earth' visioning process was expressed from another perspective by the senior officials in the administrative secretary. They were concerned about the tendency of expressing negative images about Zealand Region. Much of the common understanding of the situation in Zealand Region concern the below-average education-level, high unemployment rate, shortage of innovative enterprises and low profitability. It was argued that a change of attitude has taken place: 'Now, we rather try discursively to change the image-making of the region towards the strengths and opportunities'. Although this is not about great visioning, it is about visioning at day-to-day level produced in the way one talks about the region.

One important task of the administrative secretariat is to monitor developments in the region in order to keep track of changes. Besides collecting data, a task outsourced to others, they have meetings with regional actors to follow the development. They get information from a wide range of sources and actors, and this constitutes the background for changes or revisions in the strategy. Every year, the strategies are discussed and changed if necessary.

2. Finance

Growth Forum can use finance as a tool to govern. Of special interest is the funding of regional development projects and actions. About DKK 220-250 million per year are allocated to regional development initiatives in Zealand Region. About one-third of these funds are for regional development, allocated and disbursed by the regional council. Another one-third is regional business development funds paid by the regional council on the recommendation of the Growth Forum. Finally, one-third is EU Structural Funds allocated by the Danish Enterprise and Construction Authority on the recommendation of the Growth Forum.

There is no doubt that the financial tool to support projects is an important tool for the Zealand Growth Forum, and one factor behind the large interest in the Growth Forum among the regional and local actors.

In the regional development section there is also some financial support for business development, and in the second period, it was decided that applicants could just submit their application to the region and they would decide which applications would fit best. This is a clear sign of increasing cooperation between the two strategies.

Within the Growth Forum, networking between the actors representing different interests has increased in the second period due to the open discussions and informal communication during the meetings. In addition, the administrative secretary arranges other meetings and seminars where networking is an important activity, and

considerable effort is made to bring regional actors together in the education sector, as mentioned above.

3. Positioning

Seven of the eight action topics within the business development strategy are focused on developing assets within the region: economy and employment, climate orientation of the business sector, education and competencies of the labour force, innovation in companies and growth of new companies. Only the eighth topic is about relations with the outside world: developing the role of the region as a connection between the neighbouring metropolises, Copenhagen, Berlin and Hamburg. This topic has become relevant due to the projected Fehmarn bridge or tunnel between Denmark and Germany. The new connection will alter the geography of the region by creating closer proximity with Germany and a new role as a region of transit, mediating increased flows of people and goods between Sweden and Germany. Further, during the period of construction, hundreds of new job and sub-contracting opportunities will open up.. Due to the importance of the Fehmarn connection, a 'Fehmarn Belt Growth Strategy' was developed as one of three special action areas of the partnership agreement between Zealand Region and the Danish Government.

In spite of the importance ascribed to the Fehmarn connection, most partnerships within the business strategy are established with partners inside the region. Thus, 17 of the 18 partners mentioned in the business strategy are situated in Zealand Region.

The focus on Zealand Region was acknowledged by the representative of the business sector:

'The discussions in the Growth Forum are focused upon Zealand Region, e.g. that we shall maintain, protect and develop our educational institutions, and this and that. Maybe this kind of thinking restricts us from, for example, cooperating with Hamburg on health and medical services. It is possible that their medical care is more advanced than in Denmark, and that we should ask the medical helicopter to go south rather than to the Copenhagen University Hospital. But we have started. Earlier, we were only able to work within the borders of the region. Later, we talked with the Technical University and RISØ [laboratory], situated on the edge of the regional border from where we moved further into the Øresund Region. Today we cooperate with Aarhus University, and there is a general understanding that expert competencies may be situated outside the region, competencies that the region might be able to profit from. It is funny with the protectionism in the early days.'

4. Focus

Along with visions, it has become common that strategies are focused upon development potentials rather than existing problems. As mentioned previously, visions play only a modest role in the business development strategy, as do

development potentials. Instead, the strategy focuses upon problems that need to be dealt with like low labour skills, low innovation, low growth, etc. The focus upon problems is in line with a general demand for situated strategies expressed by the interviewees.

