

Coping Strategies and Regional Policies – Social Capital in the Nordic Peripheries

Jørgen Ole Bærenholdt

Future Challenges and Institutional Preconditions
for Regional Development Policy, Volume 2



Nordregio 2002

First published in 2002 by Nordregio.
PO Box 1658, SE-111 86 Stockholm, Sweden
Tel. +46 8 463 54 00, fax: +46 8 463 54 01
e-mail: nordregio@nordregio.se
website: www.nordregio.se

Jørgen Ole Bærenholdt: Coping Strategies and Regional Policies – Social Capital in the Nordic Peripheries.
Stockholm: Nordregio 2002
(Nordregio Report 2002:4) (Future Challenges and Institutional Preconditions for Regional Development Policy, Volume 2)

ISSN 1403-2503
ISBN 91-89332-25-3

Nordic co-operation

takes place among the countries of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden, as well as the autonomous territories of the Faroe Islands, Greenland and Åland.

The Nordic Council

is a forum for co-operation between the Nordic parliaments and governments. The Council consists of 87 parliamentarians from the Nordic countries. The Nordic Council takes policy initiatives and monitors Nordic co-operation. Founded in 1952.

The Nordic Council of Ministers

is a forum for co-operation between the Nordic governments. The Nordic Council of Ministers implements Nordic co-operation. The prime ministers have the overall responsibility. Its activities are co-ordinated by the Nordic ministers for co-operation, the Nordic Committee for co-operation and portfolio ministers. Founded in 1971.

Stockholm, Sweden
2002

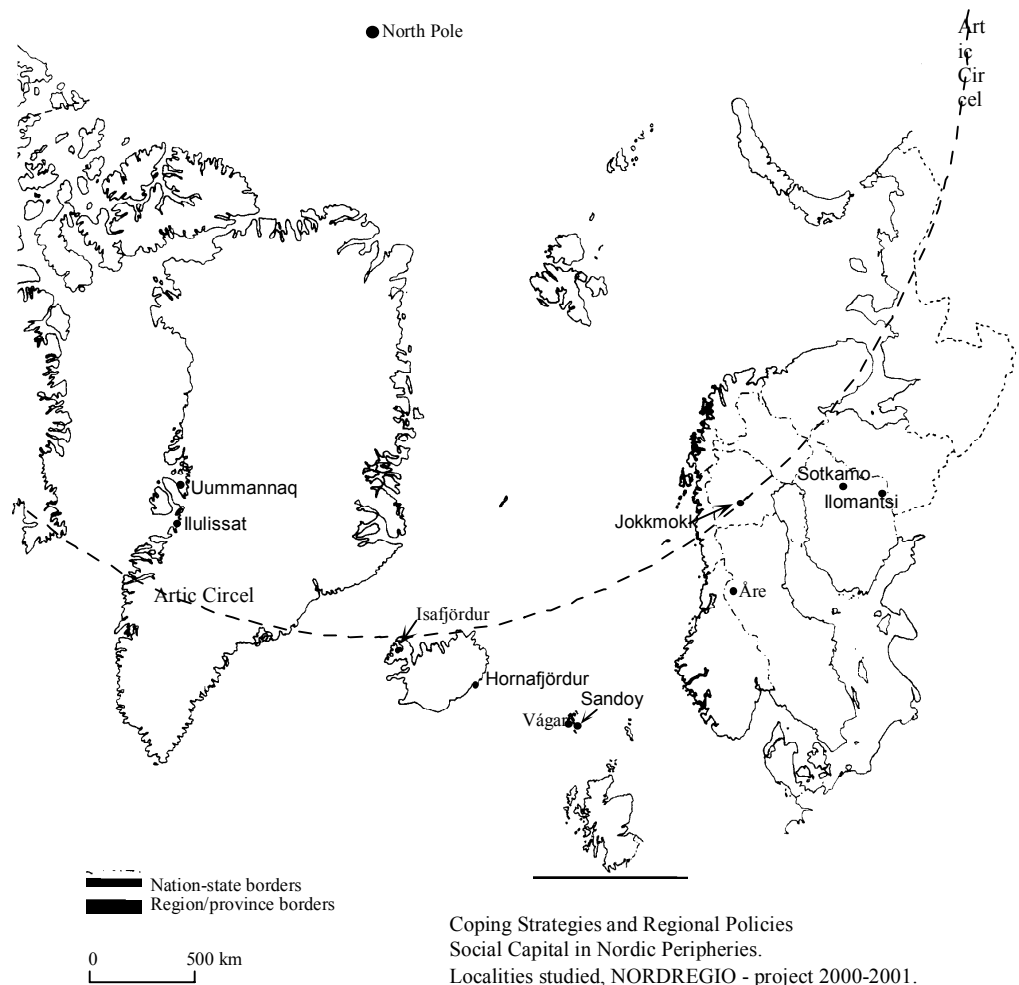
Preface

This comparative report is the sixth report, complementing the five country reports (Nordregio working papers) of the research project “Coping Strategies and Regional Policies, Social Capital in Nordic Peripheries”. The research includes fieldwork during 2001 in Greenland, Iceland, the Faroe Islands, Sweden and Finland, two localities per country, two projects per locality. The project was co-operatively conducted by researchers from the University of Iceland (Reykjavik), the Research Centre on Local and Regional Development (Klaksvík, Faroes), the Swedish Agricultural University (Uppsala), the University of Joensuu (Finland) and Roskilde University (Denmark). Researchers from these institutions are responsible for the five country reports.

The project is part of the Nordic research programme *Future Challenges and Institutional Preconditions for Regional Development Policy*. The programme is commissioned by The Nordic Council of Ministers / Nordic Senior Officials Committee for Regional Policy (NÄRP). A pilot phase of the programme was reported in 2000 (Nordregio Report 2000:1). This report is one of eight studies in the 2000-2002 phase of the programme. A final phase will start in 2002 and end in 2004.

Nordregio wishes to thank the editors as well as the other researchers involved in this work, as well as the members of the Programme Steering Committee: Bue Nielsen (Denmark), Kari Gröhn (Finland), Kristin Nakken (Norway), Nicklas Liss-Larsson (Sweden), Kjartan Kristiansen (Faroe Islands), Bjarne Lindström (Åland Islands) and Hallgeir Aalbu (Nordregio).

Stockholm, August 2002



Contents

1. Introduction	7
1.1 Coping strategies and regional policies – a question of social capital and space.....	7
1.2 The methodology and experience of comparative project case studies	11
2. Comparing knowledge	13
2.1 Comparing regional policies.....	13
2.2 Localities and case projects selected	18
2.3 Comparing projects.....	20
3. Lessons about social capital, coping strategies and regional policies	36
3.1 Actors.....	36
3.2 Networking	37
3.3 Social capital.....	40
3.4 Coping strategies?.....	41
3.5 Regional policies in the light of social capital and coping strategies	46
4. Conclusion: Coping strategies as regional policies?.....	47
Acknowledgements.....	50
References	51

1. Introduction

1.1 Coping strategies and regional policies – a question of social capital and space

The project sought to research a rather ambitious question, namely, the intersection of regional policies and coping strategies locally. One hypothesis in the research proposal and in the research design was that the relative success of localities in the Nordic peripheries was due to a high level of social capital integrating local social relations and national institutional regulations. Furthermore, there was a notion that this was somehow a rather common Nordic phenomenon (Bærenholdt 2000). Meanwhile, the project also raised serious questions about the theory of social capital, as its high profile proponents, particularly Robert D. Putnam, seem to include a tacit understanding of social capital as something territorial (Bærenholdt and Aarsæther, 2002). There is much evidence corroborating the fact that local development is highly dependent not only on local-national nexuses – but also on direct local-global nexuses, and this analysis has thus formed the framework of the coping strategies approach (Aarsæther and Bærenholdt, 2001, and Bærenholdt and Aarsæther, 2001).

Rather than undertaking the troublesome task of mapping regional policies and assessing (often non-realistic) evaluations of regional policy effects, this project focuses on regional policies “from below” by analysing individual *projects*, that is to say, concrete cases of coping strategies in selected localities. The interest lies less with the effects (although they are relevant) than with the socio-spatial processes that produced such projects in the first instance. In other words, we attempt to understand the dynamics that lie behind the social innovations crucial to regional and local development in the Nordic peripheries. Though we are well aware of the resource allocation functions and the ideological-discursive ideas of national regional policies, the centre of our interest has been the networking involved in innovative processes. Likewise, approaching projects as local cases of coping strategies, our main interest was on the networking dimension, rather than on the innovations themselves or how they effected the identity formation of the people involved.

In the attempt to come to a better understanding of networking processes, the concept of social capital has been a major contribution in contemporary social science. There are important differences in how the concept is used by Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam, but for our analytical purposes where spatial dimensions should be considered, we found

Bourdieu's approach most suitable. As stated in the quote contained in the preface, Bourdieu sees social capital as the resources made available due to some actors' commitment to a certain more or less stable and institutionalised network. As such, social capital is not bound to any specific spatial form and can be both territorial and mobile. Here, the interesting thing is not the spatial form of social capital, nor are we focusing on the spatial consequences of projects. Hence, space is interesting in this respect in the ways that it is used by actors in their strategies. The same can be said of the ways in which social capital is used to include someone and to exclude others. Thereby, bonding and bridging are not seen as qualities of certain forms of social capital (Putnam, 2000). Instead, bonding and bridging are understood as dimensions, as in the use and production of social capital in the networking dimension of coping strategies (Bærenholdt and Aarsæther, forthcoming). This means that the networking practices involved in coping strategies, and in the use of social capital, can be analysed along the matrix of the dimensions bonding-bridging and mobility-territoriality, as we find it confusing to mix these two distinctions.

There are social bonds between actors other than those shaped by cohabitation in territorial communities. Communities can be produced through mobile bonding networking, although often with some territorial commitments or identifications at the higher levels. For example a certain form of bonding can be practised by members of national organisations of fishermen that usually includes some and excludes other types of fishermen. Such an organisation uses the spatial principles of mobility (moving) and territoriality (bordering) to define itself, and to pursue its own interests. The same will most often be true in the case of non-local business networks. In such cases we talk about "new social regions" that include a certain network of partners while also excluding many others, for example, the corporate networks in the Oresund region (Bærenholdt, 1998).

Obviously, networking with distant partners in business, social life, politics etc. can have the character of mobile bridging, where the movement of persons, things and information is used to bridge. The crucial processes of bridging economic, social and cultural groups can however also use territorial principles. This is in fact the normal historical process of building a community in modernity, whether it is a local, national or international community. In fact, regional policy historically developed as a process of territorial bridging. The idea was that the cohesion of a nation-state could be secured by policies aiming at overcoming uneven regional development. Regional policies therefore

were produced in the effort to bridge the regions of a country, and bridging business contacts between regions across the country was one of the instruments used. In many Northern European countries – with Scotland as the most profound example – regional difference did not develop to the extent we recognise from Southern Europe. This was first of all due to the combination of an institutional bonding set-up of national regimes (including welfare) and institutional preconditions for entrepreneurship in the rural areas. There is no doubt then that bridging can go so far that at some point it eventually becomes bonding.

What is the most important character of territorial policies, is it bridging or bonding, or is it the principle of inclusiveness? Principles of association and generalised reciprocity for all citizens in a territory are some of the strongest inclusive – and exclusive – social mechanisms known. People are included – and excluded – with no reference to culture, race, religion, gender, age, social class, or occupation, but only with their political citizenship in a specific politically defined territory. This is the political space of modernity in a nutshell, and it should be mentioned that it fits better with the principles of citizenship in France (revolution) or the US (independence) than with cultural definitions of the people (*volk*, *folk*, *narod*) as the basis of nations.

By their fundamental territorial principle, regional policies have been important instruments in the production of modern political space (Bærenholdt, 1998). This is also true regarding the role of trans-national regional policies in the production of the political space of the European Union. Meanwhile, in many countries we can also observe that regional policies have been substituted with innovation policies in accordance with Schumpeterian discourse (Bærenholdt and Aarsæther, 2001). As we will see in the following analysis, this is particularly true in the Western Nordic small nations (Greenland, Iceland and the Faroe Islands), where the nation is almost acting as a one-community region and unevenness and imbalances are conceptualised as something related to international comparison. In Norway, Sweden and Finland we see either strong nationally embedded regional policies (Norway) or EU-regional policies (Sweden and Finland). Here, the Schumpeterian paradigm is in fact combined with concerns over regional development, and in Sweden and Finland, this is very much due to the mechanisms of EU structural funds, including the special programmes for periphery areas. As we will see, these mechanisms contribute to a kind of “project economy” that we hardly find in the Western Nordic countries. The trend towards deregulation has meant that the explicit political labelling of business and local development projects or efforts is fading away in the Western

Nordic countries, except of course that they are business developments contributing to the independence of the nation! In this respect both Norway and Denmark illustrate different cases, and are as such not included in this research project.

In this paper we investigate how regional policies and coping strategies intersect, and how they “work in concert”? This is also a question about the contemporary character of regional policies. For some time we have known that policies with explicit regional objectives often have less re-distributive effects than national sector-regimes embedded in the welfare state system. Furthermore, we now see that regional policies are no longer policies in the preserve of national governments. Municipalities and EU institutions are now significant actors in this field of activity, alongside partnership set-ups involving private corporations and voluntary associations. In this process towards innovation policies, the notion of “region” and its symbolic meaning is used extensively, while few care about the developmental and distributional aspects of the practices and consequences of regional policies themselves. (Bærenholdt and Aarsæther, 2001).

Regional policies, and what really constitutes them as such, is an issue that is becoming ever more difficult to discern, as many different types of actors now claim to be regional policy actors. Therefore we need to focus on concrete social processes, where actors form projects of localised development, as these may be seen as the concrete cases on practices in the field of “regional policy”. Even with regard to traditional national regional policy work, it would be interesting to know in more detail how such policies work in practice.

In a way, we can say that we seek to take a “governance” perspective of regional policies, acknowledging the ongoing restructuring of political space. This approach is also in line with our general approach, methodologically focusing on the concrete social relations and processes, where power is exercised in and through space.

Therefore, how to define regional policies in relation to regional development is not a given thing. As such, we cannot say *a priori* whether or not regional policies and coping strategies intersect as practices separate from each other. Obviously, coping strategies can be one way of understanding what regional policy has become today. Still, we depart from the national understanding of regional policy as a state intervention to promote and regulate businesses in certain regions of a country in order to “develop” that region. Meanwhile, our approach is “ready-made” to understand the possible practical deconstruction of national regional policies.

Our approach focuses on the production and use of social capital in cases of local development projects. Behind this approach lies the assumption that few regional policies and/or coping strategies work to the benefit of their objectives (whether these are environmental, economic, social and/or cultural) if they do not involve networking practices. It is our aim to map the actor-network-relations (although we are not academically based in the Actor-Network-Theory approach) involved in the development in time and space of concrete local development projects. Based on this “mapping”, we ask questions about the possible role of regional policies in this regard. The resources mobilised due to networking are conceptualised as social capital. In other words, “social capital” is the indicator of the resources that we assume to be available and that are then activated in order to make regional policies “work in concert” with coping strategies locally.

By “locally” we do not define any specific scale of interest in advance. Rather “locally” signifies our methodological approach to study concrete processes. Furthermore, it signifies the normative stand that coping strategies should involve and have positive consequences for local actors. Therefore, the projects that we define as cases of coping strategies have to be identified as a common process by local people.

1.2 The methodology and experience of comparative project case studies

The kind of knowledge we have produced in this project is not of the type we could label as universally valid, following the principles of statistical generalisation and representativeness. Contextually embedded case studies however produce the kind of practical knowledge that can make social science more relevant to its users. Bent Flyvbjerg has termed this form of knowledge production as “phronesis”. Rather than generalised systems, we aim to collect a rich collection of case studies (as also recommended by Johan Galtung in the MOST CCPP 1997 Symposium).

As such, the case studies have not been chosen in accordance with ideas such as representing the region, the state or other such constructions. Following the research question, certain criteria for the selection of case projects were set. First we attempted to do the study with our method of locality studies to come “near” to the concrete processes that matter to people. Second we tried to select two different case projects in each locality: One “new economy” case, and one case based on the availability of natural resources. “New economy” cases, where the “new” is relative according to the context, may in practice be related to tourism, ICT, biotechnology, wind power or the like. “Natural resources” cases are about a kind of restructuring of the resource-based industries, industries that have been

of historical importance in the creation of the way of life for those people living in the Nordic peripheries.

The case studies were undertaken as fieldwork based on qualitative interviewing, and we preferred the research to be conducted by researchers already familiar with the locality under study (this was also due to obvious financial constraints). The methodological “rules” for the selection of interview persons, report writing etc. were set within the context of a common research design. Even so, the organisation of research became rather different across the various countries concerned. Due to the fact that Greenland does not as yet have any qualified regional policy researchers of its own, these cases were, however unsatisfactory this may be for a political point of view, investigated by Danish researchers. The cases in Iceland and in the Faroes were investigated by senior researchers with a firm and long commitment to the MOST CCPP network. Sweden and Finland allowed for a more complex organisation where newcomers were less embedded in MOST CCPP traditions (to attract these new-comers was a part of the hidden agenda from the very beginning, as MOST CCPP has had problems “embedding” in Finland and particularly in Sweden). The perspective for the rather strict “rules” of the research design was that a comparative report (this report) was to be the end product, in addition to the reports from each country.