The representative of the business sector asked for an even deeper anchorage in the economic and demographic situation of the region. The dependence of the capital region and the role as hinterland to the capital region should be further accepted as a precondition for development. 'We should admit that we are something else'. Also, more focus should be placed on the clusters already existent in the region, such as the seed cluster.

Generally, he suggested that the method of formulating strategies should change. The Growth Forum should act through three phases: (1) discussion and problem identification, (2) funding ideas and (3) offering growth guarantees. Through discussions and problem identification, the general business policy in Denmark should be influenced and improved. At the regional level, easy access to funding of the development and testing of ideas for new products should be available and not restricted by EU rules. Finally, guarantees should be offered people who want to start up promising and tested ideas.

The demand for situated understanding of the problems to be dealt with was emphasized by the two representatives from the education sector and the representative of the Chamber of Commerce:

'Our primary mission is to bring this region together and to foster an understanding of the problems we face in the region. We are not able to compete with Copenhagen. We have to find our own way to do things. We are challenged by Funen and Copenhagen and are not able to apply growth-strategies. The population figures are negative. Therefore, we have to figure out what we are good at and stick to it. If we don't, we will not get anywhere.'

These ideas seem to be broadly supported by the Region's senior officials:

'What we are trying to do in the forthcoming regional strategy is to establish a discourse on what we are good at. To do so was challenging, since in the first RUS we had been stigmatised as the most stupid and fat ones, etc. What we are now trying to do is to build upon the real regional strength positions. We do have many small and medium-sized enterprises and a lot of vocational trained labour force willing to move. We are the ones who commute the longest distances in Denmark. We shall build upon these facts and turn them into positions of strength and into images of our own self-esteem.'

Besides the demand for focusing upon the region, its problems and assets, a process from a broad multifaceted to a more focused fewer-faceted perspective has taken place: The situation was generally described by several interviewees. The senior officials mentioned that during the work with the first RUS,

‘the regional council developed a plethora of nine sub-strategies to the RUS. Now, we rather say that we have three pivotal strategies: The Agenda 21, the Business Development Strategy and the Regional Development Strategy (RUS). They must glue together and taken all together, cover the entire regional area of development.’

The quest for more focus tells us a lot about the political landscape in which we have been navigating for the last four years, and how the aspirations of the politicians have developed.

The senior officials are convinced that the demand for many sub-strategies during the early years of the region’s existence was a sign that many former politicians of the former counties needed to find their new roles as politicians in the new larger region and needed to test their areas of action. The more general aspect of this observation is that strategies are not just the product of the needs for a strategy. Also, strategies are communicative tools for politicians.

5. *Horizontal – vertical integration*

The business strategy is a tool for the regional development strategy (RUS). Therefore, close links should be established between the two. However, due to the close relationship with the national growth strategy, as established via the partnership agreement between the government and Growth Forum, the business development strategy is serving two masters, the regional council and the government. It is therefore not surprising that members of the Growth Forum seem to act from a solitary position of their own. Rather than acting as a member of some ‘RUS-community’, the members of the Growth Forum are keen about developing the role of the forum and the business development strategy.

The independence from the RUS was stressed by the representative of the business section of the Growth Forum, mentioning that the Growth Forum concentrate on the business development strategy and not take part in discussions with the regional council on the needs for inputs to the RUS. He could not remember whether discussions on RUS issues had taken place in the Growth Forum.

As described above, the administrators in the region now make sure that there is an interaction and coherence between the two strategies. This was not the case during the initial period of strategy-formulation. But in line with the observations from the

Growth Forum, the senior officials from the administration stated that the Growth Forum has a life of its own independent from the regional council. There is not a strong relation to the political level – it is the administration and the regional chairman, who also chairs the Growth Forum, who has to make this relation. On the other hand, they argued that the regional council has become increasingly interested in the work of the Growth Forum. As earlier mentioned, the Business Development Strategy is now taken as one of three pivotal strategies, the other two being the RUS and the Agenda 21.

One of the lessons to be learned from the interplay between the Business Development Strategy and the Regional Development Strategy and the interplay between the regional council and the Growth Forum is that integration does not equal assimilation of one strategy with another strategy. Rather, integration is taking place *between* strategies developed in their own right by agencies belonging to overlapping strategy and policy communities (the government, the Regional Council, the Growth Forum and regional institutions and business sectors). Integration is thus about keeping agencies on the same playing field, playing with familiar strategies, rather than merging strategies of different players into a single strategy.

6. Other strategic tools

As situated in the ‘machine rooms’ of the RUS and the Business Development Strategy, the senior officials were concerned about tools for operating strategies. Much attention is given to the ‘hard’ and formal tools: influencing the spending of Structural Funds and Regional Funds via project refereeing and recommendations, strategic cooperation with (most) regional partners and the spending of own means.

Besides these means, the senior officials emphasized two methods successfully used by the Growth Forum, both which are concerned with networking.

The first method is to act in the interest of stakeholders by joining the forces of the stakeholders. One such example was mentioned. The Growth Forum arranged a traffic conference with the participation of the minister of transport. Seventeen municipalities of in Zealand Region took part and were successfully acknowledged by the minister as an influential lobby-group.

The other method concerns the mediation or facilitation of agents that might be able to profit by starting up cooperation on new issues, projects of strategies. As an example, the senior officials mentioned the facilitation of cooperation between the regional knowledge institutions, the business sector and the municipalities. A forum for higher education has been established in the region. Four times a year, the forum meets to discuss common challenges such as raising the level of education from its present low level. A project on higher education is being developed in order to enhance the capacity of the present rather small knowledge institution in the region.

It is an aim to become autonomous from central institutions in Copenhagen, since they might not be interested in servicing the peripheral regions of Zealand Region.

Theoretical analysis and conclusion

Part of this study was the testing the empirical findings along with four theoretical concepts that were found relevant for characterizing regional integrated strategies. The concepts were policy integration, (meta)governance, planning collaboration and policy transfer.

Policy integration

In Zealand Region *cross-sector integration* within the regional authority was the main integration issue in the first regional development strategy. The idea was to integrate different policy areas in the region into a common strategy. The regional authority defined its role as the only authority capable of making this form of integration, which has a long tradition in Danish regional/county planning practice. The first development strategy dealt with cross-sector issues as a means to achieve this integration. For different reasons, the integration ended up mostly as an integration 'on paper' and not in practice. Besides the common strategy based on integration, the regional development strategy also contains several sub-strategies concerned with traditional functional policy areas, e.g. health, culture, Agenda 21, etc. This demonstrates the internal difficulties in the regional administration in cross-sector cooperation and coordination.

Inter-agency integration is found especially in the beginning of the process at several seminars where different regional parties – public and private - were invited to discuss important themes for the regional development strategy. But from this point, the strategy became mainly internal to the regional administration, and it is in the integration between municipal actors and the regional authority that we find the main conflict and lack of integration in the process. The municipalities did not want to carry out proper integration and cooperation with the region. Generally speaking, there was a lack of inter-agency and organisational integration, and no practical measures taken toward strategic or operational integration.

In the making of the second regional development strategy, we find several changes in policy integration. The integration moves in general from a cross sector integration 'on paper' to an *inter-agency integration and organisational strategic integration in practice followed by an increasing interest in operational integration*. The strategy now is to focus on a limited number of specific issues, coordinated with the regional business strategy and with a starting point in the strategic needs and cooperation with the municipalities (through KKR). The strategy is also based on increasing regular contact and relations to other public and private regional actors.

It is notable that in both the first and second regional strategy formulation we do not find any real effort to carry out a *territorial integration* with e.g. the neighbouring capitol region or other regions. The first strategy is focused on making a common

identity (bridge builder) for the new Zealand Region consisting of three former counties, each with their own identities. In the next strategy, the effort is to establish relations and networking with other regional actors within the regional borders.