What is the rationality of comparative analysis, when cases do not represent and cannot be generalised to “their country” or the like? As a beginning, it has to be considered that the problem of representation exists also between the reports written and the social processes they report. Of course, the country reports and their analyses of specific projects affiliated (more or less) with specific localities, construct a specific narrative of the cases reported. Therefore in practice, and in spite of the methodological rules set, the comparative analysis cannot compare much more than the narratives. This would also have been the case if every study had been carried out by the very same author. These statements stress the fact that knowledge is produced by certain actors and networks in accordance with certain institutionalised rules etc. Although we have tried to cope with this through dense networking and institutionalised “rules”/approaches, we have to be aware of this contextual character of knowledge. And instead of nervous searches for bias, we want to build on the qualities of producing knowledge this way, one of the qualities being that processes are described on a rather concrete and practical level.

The purpose of comparative analysis is to have a further look at the findings of each project through the medium of an intensive research design. By comparing across cases and localities, we are made aware of

the specific characteristics of each case. Here, the “specific” is used to mark a difference from both the general/universal and the unique/individual, thereby arguing for the possibility that social science does not have to be either nomothetic or ideographic. Underlining the specific mechanisms at work in each case thus allows us to better understand and explain why projects developed differently.

This means, that by comparing a sample of cases of projects in fisheries and another sample in tourism, finding fisheries to be successful and tourism the opposite, we cannot conclude that this is so because fisheries are “better” than tourism. It is the concrete events, actors, networks, economies and policies involved that we prefer to blame! This type of analysis is not studying the world “as such”. Our questions, mediations and answers are theoretically informed; as such, our research questions would be of no meaning if they did not include theoretical concepts such as coping strategies. Therefore, the standard and “language” of comparison is set by the concepts chosen.

So, what this report will contribute to our understanding of the field is a comparison of the knowledge produced in country reports in relation to the common research question, design, conceptual framework and methodology. Each report has sections on national principles of regional policy and a description of the localities selected; attempts to compare this evidence provide the framework that may already explain significant differences in regional policies and coping strategies in accordance with national and local standards and institutions. Thereafter, localities and case-projects are organised according to their type of activity in order to discuss processes of a somehow similar character across national differences.

2. Comparing knowledge

2.1 Comparing regional policies

Although we have no intention of giving conducting here a detailed overview of regional policies in Finland, Sweden, the Faroes, Iceland and Greenland, observations from Nordic regional research have been of interest and value in the project.

Regional policy in the two East Nordic countries, Finland and Sweden, in the 1990s has been dominated by the agendas and funds created by the their “new” EU-memberships, and particularly with the introduction of the *Structural Funds objective 6* areas and the *LEADER programme*. It is clear that Sweden and Finland’s EU-membership re-kindled interest in regional policies in both countries. Paradoxically, from one perspective the EU-emphasis on spatial and social integration re-

introduced a “Keynesian” type re-distributive approach, in contrast to the stronger Schumpeterian emphasis on innovation in prevalent in the (so-called) regional policies of the 1980s. In the 1980s, regional policies became rather general economic development policies. From another perspective however it could be said that EU-policies introduced more actors into regional policy, something that is in line with Schumpeterian understandings, thus challenging head-on the traditions of strong sector and weak regional organisation in both Finland and Sweden. Initiatives cross-cutting traditional Nordic regional structures gave new regional co-operative agencies, municipalities and local action groups all a role to play, if they were powerful enough to build the necessary links (Hallin and Lindström, 1998; Rannikko, 1998, Persson, 1999). These forms of regional policies and EU-funding have also raised a series of questions about the territorial organisation of municipalities and regions on different levels, as it can also be seen in the country reports of this project. In Finland, several reform processes have attempted to reorganise the weak intermediate level between the state and the municipalities. While in Sweden, the question of whether Sweden’s municipalities are too large has been put forward.

The EU-reorganisation of regional policies in East Norden has produced however the same result as the historical development of non-EU West Norden, namely a regionalisation of regional policies. Except for the very small municipalities in the Faroes, *municipalities have become some of the major regional policy actors in both East and West Norden*. This is also true in the Centre-West Nordic and (non-EU and EU) Norway and Denmark, although they are not studied in this project. Meanwhile this situation also indicates the end of traditional Keynesian regional policies by nation-states. Indeed one may therefore ask if it is still meaningful to use the term “regional policy,” if it is no longer the policy of the upper territorial level to “do something” with its regions (subsidiary parts). Interestingly, in the cases of Sweden and Finland, it is primarily the EU that continues the tradition of a “top down” redistributive regional policy.

The changing role of regional policies is very much connected to the relative downsizing of the national Keynesian welfare regime and to the development of the post- national Schumpeterian workfare regime (Jessop, 2000; Veggeland, 2000; Bærenholdt & Aarsæther, 2001). Meanwhile, we can see different types of these regimes, and the formation of varying intersections between them. Welfare regimes are still of major importance, particularly in rural areas. In this respect, the change is more a consequence of the culmination of the growth of public

welfare services in the 1970s – and in Finland in the 1980s. In other words: Welfare policies are crucial to stability but not so much to innovation. On the other hand, workfare regimes across the European Union aim at the production of a general framework of economic development via instruments such as labour market policies. The new regional policies in the European Union are committed to certain territorial criteria of regions worthy of support etc., and in principle, these criteria are not that much different from traditional regional policy. The main difference is that European Union regional policies include a much wider spectre of regional policy actors and thereby produce negotiated partnerships across the firm territorial levels of nation-states. Thus, the stronger and more powerful actors can cross territorial levels and build diagonal relationships. Moreover, this is particularly important, as the amount of funding connected to EU regional policies is not small.

In short, in the EU-countries of Finland and Sweden we see the trend of multilevel governance developing, where an important part of the economy is negotiated around the fight for project public funding within a programme-oriented regional policy. The focus of social capital and networking is an integrated element of EU regional policy thinking about partnerships, where fund-raising procedures *force actors into new networking that includes requirements for matching funding*. These principles are also copied in national programmes. Partnership policies across borders enable powerful grassroots, business and local/regional authorities to transcend their subsidiary role as regional actors in national – and especially Nordic national – regimes. It is in line with Rokkanian thinking that regional policies depend upon the power of regional actors. The difference is that the EU regional policy regime makes this apparently legitimate.

The country report from Finland stresses that as early as the 1980s, programme-based regional policies were built on the strength of the indigenous regional economic and political structures themselves. In this process, rural areas dependent on both agriculture/forestry and public services became vulnerable, as none of these sectors were obvious points of departure for Schumpeterian innovations in the 1980s. In relation to programme-based regional policies, EU regional policies reintroduced stronger territorial criteria relating to who is worthy of support, and where rural areas on the fringes of urban commuting areas were often disqualified. Furthermore, the roles of public sector actors such as schools and research institutions have been strengthened, which is evident from the case studies from Finland.

Turning to the West Nordic area, the country report from Iceland stresses the lack of a tradition with regard to a regional policy committed to the development of certain regions of the national territory. Most emphasis has been put on stimulating market forces, and regional policies have primarily been understood as a means of producing cost efficiency for the whole nation (see also Bærenholdt, 1991). The most effective “regional policies” have been concerned with agricultural and fisheries policy. Territorially committed interventions have generally been either *ad hoc* initiatives or general planning, building on the growth centre doctrine. The Schumpeterian economic development policies of the 1980s are still prevail in the West Nordic non-EU countries. In the case of Iceland, this can be seen in the mandate of the New Business Venture Fund, where no territorial commitments are expressed. Clearly, the idea is to support local-level innovation processes, but no priority is given to specific localities or territorial areas.

This picture also fits the Greenland and Faroes cases. Neither Greenland nor the Faroes have ever had a “regional” policy in the sense of the principle of support for certain territories. Sector policies (particularly fisheries) and *ad hoc* deals relating to the “cut and thrust” of domestic politics have dominated. Meanwhile, few countries have had so much discourse on village development as Greenland or the Faroes in the 1970s and 1980s, though this discourse seems to function as a rather symbolic instrument of nation building. While the end of the 1990s saw the Faroes jettison this *ad hoc* approach, for Greenland this remains the main way of addressing regional problems. In the Faroes, the symbolic discourse on “bygdamenning” disappeared with the crisis of the early 1990s, and today “økismenning” is more about the relocation of public service functions, while business development is considered a non-political issue, although in practice political networks are involved throughout the process. The dominance of an economically “liberal” Schumpeterian regime can be seen in all three West Nordic countries, but this regime is more institutionalised in Iceland (New Business Venture Fund) and Greenland (SULISA Greenland Business Development Corporation). Furthermore, the Faroes also differ from Iceland and Greenland with regard to the lack of a role for the municipalities in regional policy. However, compared to the larger East Nordic countries, the small West Nordic countries have initiated a programme based project economy to only a limited extent. In general, and particularly with regard to the Faroe Islands and Iceland, we can talk of a network economy. Greenland can also be seen as network economy, but here the political and the business networks can hardly be separated (political

capital as a special form of capital, Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). In Greenland, no development projects can exist for long without political engagement.