The regional business strategy is a one-sector policy strategy. However, there is a tendency to define business policy in a very broad sense, such as health and education, and in doing so, the business strategy overlaps with the regional development strategy. In the first period of strategy development, there was little cooperation and coordination between the two strategies. In the next period, organisational, strategic and operational integration is made between the two strategies. The regional strategy includes the same core issues as the business strategies. The two administrative departments in the region work closely together, and they administer applications for funding jointly.

In general in Zealand Region we find a development *from limited policy cooperation towards policy coordination as a main purpose* and in some cases integrated policy-making. However, integrated policy-making is not to be understood as a new comprehensive policy for the region. Instead, we find relational connections between different strategies in the region (families of strategies). The ambition for policy integration has changed from comprehensive policy-making to *making relations, connections and overlaps in different regional policy areas and issues*. This is an ongoing and never-ending process due to constant changes in regional development. The latest interest in the region is how to combine the overarching frameworks of the business and regional strategy with concrete results, and then to find a way to measure the effects of the strategies. The relationship between strategies and operational choices has become more important.

Meta-governance and new forms of governance – soft/hard spaces

In the Danish case, the 2007 administrative reform changed the regional governance situation from a government with three tiers of hierarchical administration to a system of *governance networks* with several public and public/private institutions at the regional level and a high degree of mutual interdependence. The regional strategies are to be constructed in this complex and fragmented governance situation. The regional authority is no longer above the municipalities, and a new formal public private policy institution has been created (the Growth Forum), together with new coordination networks (the KGU, SKU) between region and municipalities, supplemented by an informal municipal cooperation institution (KKR). According to the law, no strategy is in a hierarchical position relative to the other, and all strategies have to relate to one another. It was very difficult for the regional authority to get used to this change from a government with a binding regional plan to a network governance situation with a non-binding strategy. For this reason, they changed the name from a regional development plan (as stated in the planning law) to a regional development strategy.

In the Danish case, the territory is defined by political, administrative and jurisdictional boundaries. It has clearly the characteristic of a hard space. In the strategy building, these boundaries are very clear – the strategies in regional and business development relate mostly to the area of the region proper. We also find actors and institutions with defined roles within this territory but not in a hierarchical order. One might say that we find a *crossover of models with a type 2 multi-level governance* situation with government, public/private and private institutions relating non-hierarchically to one another but operating within *a hard space with jurisdictional and territorial borders*. The regional administration actually had a notion of the region as having multiple identities organised around different spatial or policy problems (illustrated in the strategy) but in the first period of strategy making, they construct a framing strategy related to the jurisdictional borders because the construction of a single regional identity was stressed as most important after the fusion of counties. The same is occurring with the business strategy.

In the first election period after the structural reform, the new network governance situation did not build upon a sense of interdependence between the regional actors. On the contrary, they got into conflict with one another and into power struggles over who dominated the strategy process. The region, the Growth Forum and the KKR (the municipalities) wanted to act as a meta-governor in the new situation. The actors marked their roles and concentrated on cooperation and coordination *within* their own new institution or network and not between them. *The lack of cooperation and absence of a common sense of interdependence* undermined the practical effects of especially the regional development strategy. The effectiveness of the regional development strategy and the coherence with other strategies was low.

In the first period of regional strategy-building, *accountability* was the main legitimising factor based on the regional political council and the specialised expert knowledge. Representative democracy and scientific knowledge were the two main values for helping to legitimate the decisions. However, participation and openness in the beginning of the process and following the planning law (the hearing periods) were also part of legitimising the process. Later on, the process became more closed and internal to the regional administration, and criticism was raised from the municipalities about the closed character of decision-making.

One major point of conflict during the initial period after the reform was how to define the role of the regional authority. In general, we found a *struggle about being the most important meta-governor*. Everybody accepted the Growth Forum as a new formal meta-governor in the area of business development, combining public and private interests, and everybody was represented in this policy network. There was also a broad group of regional actors participating in and following the strategy-formulation process in the business area. The Growth Forum has by law the possibility to use all the meta-governance forms but especially the hands-off story-telling was not used as a governing tool in the early years. This governance network

developed from a loosely knitted network with separate parties and interests to a more tightly knit policy network building on common ideas and meanings and on consensus-building. Story-telling has become more important in the second period of strategy-making, and a new chairman has focused more on strengthening the meta-governance tools.