In the West Nordic area, the activities of Nordic Atlantic Cooperation and of the West Norden Fund remain important, as these trans-national activities are governed by regional policy principles, though the amount of funding is small. Although there are few ideological and public signs of this, Nordic Atlantic and West Nordic programmes are perceived as basically positive by actors in innovation processes.

In sum, West and East Nordic regional policies differ, although a common trend towards multi-level governance and municipalities as regional policy actors can be observed (with the exception of the Faroes). West Nordic countries are small in terms of population and economy, political institutions are generally weak and territorial principles of regional policy are absent. In reality, Greenland and the Faroes are *one-region nations*. But interesting cases of entrepreneurship based in different forms of networking do exist, and much of this relates to spin-offs from fisheries. In addition, tourist development also plays a role in Greenland, and also in Iceland; this is also an example of the resource-based experience economies.

East Nordic regional policies are embedded in a much more institutionalised tradition of regional policies now culminating in the dominance of EU-programme policies. Here, multi-level governance networking across territorial levels has been institutionalised. In general, rural areas in Sweden and Finland do not have the dynamics of small-scale entrepreneurship characteristic of the West Nordic fishing village, based on access (albeit regulated and commercialised) to rich marine resources. Meanwhile, the development of the countryside as a place of dwelling, tourism and recreation is more profound than in the West Nordic *resource-based network economies*. We may however talk of an East Nordic *programme- and environment-based project economy* in rural/peripheral Sweden and Finland. Clearly, the role and character of regional policies is different in these two types of rural economic regimes. Of course, the two types are typological generalisations (by means of abstraction); concrete processes may therefore differ substantially. However, the variety of cases studied in this research project fits snugly into this general typology.

2.2 Localities and case projects selected

Ten localities were selected for case studies of projects qualifying for the requirements of the common research design, and these case studies are reported in detail in the five country reports. Localities were chosen due to the possibility of studying the networking process in specific processes of innovation, (projects). Although, almost all projects involved non-local partners (and this is a point to be stressed), the approach used was to investigate projects organising fieldwork and interviews in the localities. As such we can better understand the social processes of networking relevant to regional development with local actors as the point of departure.

Localities: “New economy”	Projects: “Restructured resource-based economy”	
<i>Finland:</i> Sotkamo Ilomantsi	Artificial skiing tunnel SampoNet	Bio-laboratory Wine making school
<i>Sweden:</i> Jokkmokk* (Laponia)	Municipal project	Sami reindeer herding project
Åre (Kallbygden)	Wind power	Local municipal committee
<i>Faroës:</i> Sandoy Vágur	LIDO Seafood Oilwind	Sandoy Seafood Kovin
<i>Iceland:</i> Hornafjörður	Rural tourism Öräfi	NorthIce biotechnology
Isafjörður	West Tours	3xStál (shrimp processing technology)
<i>Greenland:</i> Ilulissat Uummannaq	Local tourism/outfitters Local tourism	Arctic Fish Uummannaq Seafood

(*The Laponia project also involves the Municipality of Gällivare. In addition, the Laponia area includes a small area of the Municipality of Arjeplog)

Our point of departure in contrasting the “New Economies” with the “Restructured resource-based economy” was an important guide to search for diversity in the selection of projects, though in practice the strict division between these two categories collapsed with the selection of cases. Although we might have been able to select otherwise within the categories, such a collapsing of the barrier is indicative of just how much new and restructured economies are part of the same projects in Nordic peripheries. In some cases, particularly in the East Nordic, *the importance of natural resources is becoming less a question of extraction, and more one of experience*. In other cases, technology-driven projects shape new economic activity on the basis of resources from, or users in, resource-based industries.

Apart from the small municipalities of the Faroes, we have generally studied municipalities with a population between 2.000 and 12.000, of which, unsurprisingly, those in the East Nordic are have been larger in size (Gällivare even larger). The municipalities of the Faroes are organised on the village level. In the Faroes the level of one island matches the municipal scale of the other cases. Still, the municipalities are not the cases but rather (apart from the Faroes) important project-contexts and -actors.

All of the Finnish and Swedish localities reviewed here have been hit by decline in the traditional resource-based industries of farming, forestry, mining, and reindeer herding. Unemployment at the level of 10% in Sweden and 20% in Finland is the norm. Apart from the rather stable high level of population around 11.000 in Sotkamo in Finland, the three other localities have experienced depopulation since the 1960s and also throughout the 1990s. It is therefore no coincidence that institutionalised regional policy is on the agenda. The projects studied in Sweden are representative of a rather different type (with the exception of the wind power project) as compared to the somewhat more business-oriented types studied in Finland, and also in the West Nordic countries. This is *not* because business projects do not exist. It is due to the expertise of researchers involved, thereby adding projects normally not considered regional policy objects to our collection of cases, namely, the local political restructuring in Kallbygden from Åre Municipality, and the two Laponia projects in Jokkmokk/Gällivare in the UNESCO cultural landscape programme.

It is no coincidence that eight out of the twelve West Nordic cases relate to fisheries areas or areas with significant spin-offs from fisheries. The four other cases are all in tourism; none of these are in the Faroes, where tourism is not as high on the agenda as in Greenland or Iceland. Unemployment exists – particularly in Greenland – but not on the scale we see in the East Nordic cases. Paradoxically, the rather mono-cultural West Nordic resource-based economies seem more dynamic than the somehow more diversified but also marginalized East Nordic peripheries. None of the West Nordic localities can really be said to belong to real peripheries inside their countries, although Isafjörður in Iceland, Uummannaq in Greenland and Sandoy in the Faroes are not central in terms of their ‘national’ economies. This evaluation is due more to the small scale of each of these countries. For example, Ilulissat is the third largest town in Greenland (following the capital of Nuuk including suburbs, and Sisimiut), and Isafjörður has been a regional centre in Iceland for a considerable period of time, although in the region suffering from the steepest decline. None of the localities have experienced depopulation to a high degree in the municipal centres, though depopulation has occurred in the smaller villages and settlements, and scattered farms have had to be closed down. Here the Faroes picture is rather different due to the crises of the early 1990s, where the Faroes experienced significant levels of out-migration. Furthermore we can hardly talk of municipal centres and a centre on each island, because most Faroes islands (apart from Klaksvík on the Northern Islands and Tórshavn on Streymoy) are characterised by competition between two (on Sandoy) or more main villages/municipalities with more than 1000 inhabitants each. Therefore a strategy of regionalisation will be hard to achieve in the Faroes.

For introductions to the localities and analysis of the projects, see the five country reports.

2.3 Comparing projects

2.3.1 Introduction on the role of regional policies in the projects

The projects studied are cases of coping strategies’ innovation and networking. From the analysis produced in the country reports, we can compare the projects across several dimensions. In this analysis the projects do not represent countries or localities as such. They represent different types of processes of actors networking in innovative local processes. The character of each project does however show some differences.

In the Faroes all projects are cases of business development that hardly involve any form of formal regional policies or the allocation of funds. Social capital is however involved in these projects and comes from informal networking, while formal political institutions are weak on both the national and the local levels. With regard to the Faroes, one can ask whether the concept of regional policy is meaningful, when politics and economies become networks? At least one can say that the concept of regional policy is simply not adequate to the Faroes context. Furthermore, the less formalised institutions of entrepreneurship in the Faroes also sustain local entrepreneurship through the common efforts of local people by means of voluntary work and the collection of money. Nevertheless, the cases give an image of the Faroes as an economy on the industrial periphery.

On the other hand, in Finland – as well as in Sweden – regional policy is a field that also includes a range of social positions for the intellectual elite of (Myrdalian) “economic/regional developers” who have been central actors in the creation of the welfare state. This field differs from Norwegian regional policy where (Broxian) populist discourse from the regions has traditionally set the agenda in part, opposing the creation of a bureaucracy. In all of the Finnish cases, formal institutions in education and research play an integrated and central role in initiatives more or less belonging to the knowledge and experience economy, where products include training, ICT, research and tourist experiences. The cases chosen in Sweden highlight the role of the environment, cultural identity, cultural experience and political organisation in the post-industrial periphery.

Yet again however, Iceland and Greenland are different in this regard. As in the Faroes, the absence of the East Nordic type of regional policy programme indicates that “the periphery” question is on another institutional – national – level. From the cases of tourism development in Iceland and Greenland, we see how “experience economies” develop differently in Iceland and Greenland. We may ask how much this has to do with the differences in national independence, in the degree of local control, and in educational development and/or in infra-structural development. The same can be said when comparing the “fisheries” cases in Greenland and Iceland, where the cases from Iceland concern technology-driven projects that can hardly be found in Greenland. In all of the Icelandic and Greenland cases, municipal regional policies relating to local development play a major role (although less so with local tourism in Hornafjörður and Uummannaq).

The projects fit into our general impression of the West Nordic *resource-based network economies* versus the East Nordic *programme- and environment-based project economies*. Within our collection of case-projects, the Faroes are near to the (extreme) “ideal-type” of the West Nordic network economy, while the Finnish cases represent the (extreme) “ideal-type” of the East-Nordic project economy. These types are not only types of economies in the narrow sense but also with regard to the whole political economy, as well as the regime of regulation or innovation (depending on theoretical approach), though there is a significant difference between the role of regional policies in the Faroes and in Finland. Clearly, the 20 cases studied demonstrate a varied continuum in respect to the role of regional policy.

In the following sections, five crosscutting themes have been selected according to the types of innovation process in the projects. As such, the analysis commences by comparing the networking processes involved in projects involving innovation processes with some similarities.

2.3.2 Restructuring resource-based industries

“Restructured resource-based industries” was the label on half of the case-projects from the beginning, though it is now clear that the category of “resource-based industries” turned out to be very diverse. The projects varied from the pure organisational restructuring of production and sales in fisheries (three Faeroese and two Greenland cases) to the use of biotechnology for “new” food production (one Icelandic and one Finnish case), and political re-organisation (one Swedish case). In-between we find innovation in fish processing (three Faeroese cases), machine building for the fishing industry (one Icelandic and one Faeroese case), training in wine making from berries (one Finnish case), and restructuring Sami reindeer herding (one Swedish case).

The networking of actors in restructuring fisheries, where cases could also be found in Iceland, always involve the combination of local networks and international networks, where the international dimension concerns marketing and sales. The difference between the Faeroese and Greenland cases is that the municipal authorities played a major role in the initial phase of the innovation in the cases of Arctic Fish in Ilulissat and Uummannaq Seafood.

As always, regimes of marine resource management are at the centre of the dynamics of the fish-related industries, particularly in the essential first step of the value chain, namely, catching the fish. This is obvious from the (former) case of Uummannaq Seafood (factory ships processing at sea) where licences to fish have recently (autumn 2001)

been cancelled through a Greenland Home Rule Government decision to give Royal Greenland a monopoly over buying Greenland's halibut in Uummannaq in order to secure jobs on shore. The two new Greenland seafood companies are interesting as they illustrate several points:

- Municipal authorities are crucial actors in starting innovations; entrepreneurship in Greenland has a political dimension.
- Political networking is crucial in economies where political decisions on resource management are the focus of interest. The economically and politically stronger companies (such as Arctic Fish) also gain influence over such regimes.
- This is because the value of fish (and especially of crabs) is produced by nature and not by humans (almost like gold), and the terminology of 'value-chain' can be highly misleading, as fish tend to lose value on the market the more they are processed (the most valuable human "production" is thus to "keep the fish alive" as far as possible).

The Faeroese cases predominantly concern the processing side of fisheries. In spite of the basic problem of "what is value" in fish processing, this industry is of major importance to the Faeroese economy. Since the crisis of the early 1990s, fish processing has been separated from the primary (catching) sectors of vessels, so that a first-hand fish market developed. This restructuring opened new possibilities for innovation in the processing sector. Some of the innovations are purely organisational, such as the case of Sandoy Seafood attempting to overcome former "deeply" embedded structural problems in line with the case of Uummannaq Seafood. The innovative potential of these cases is limited, but they can be crucial in social innovations putting new actors on stage. Other cases such as that of LIDO Seafood (also on Sandoy) illustrate more profoundly new local-global intersections between community-support and international networks in a small village lacking political support for development. The crucial task for networks is to manage the "transport" of rich marine resources from the sea to the markets. In 2001, the rather "traditional" resource-based economy in the Faroes boomed. When the sea does not give or markets do not take, crisis is however only round the corner.

The case of Kovin, which is the only producer of canned fish in the Faroes, also illustrates the importance of combining personal networks at the local level (Vágur) with international contacts. In small countries such as the Faroes, businesses have to run without the support of national innovation institutes.

Compared to the traditional resource-based cases of fisheries and fish processing, the cases of production of equipment, wine-making and reindeer herding are of much less magnitude – though they are also more “knowledge-based”, though in very different ways. The case of Oilwind in Vágur, goes back to a 1910 blacksmith. It is a family firm that has developed gear and equipment for fisheries and aqua culture. The firm is managed by one person (both the entrepreneur and inventor), and it has few direct cooperative links with other firms. Meanwhile, the home market of the Faroes fisheries milieu means everything to the company.

The case of 3xStál in Isafjördur, Iceland, is also a classical case of innovation in the machine building industry, where user-producer-relations in the local and national fisheries milieu have been crucial both to the local commitment and to the production of knowledge. The locality of Isafjördur has other cases of such a development; the electronic scale producer Póls (Eliassen, 2000) is also part of the background of the development of 3xStál. The development of process equipment for shrimp processing plants could occur in many localities, where shrimp processing is going on. The decisive factor however turns out to be that the three entrepreneurs had their own reasons for wanting to live and work in Isafjördur. Once the firm has been established and consolidated, when sections of the staff subsequently wanted to move the corresponding part of the firm moved also. Here, again the combination of local and international networks is crucial, and no regional policy instruments were really involved. Once established, much of the marketing and contacts with customers takes place over the Internet.

If one wants to explain why innovation in the machine building industry as a spin-off from fisheries is not common in Greenland, emphasis has to be put on the lack of wide spread international networks and of technical skills (including tacit knowledge). Furthermore, the institutional discursive, and one may say, cultural support for local entrepreneurship is strong in the Faroes and especially in the Icelandic culture, and this aspect is important in understanding why the “West Nordic network-economies” succeed.

The Ilomantsi wine making school is however a different case entirely. It is a clear case of the success of the “East Nordic project-economy”. Based on local traditions of the cultivation of berries, a vocational school became the main initiator to apply for a project within the North Karelian regional programme. Factors crucial to the success of the project were the intervention of the municipal authorities and the liberalisation of markets for alcoholic beverages. The project is not a wine producing business, but a project of training in such production.

This focus is due to the typical priorities of East Nordic regional development plans relating to the development of a knowledge-based economy.

The Sami reindeer herding project is part of the UNESCO framed “Laponia” cultural landscape project in Jokkmokk and Gällivare municipalities. The project receives funding from the EU objective 6 programme and the aim is to develop new businesses and new forms of administration. The Sami component of the project should be seen in the context of contested claims on lands, where the UNESCO framework gave the Sami the opportunity to raise their vision of (their) culture in the landscape as an alternative to the national regulations of national parks. Furthermore, the project gave the Sami the possibility to further develop local and international networks including links with NGOs such as the WWF. As with the Ilomantsi winemaking school much of the effort surrounding the project is down to a few key-persons, working as co-ordinators and consultants. The effects of the project are thus far predominantly to be found in the production of new discursive frameworks and social capital. The discursive development is a direct consequence of the implementation of UNESCO’s cultural landscape doctrine acknowledging human activities and cultural symbols as part of the landscape and thereby also opening up the agenda to non-extractive uses of the landscape as a possible new resource-and-experience regime. The possible success of the UNESCO framework is due to its ability to bridge conflicts between the traditional positions of resource extraction versus nature conservation, while this also gives new understandings of the potentials of sustainable use, tourism and recreation. Through the project, social capital has been produced among the Sami, but there are barriers in existing laws and administration to the further implementation of the project. Meanwhile, the “Padjelanta Economic Association” is an outcome of the process; the association runs tourist facilities in Padjelanta National Park (part of Laponia) on a contract basis. The social capital produced here can be valuable, but the concrete economic results cannot as yet be observed. Interestingly, a UNESCO programme has provided the discursive framework for a project financed by EU regional policy means, enacted by local and Sami people with their international contacts, thus trying to by-pass national laws and regional administration. (We will delve deeper into cultural landscape projects in section 2.3.5).