Furthermore, the KKR was established as an informal government body working and functioning as a self grown policy network based on interdependency between municipalities, consensus making, common understandings of regional development, etc. The chairman of KKR in the first period was very competent and occupied by the idea of meta-governance as a new governing tool in KKR and to make this body more important than the regional authority in regional development. The capacity to perform meta-governance in relation to the municipalities was an important factor in making KKR very influential in regional development.

The municipalities did not want the region to govern, and they tried to prevent the regional development strategy from being a success. According to the law, the region should take on the role as a meta-governor in regional development. The regional authority, both at political and administrative levels, had great difficulties accepting their meta-governance role and in performing this role in practice. With the municipalities rejecting the region's role – because they wanted to be the regional meta-governor themselves - the strategy process became difficult. Meta-governance is possible only if people agree on somebody having the authority to become a meta-governor. You can be very competent in story telling, but if nobody wants to listen, the story has no impact as a governing tool.

In the second period of regional development strategy-making, we observe an *important change* in the governance situation. The actors have been through a learning process over four years dealing with the new situation. New competences have been developed together with new procedures and rules for cooperation, and they have agreed on working together instead of fighting each other. A new common understanding of the fragmented governance networks situation is about to develop at the regional level. An interesting finding is *how the meta-governance situation develops*. There is not one actor or institution taking on the role as *the* meta-governor at the regional level. It seems as if all the key actors are performing some form of meta-governance in different situations and dealing with different policy problems. They negotiate who has taken the lead in various cases and divide the meta-governance role between them. At first, the municipalities only wanted the region to take on a coordination role and not an overall framing role. Later on, the municipalities accepted that the region enter the framing and story-telling role in regional matters on which they could degree, e.g. education and climate. This leads us to conclude that meta-governance might not be the right concept for this regional governance situation. *Meta-governance is about steering, and in the Danish regional*

case study, it seems more appropriate to talk about the need for mutual adjustment through pluricentric coordination.

In the Danish case, pluricentric coordination is brought to life through governance processes that provide *dynamic, situated, decentred, interactive and overlapping linkages that promote communication between otherwise disconnected actors, stories and practices*. The linkages are *dynamic and situated* because coordination takes place within a context of change and because the regional problems call for complex and specific solutions (no universal models). It seems like there is an ongoing adjustment and reorganization of the way coordination is brought about. The coordination linkages are also *decentred* in order to leave a considerable space for manoeuvring and self-governance for the different regional actors/networks/institutions involved in regional development. Next, the coordination linkages are *interactive* in order to ensure exchange of understandings, viewpoints, knowledge and resources among relevant regional actors/networks/institutions. This kind of interactive communication is by no means a smooth process. As noted in the strategy processes in Zealand Region, it is marked by power struggles and conflicts. The interactive character of these processes not only highlights the horizontal aspects of vertical forms of coordination but also emphasises the vertical aspects of horizontal coordination caused by the fact that some are always more powerful than others. This is why the concept of pluricentric coordination might be a more proper term. Finally, the pluricentric approach calls for *overlapping* coordination linkages. The fact that coordination does not take place according to any over-arching rationality or hierarchical position means that the best way to ensure some level of overall coordination is to establish overlapping zones between different stories, strategies and practices in which story work and inter-connectivity can take place. This has become a wide-spread practice in Zealand Region. In the second period of strategy-formulation, the regional actors formed these overlapping linkages so as to make information and knowledge flow between the different parties.

The following factors seem to be important in pluricentric coordination: 1) the establishment of a plurality of interactive linkages between different levels, networks and institutions; 2) adjusting these to context (time, space and regional issues); 3) promoting the construction of shared meaning through the exchange of stories and story work; and 4) facilitating the mutual adjustment of situated practices.