Compared to traditional resource-based economies, projects like the Ilomantsi wine making school and the Sami reindeer herding project, although both part of regional policy programmes, create few jobs and little economic volume in the short run. Of course, it is hard to evaluate

whether such projects will be able to create the same amount of jobs as 3xStál in the long run, but so far the contrast between West Nordic and East Nordic cases is clear. This may also be true, if we turn to the cases of biotechnology projects, although we must be aware that the Sotkamo bio-laboratory project is not that mature as of yet. NorthIce is a business producing enzymes and seafood concentrates. It started with the involvement of the Hornafjörður municipal innovation centre, which was keen to construct the Hornafjörður Science Park. The project was partly created inside the scientific milieu of the University of Iceland in Reykjavík. Some marine resources (from the cod widely available was needed for the process. The real reason for the centre's location in Höfn at Hornafjörður relates on one hand to the provision of building facilities from the co-operative, and on the other to the "local characteristics of trust and cooperation" ensuring that information flows freely. Although the director has personal links with the locality, his office is in Reykjavík to facilitate contact with outside markets. The location of the firm can be seen as contingent, but regional policy was involved via funding from the Business Venture Fund facilitating contact between the locality and the university.

Locality-university contact is also the issue as regards the Sotkamo bio-laboratory. This is a project to keep a diary running with new products. The University of Oulu has located a research centre in the locality and the project has EU-programme support. Local networks are not that central to the project; it is rather an independent export unit. As the diary is in any case due to be closed however, the effect of the project will be at best, limited. Knowledge-intensive projects in both Hornafjörður and Sotkamo may create only 5-10 jobs, while the threat remains of the subsequent movement of the firm. On the other hand, although we are not talking of that many jobs compared for instance to those provided by traditional rural industries, they are nonetheless significant, as they signify the creation of new types of jobs possibly also with good incomes. In many cases, such as in the case of 3xStál the crucial thing for the continuation of projects is where key-actors decide to live. As we all know, such decisions are multidimensional including family relations, housing possibilities, cultural facilities and recreational potentials.

Finally, the development of a local municipal committee in Kallbygden in Åre municipality can also be seen as a case of restructuring. It seems that political restructuring here is closely related to the development of Kallbygden as place of residence for people commuting to work in other places. So the revival and restructuring of a

political space has a lot to do with the new types actors coming into the countryside, as in for example the wind power project to be found in the locality. It seems therefore that political re-organisation is connected to the spatial restructuring and social transformation of rural areas from resource and manufacturing activities to experience and information economies (see section 2.3.6)

Looking through the projects concerned with the so-called restructuring of resource-based economies, a striking feature is the contingency of actor-networks producing the projects on the concrete level. The specific characteristics of the whole historically developed complex of economy, institutional set-up and culture in each country means a lot to the strategies pursued. However, such findings cannot be validated within the scope of this explorative research project.

2.3.3 Tourism

Due to the focus on new economic sectors in the periphery, tourist oriented projects were included from all countries, with the exception of the Faroes. The projects and the various approaches used to study them are however different. So far, few results can be seen from the Laponia project with regard to the development of tourism, though the cultural and natural attraction of the huge area including the well-known hiking areas of Sarek and Padjelanta are high. The localities of Uummannaq, Ilulissat and Hornafjörður also include major international tourist attractions, though it is clear that infrastructural barriers remain as significant limitations (although they are also, paradoxically, attractions in themselves). As in Uummannaq, tourism in Isafjörður also suffers from the effects of isolation due to its remote location. Therefore, the economic scale of tourism in Uummannaq and Isafjörður is limited. Finally, the Sotkamo artificial skiing tunnel is a case of a built attraction becoming more and more important to tourism (such as theme parks etc.).

All of the studies focus on the potentials and problems in networking with regard to tourism. Problems in local co-operation in tourism development are quite common, as actors compete with each other due to the rather market driven – and also seasonal – character of most tourist business. In the Laponia case, we surmise that much development potential is locked up in the ongoing struggle over institutional problems in relations between state authorities, county-level authorities, municipal authorities and the Sami people. There also seems to be a lack of trust, and cross-sector solutions are hard to find. In the Sotkamo case, the physical educational school specialised in sports education and is, as an important partner together with the municipal authorities, able to connect the artificial skiing tunnel to several national

programmes of both sports and regional development. So the Sotkamo case is then a good case of crosscutting networking, something that has not been easy to implement in the case of Laponia. Managing and using landscapes with more or less open access for commercial tourism can also be much more difficult than dealing with regulated and well-managed spaces for sports, where everything is under control and few alternative users are on the agenda. Only further investigations can shed light on this question.

The Icelandic and Greenland cases are cases of local co-operation on different scales. Ilulissat with its relatively good airborne connections is the main Greenland tourist destination. Problems in co-operation between different tourist information offices, tour-operating outfitters and others have to do with conflicts between different social and cultural groups locally. Few Greenlanders have been educated with regard to tourist service provision, and this includes language training, and as long as more immediate economic possibilities exist, most Greenlanders concentrate on these, such as fisheries for example. This also means that tourism, although important to local incomes, is as yet not embedded within the local Greenland community. Tourism is rather a business for non-Greenlanders that have been living for some time in Ilulissat and have the cultural and educational (particularly linguistic) qualifications to communicate with tourists. Moreover, the development of tourism in Uummannaq also suffers from problems of co-operation, though this predominantly relates to very small scale of tourism in Uummannaq, where the sole entrepreneur in the tourism sector tends to preside over the whole business.

The two Icelandic cases do not show any significant evidence of problems relating to local co-operation in local tourism development. Here problems relate more to the lack of a sufficient number of customers and a lack of connections to non-local actors channelling tourists in. Local co-operation works well, though it cannot solve all problems, as tourism development depends essentially on marketing. The advantage for local tourist entrepreneurs in Öræfi in Hornafjörður is based on their location adjacent to the national ring road at Skaftafell, which is one of the major attractions in Iceland. Tourists in cars and in bus-groups regularly pass through the place, which is in definite contrast to the situation in Isafjörður, where, generally speaking, nobody simply “passes by”.

Networking, combining the local and the non-local is crucial to the development of local tourism as is also the case in other businesses, but it seems that this can often be hard to achieve. In the East Nordic cases,

tourism is high on the agenda of regional development, while this is hardly the case with respect to the West Nordic cases, where the main development effort is the marketing and supporting functions of the National Tourist Boards. In addition, Nordic Atlantic Co-operation (NORA) and the West Norden Fund have supported a number of local tourism projects. On the national level, Icelandic tourism in particular has been successful. Iceland has more tourists per year than the number of inhabitants, though the problem remains that only very few of these tourists stray into the rural areas. Symbolically speaking, the distance from Keflavík international airport is thus longer to Isafjörður than to New York or Copenhagen.

With regard to the development of local tourism the municipal authorities play a crucial role, given the need for the co-ordination of business, infra structure, recreational facilities and landscape management, where both tourists and locals are users. In the two cases, where local networking seemed to work best (Sotkamo and Isafjörður), the municipal authorities played a leading role in each case. Though in neither of these cases did we witness significant conflict over the distribution of guests, access to attractions, or over landscape values.

2.3.4 “Technology projects”

The innovative character of a number of technology projects was related to business location proximate to actors in fisheries and farming. These projects were about technological innovation in the production of equipment to the industry (OilWind on Vágur and 3xStál in Isafjörður) or in the processing of the resources (bio-laboratory in Sotkamo and Nordurlis in Höfn, see section 2.3.2).

SampoNet is an educational IT-project typical of many recent regional policy initiatives in Finland. The project in Ilomantsi sought to incorporate the experiences of an earlier LEADER project. It is basically a training programme shaped as a Labour office initiative with some EU funding. The project is run through the vocational school, as with the winemaking school. The main results of the project is the training of 24 individuals in IT and video technology, in addition to the social capital produced by connecting them to each other and to local businesses. It is also typical of regional policy initiatives in Finland that projects are run cooperatively between two or more municipalities. In reality, little technology is involved. The major objective is to generalise people's access to IT, with this being particularly important in the restructuring of resource-based economies.

Similarly, the Kallbygden Wind power project is simply a matter of technology diffusion. As a reaction to a situation where local resources

are owned by outsiders, the vision was to “create new resources” — the wind — owned by the people. The Wind power project is a cooperative project controlled at the local level. In similar ways as in other cases, such as the Laponia projects, a crucial step for such local development projects is to employ professional project managers to raise EU and other funds for continued activities in other spheres. The orientation of the projects towards the search for EU funds is high. Although originally proposed by a milk farmer, the Kall interest association started the project. This association administers funds gained in compensation for hydropower development. The project manager was recruited from Southern Sweden, he was however familiar with the local area through his own holiday experiences. The project process has been through municipally organised round table sessions. In the end, the success of the project depends upon planning authority decisions following public debates on the consequence of windmills.

Public, associational and co-operative projects such as SampoNet and Kall wind power remain highly dependent on the political processes of local mobilisation and the response from the upper political levels, and these are processes where the municipalities are the key players. This was also the case with the Sotkamo bio-laboratory and NordurIs in Höfn, although they were more business-like projects, where the municipality essentially had more of a mid-wife function. The Kall wind power project is the only formally co-operative case in this study, though there are elements of local associations investing money or work in cases such as Uummannaq Seafood and LIDO Seafood. The difference is that the Seafood companies are business activities in the main local economic sector, while the small scale wind power project belongs to a post-productivist era where objectives in relation to the landscape are of a residential and environmental nature, while the economy is more about services, information and experiences. Therefore, “technology projects” should not be narrowly conceived as being only one kind of project. There are moreover significant differences between the projects in terms of their “business character”.

2.3.5 Cultural landscapes

The Laponia development includes several projects. In addition to the Sami project, the municipalities of Jokkmokk and Gällivare also have their own Laponia projects. In addition, the county administration has also put forward its own plans, but these are seen as an obstacle to developing the project by both municipal and Sami actors.

While the Sami project includes attempts at reforming and protecting their reindeer herding through Sami empowerment, the

municipalities' Laponia project of addresses ways of using nature – between exploitation and conservation – that are different from the tradition of local resource-based industries (mining and forestry). Though the project is still in the visionary phase it nevertheless helps to shape new discursive frameworks of understanding nature and culture, much influenced by the cultural landscape concept. New ways of resource management are suggested, and the municipal agenda is seen in the end as being not that different from the Sami agenda. Though only the municipal authorities can negotiate with the county administration in planning. In contrast, the Sami project did not accept the invitation from the county authorities due to the character of the proposal. In this way, the centre-periphery – or national/regional versus local – tensions are similar to those around Kallbygden. This is a sign of how the Swedish administrative system is a barrier to networking across institutionalised social fields. Both the Kallbygden and the Laponia projects are based on an understanding (which is both a feeling and a reality based on economic input-output analysis) that peripheral municipalities with their natural resources have contributed more to the “state’s welfare” than they have benefited from it. The projects can be seen in part as new responses to internal colonisation culturally, economically and politically (Hansen, 1998). International projects and funding facilitate this development, while the projects resulting from linkages with UNESCO and the EU in particular produce social capital among their participants that is important for future development, whatever the concrete economic outcomes of the projects are. Nevertheless, the crucial condition for such a new orientation is the collapse of the traditional resource based industries, because this is also facilitates the collapse of the connected “myth” of the resource-based periphery. Or in other words: Such an orientation is part of rural development in the post-productivist era.

In another study of rural restructuring in Iceland, also covering the Hornafjörður municipality, Karl Benediktsson has pointed to the production of new place identities, icons of landscape and re-territorialisations in rural Iceland. Although most farms along the Iceland ring road in front of the Vatnajökull have connections to some kind of tourist activity, national conservation plans for the whole of Vatnajökull are controversial (Benediktsson, 2000). Moreover with the rise of interest in the attraction and value of natural and cultural landscapes, tensions over the control of such resources are bound to re-emerge. The Sami Laponia project is clearly a project concerned with the strengthening of some kind of territorial control with landscape resources that can be even more valuable in the further development of the periphery of

consumption, where landscape experiencing becomes ever more commodified. Such spatial restructuring and social transformations in the peripheries also however pose significant questions over the political re-organisation of municipalities.

2.3.6 The role and size of the municipalities

Municipal reform is an issue often debated, and the debate is concerns both the tasks and the size of municipalities. From the cases studied, it is obvious that *municipal leaders and officials can play significant* roles in regional policies that work in concert with coping strategies locally. It seems that the municipal level combining territorial political citizenship and professional project management competence is a nexus in this regard. Still, the question remains, *how* does this work? Here we have cases from rather diverse municipal systems and trends in Norden:

In Kallbygdén in Åre Municipality, a local committee has been set up. The tasks giving cause to this form of political innovation are connected to the forming of local Agenda 21 plans. I 1996, Åre Municipality gained EU regional funds (goal 6) for their project on strengthening local citizens influence. Here, Kallbygdén had the advantage of already ongoing projects such as the windmill project, and such activities also give content to the new political structures, which is important to their viability when EU funding is terminated. In general, local political institutions strengthen the political influence of locals, though on the other hand the risk remains that the municipal authorities will let “village-level” committees take full responsibility for everything. Here, the crucial thing is that committees are not isolated and work as part of municipal agendas and administration. Such local committees may not always however produce new regional policies and coping strategies. They are, in effect, an institutional expression of ongoing processes. Political decentralisation works when it also implies stronger links to higher political-administrative levels and to non-local actors. This is something that can be seen in the case of the Laponia projects, where the Sami and municipal projects are complementing each other. Nevertheless, much depends on how the policy agents (and funding agencies) at higher institutional levels relate to local political organisations. Interestingly, in many cases in Sweden and Finland the EU has been more supportive of grass-roots political organisations and innovations than of territorial states.

Generally speaking Finland has smaller municipalities than does Sweden, while a strong regional meso-level has historically been absent from the Finnish political system. The restructuring of regional political organisation is however now ongoing, and we can see that a major

element of this, not least in efforts to form EU-projects, is *cooperation between municipalities*. This is another element of emerging multi-level governance structures, where municipalities are important, while several projects are in fact managed in the context of spatial scales and areas other than those of the municipalities. *The flexibility of the system lies not least in the fact that different configurations of partners are combined for different tasks*. The point is that political innovations at lower or higher levels are of little interest in themselves, if they are not filled with certain activities and projects giving political structures content and life. For instance, the role of local action groups in LEADER projects in Finland is significant (Rannikko, 1998)

The Faeroese cases come from political structures very different to those of the Swedish ones. In general the Faeroese municipalities are on the parish level in terms of scale. This means that the formal and professional competence of municipal authorities is weak in small rural municipalities. Hence the social capital involved in the LIDO project in Skálavík was much more of an informal community kind. Hence, the dominant policy pursued by Faeroese municipalities was, particularly in the 1970s and 1980s, mostly a question of *municipal co-ownership of local fish processing plants*. These plants were normally called “community-owned”, and they often came into this situation as part of a crisis solution. In the long run, the structure of many small fish processing plants producing almost the same industrial product (fillets in block) turned out to be non-competitive. Today, municipalities do not play a significant role in the Faroes, and a long and hard debate about amalgamation of some 50 municipalities into around 8 is still ongoing.

Iceland departed from a municipal structure akin to that of the Faroes at the beginning of the 1990s, and a process of amalgamation “from below” has reduced the number of municipalities during the 1990s. This can be observed in Isafjörður and Hornafjörður, where small rural municipalities have been merged together with the towns of Isafjörður and Höfn. Only one of the case projects, the rural tourism development in Öraefi, takes place in one of the former small rural municipalities, and this one is very far from the municipal centre of Hornafjörður, Höfn. Clearly, this is a matter of some complaint, as local tourist entrepreneurs do not believe that they receive much service, help or support from the municipal centre often located rather far away, and which is often identified with fisheries in contrast to agriculture. On the other hand, their businesses continue as usual, and it seems that they never really depended upon municipal efforts. In the Icelandic cases, municipal efforts were particularly important in the cases of West Tours in Isafjörður and in

NorthIce in Höfn, where municipalities facilitated the formation of activities as part of a conscious local development effort. In general, the major points in relation to municipal amalgamation concern the provision and administration of social services, education etc., while regional policy consequences are still hard to document. The possible strengthening of professional competence in the municipal authorities coming out of municipal amalgamation however can hardly be a disadvantage for regional policy initiatives. As stated in the report from Iceland, this is very much a question of how much amalgamated municipalities do consciously pursue a strategy of regional policy inside their own district. Few general conclusions can be drawn on this issue, as the feasibility of different municipal structures is much related to the historical, cultural and physical contexts in question.

This is also the case in Greenland, where municipalities are generally bigger than in Iceland and the Faroes, as each municipality generally corresponds to one historical “colony” with its surrounding villages or hamlets. In Greenland a town is simply defined as a municipal centre, although a few of them are quite small. In the context of post-colonial Greenland, where much of the economy is public, the role of the municipalities is important in local development. Paradoxically, one of the roles of local government can be their “midwife” support to local business initiatives trying to create activities in the “holes” left by Home Rule Government national cornerstone companies such as Royal Greenland, the former trade monopoly. Meanwhile, the practices (and many officials) in Greenland’s municipalities naturally resemble those of Denmark, where local economic development is also an issue. However it is only in Greenland that local government investment in the productive sectors is legal, something that is in contrast to the rules pertaining in Denmark.