Turning to the *perception of space* in the second period of strategy-making in the region, it is difficult to identify in the strategies themselves changes towards relational space that accord with the new understanding of governance. The perception of space in the regional strategies still seems to be based on the jurisdictional and absolute space definition, with the fixed territorial borders. It might partly be explained by the fact that the planning and business law defines the planning/strategy task to be related to this hard space. All activities and projects are therefore related to territorial and jurisdictional borders. In practice, however, the situation appears

differently. In the second election period, a new chairman for the region was elected, and he has stressed the multiple identities and dimensions in regional space. He makes sure that he participates in and/or is in a leading position in the most important policy networks concerned with different forms of regionalities e.g. education and health cooperation, Øresund Committee, business networks, Fehmarn Belt Board and other infrastructure networks. Furthermore, a more intense cooperation with the neighbouring Capitol Region has developed. Whereas it seemed important for the region in the first period to concentrate on the hard space to create its own identity, the second period has opened up for a more soft-space oriented interpretation and activities.

Collaborative planning

There is no doubt that the Danish structural reform and the new planning law constituted a legally binding framework for collaborative planning at the regional level. Without cooperation, no overall regional planning could take place. The case study illustrates the problems and learning process in the development of a collaborative planning situation at the regional level.

There has not been a tradition for proper collaborative regional planning between state, regions, municipalities and private interests in the former planning system. But at municipal level, we find a long tradition for collaborative planning within the municipalities, especially when it concerns urban issues. The municipalities have worked with the development of more open and collaborative planning cultures in the last decade. Of course, the degree of collaborative planning differs between the municipalities, but the discourse is well known and supported by national development projects.

At the regional and state level, collaborative planning has not been very influential. Here we find more traditional hierarchical and expert-dominated planning cultures with only little cooperation outside the planning institutions and with hearings as the usual form of participation. The relations to the other parties are dominated more by regulation, control and information than by dialogue and consensus-building. Especially between the former counties and municipalities, there is no tradition for equal and open dialogues about problems and solution.

*This context, history and tradition for planning influences the implementation of the new reform, introducing collaborative planning at the regional level and mostly in the form of obstacles. The new regional authority wanted to open up participation in the first strategy process, and they did this mostly through *information and consultation*, involving a broad range of actors in seminars in the beginning of the first process. When the *KKR* entered the process and conflicts arose, they took on a nearly *advisory position* (placation), with the region still trying to retain the right to suggest and decide and the *KKR* trying to retain the same position. We found plenty of*

obstacles to consensus-building and information-sharing. Power struggles were the most important obstacle, but other obstacles included organisational structures, the planning culture and lack of competences. In the second period of strategy-making, the actors agreed to try and overcome some of the obstacles and build up a proper collaborative planning process. In the region, organisational structures were changed, new competences were developed, a new regional chairman accepting the new governance situation was elected, etc. In the KKR, they agreed to work with and not against the region. The regional authority decided not to make an open process with broad participation but concentrated on making collaboration with the KKR work. The region and KKR are working together in all stages of the process, from the problem definition to strategies and projects. The power issue is thus explicitly dealt with in an ongoing process of strategy-making. In the second period of strategy-making, the *involvement* of citizens and actors other than the municipalities and specialised regional interests *is not high*: a couple of seminars and the mandatory hearings. Information and consultation are used to integrate the wider group of citizens. On the other hand, the regional planners have started to participate in several different meetings, networks, etc., where citizens and other regional interests are represented. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the legitimising democratic factor is the representative democracy exercised by the regional and municipal councils.

In the business strategy process, they followed another collaborative strategy. From the start, they accepted and acknowledged that collaborative business planning was the right way to formulate a strategy, and a lot of actors in the region showed active interest in participation. Growth Forum Zealand chose to establish a broad advisory secretary with 70-80 actors representing different regional interests. They followed the process and strategy-making and were more involved because of the *high level of information, consultation and an advisory role*. Growth Forum Zealand is formally a partnership, with delegated power consisting of the diversity of regional public and private actors. This partnership had a difficult start in finding proper rules and procedures that suit all the members (and not just the public members). The early work routine was experienced as too bureaucratic and formalistic, with a tendency to exclude especially the private actors. Hence, the private business interests were not very active in this initial period. A chairmanship was established that concentrated information and knowledge. This way of working was criticized and changed accordingly. So was the role of the broad secretary. In the new period of strategy making the way of working stresses substantial and open discussions at Growth Forum meetings and makes an effort to create consensus and constructive dialogues between members of Growth Forum before, during and after meetings. The chairmanship has been abolished, and the purpose is to build up common interests and understandings of regional problems and solutions and develop *a closely knitted partnership with delegated power, leading to* a business strategy based on proper collaborative planning. In the second period, the regional business interests have become much more active and dominant in the partnership. The broad advisory

secretariat was also eliminated and the different parties in the Growth Forum must now ensure that they are representing broader interests. In this sense, the participatory foundation for the Growth Forum has now become narrower than in the first period. The argument was that there were too many meetings with too many people, and that a more efficient work routine was needed. The broad group of interests are still informed and consulted.

Is there a lack of democratic accountability at the regional level?

The Danish case study illustrates diverse and complex democratic processes in the regional strategy-making. As mentioned, representative democracy is strongly connected to the regional development strategy, but in the formulation of the Business Development Strategy, the relationship is not that clear. Several politicians are represented in the Growth Forum. They are from regional and municipal councils, but the connection to the other members of regional and municipal councils is weak. It is mostly the politicians involved in the Growth Forum who have an influence. This is also the case for the KKR as a major regional actor in both strategies. The KKR consists of municipal politicians, but the relation to the municipal councils in general is weak. A conclusion might be that the new regional governance situation is dominated by a pluralist democracy based on strong elite groups representing mostly professional interests. Obviously, there has developed some form of power balance between these actors/networks/institutions. The participation of the citizen is practically nonexistent.

Policy transfer and learning

In the Danish case study, regional strategy-making and new institutional settings were made mandatory by law in 2007. The general institutional setting is a result of compromises and negotiations and combining different government models, values and political demands. The regional role was a special issue of conflict. It was only at the last minute that the region obtained sufficient authority in the field of regional development and the task to formulate a regional development strategy. Their role as strategy makers without legally binding authority is a quite new form of governance in Denmark, and there was no former experience to build on. The law made strategy-making mandatory, but with little direction for methods and tools. They had to be invented by the regions themselves. The same goes for the strategy-making by the Growth Forum. But all the words and explanation used in the direction of the law is inspired by network governance and from 'good governance' ideas from the EU. There is a mix of different governance ideas all characterised by non-hierarchical governance. This entails pressure on the inter-dependence between the regional actors and the municipalities.

The new regional institutions had to change their role within a short period. Not much attention was paid to the necessary learning process. At the same time, there was a process of fusion between several counties with different planning cultures. Several

major reforms in formal institutions, planning forms and planning cultures occurred at the same time. There was no voluntary transfer of policy involved. It was a massive coercive policy transfer. This transfer and change did not happen in practice right away, as shown in the case study. It took some time to change the informal institution in the region. The initial period of strategy-making became a long learning process for all actors and especially a difficult process for the regional authority which had to manage a less influential government role.

The National Municipal Association helped the municipalities to form the KKR. During the first election period, they trained the local politicians (in cooperation with researchers) to perform network governance and meta-governance in order to stand up to the regions in the power struggle. The same type of support was not there for the regions. Their Regional Association did not provide training or new ideas to help the regions learn network governance. In the process, the difference in governance competences between municipal and regional politicians and administrators became obvious. Both the region and KKR were involved in a research project for four years following the strategy-making process and presented different tools to cope with network governance and meta-governance. Therefore, they both obtained inspiration from the research field, but while the KKR in Zealand Region was part of a systematic learning process initiated by the National Municipal Association the regional authority had no such support.

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