The size and tasks of the municipalities differ from country to country, but it is the general image of the case studies, that local authorities can play important roles in mediating regional policies in dialogue with locals. In contrast, in the two extreme cases of Sweden’s large and the Faroes’ small municipalities, the role of municipalities in regional development was less clear. While the small Faroes municipalities hardly play a significant role in what are now globally oriented local development strategies; Swedish municipalities and other authorities can have difficulties in finding a role in EU partnership efforts. (Hallin & Lindström, 1998). Due to the vast differences in municipal structures, comparison between small West Nordic countries

outside the EU and “large” East Nordic countries inside the EU is difficult.

2.3.7 Nation, state and international relations

The role of the municipalities in Faeroese development tends to disappear when the national question of developing the home rule government into further self-government moves onto the agenda. In Greenland, given the lack of any national regional policy means, municipalities have been given the role as the “midwives” of local development. Icelandic municipalities can however also play a broker’s role in local development projects. Nevertheless, nearly all initiatives on local and regional development today are about reconfiguring relations with foreign partners or markets, or international organisations. The EU’s regional policy manages to set the agenda for local development in Sweden and Finland, also with regard to nationally funded projects (e.g. matching funding taking over EU principles). Furthermore, in the case of Lapponia, we saw the immense influence played by UNESCO’s strategies for cultural landscapes. Moreover, international Agenda 21 principles set the agenda for local development, such as in the case of Kallbygdén. Among the cases studied, it is only with some of the Finnish cases, namely Samponet and the artificial skiing tunnel, that international partners are not directly involved. Nor do the Kallbygdén cases involve international partners, although the scope and principles (e.g. Agenda 21) used are of an international character.

In general, the role of states in regional development has been weakened, apart from the role of the Icelandic Business Venture Fund, while regional policies in Finland and Sweden have been adapted to EU principles. Regional policies have become less about redistribution, although this still goes on tacitly, and more about entrepreneurial policies for reconfiguring networks and connections in businesses and markets. There are trends of policy forms bypassing states, as they connect local actors with the EU and other international partners. This is also the case, although on a small scale, in the projects supported by the West Norden Fund and in the context of Nordic Atlantic Cooperation.

Ultimately, the public sector distribution of services does play a significant role in the Nordic economies and in regional development, but this is a field that has not been investigated within this project. Few general explanations can be derived from the analysis so far. Only that we have documented a variety of cases that seem to fit well into the types of projects we have categorized, while also reflecting on their diverse national contexts. In the next chapter, we will try to elaborate on the lessons learnt from the variety of cases studied.

3. Lessons about social capital, coping strategies and regional policies

“Whether, how and why regional policies work in concert with coping strategies locally” was our general research question. Furthermore, we expected the concepts of social capital (as defined by Pierre Bourdieu) and coping strategies (Bærenholdt & Aarsæther, 2002) to be crucial to understand how local development projects work in relation to regional policies. This chapter is then an attempt at theoretical (not statistical) generalisation (or abstraction) from the cases studied. We start by reducing the data material into some significant cases of actors and networks identified, and then we continue to analyse these in the terms of social capital, copings strategies and regional policies (well aware that regional policies are not the national level instruments that they used to be).

3.1 Actors

In nearly all of the projects, certain key actors can be identified, but very few of these would succeed without the networks they are part of. In the more formalised Projects (of the East Nordic type) such as all the cases from Laponia, Kallbygden and Ilomantsi, *the project co-ordinator employed is the key person by definition*. Significant levels of resources and trust are vested in the competences of this person though this can of course be a weakness, as people tend to give this person responsibility for too much, and perhaps even hesitate to act themselves because of this. Clearly, a key task for professional project managers is to avoid this situation by mobilising networks that operate with their own dynamics. On the other hand, the institutionalised role of the project manager makes it possible to change the person in the position, if need be. In all of these cases, project managers could have achieved little without the support of a network of committed supporters.

In the case of LIDO Seafood, Oilwind and Uummannaq tourism *the key actors are self-made entrepreneurs* and not professional project managers. The strength and weakness of this form is that many business project networks are also totally dependent upon this single person, or we could say that this person is the node of network. This can be productive if the person-network includes a variety of contacts, such as in the case of LIDO Seafood, where the founder was a captain in Royal Greenland and thus has international contacts in the fisheries sector, while being an inhabitant of Skálavík he also has access to those willing to partake in local voluntary work. The male family tradition of entrepreneurs in the Oilwind company is an example of “traditional entrepreneurship”, that

we do not see so much of in the era of reflexive modernisation. The case of local tourism development in Uummannaq illustrates two crucial findings: One man can create a whole business locally. And one man can also monopolise all local network activities in that same business, so that little space is left for other possible entrepreneurs, although one should not always blame the only entrepreneur for this. In addition, project managers, such as the one behind the SampoNet in Ilomantsi, can also work as entrepreneurs attracting new projects on the basis of experience with earlier projects, and in this case the personal entrepreneur is also important.

Furthermore, there are a number of cases where entrepreneurship has been embedded in a specific constellation of actors: In the case of Sandoy Seafood, a group of “outsiders” from the neighbouring island succeed in coordinating fish processing, that locals themselves could not manage to do, and they did this on behalf of a non-local Faroes mother company. 3xStál is also run by a group of 3 persons with a common background in another local innovative firm (Póls) and the locality of Isafjörður. The location of 3xStál in Isafjörður totally depends on these key actors’ preference for living there. Arctic Fish owes its development to constellations of the mayor, some influential local fishermen and the appointment of a municipal project manager who was successful and went on to assume the position of managing director of the firm, once the municipality’s “midwife” function was over. In addition, the development of local projects such as the Kallbygden wind power project and the setting up of the local committee also depend on constellations of actors, of whom some are in-comers to the area.

In other cases, we see constellations of actors supplementing or competing with each other more than they are pursuing a common project. This is typically the case in local tourism development such as in the cases of Öräfi and Ilulissat, although these cases are in themselves very different. Competition is not an issue in the less complex Öräfi case where each actor offers products of a different kind (vertical business networks).

In this section on actors, a certain weight has been put on the West Nordic cases, where we frequently find stories of entrepreneurial business actors. This however does not mean that agency is not on the agenda in the more formally institutionalised East Nordic cases.

3.2 Networking

Networking can be a productive vehicle of innovation, also producing new identities and discursive frameworks of understanding. Such processes can be identified in cases like the ones in Kallbygden and in the

Laponia project. However, in some cases, networking reproduces historical tensions and only contributes to the further development of conflict, such as was the case in some of the processes on local tourism development in Greenland. Nevertheless, in some cases networking has more of a business character, for instance little innovative action would happen in the cases of Arctic Fish, LIDO Seafood and NorthIce in the absence of crucial business networks. Networking is also crucial in formalised regional policy projects such as the cases from Finland, but in these cases much networking is also a product of the project and its preparation, particularly when institutionalised social fields are cross-cut either by initiatives from below, or on the requirements for obtaining support (such as in the EU). Networking is a central practice of coping strategies. As such it is defined as “The development of interpersonal relations that transcend the limits of institutionalised social fields.” (Aarsæther & Bærenholdt, 2001; Bærenholdt & Aarsæther, forthcoming). Hence, this is clearly a process; networks are stable but develop with projects.

In the case of the Laponia process, several Sami organisations, various NGOs, and some political parties played a role, while international experts took part in the networking approach to producing the project. Meanwhile, the project developed networking of new kinds among the Sami themselves. Networking can no longer be seen as merely relations at the board level, transcending as they now do such limits and incorporating many actors, both inside, and between, Sami communities. Furthermore, the UNESCO nomination of Laponia opened the doors to scientific networking, thus giving access to research funding etc.

In the cases from Sotkamo, the Ski tunnel project was born in the sports college with long traditions of training and education in sports. The college is embedded in national sports associations as well as in the ministry (the National Board of Sports in the Ministry of Education), and these relations became the basis for networking in order to realise the project. Furthermore, Sotkamo municipality takes part in international networks with other skiing towns. In combination, a pattern of complex networking is emerging. The Sotkamo bio-laboratory is an Oulu university project driven by their development centre located in Kajaani in Sotkamo. It is a kind of “centre of excellence” and as such it is first and foremost committed to international professional networking, which means that it is not particularly committed to local development *per se*.

In the Faroes, networking in the LIDO Seafood case makes the effect of the combination of local and international contacts very clear. The networking among villages enabled the construction (“in the old

Faroes way”) of the internationally oriented fish plant, which is dependent on the market networking of the founder. In other cases, networking is based on the firm itself, as is the case with Sandoy Seafood, a subsidiary of a new Faroes fish firm built as a network within the parent company? Networking can however provide only a background character to the local milieu, such as in the cases of Oilwind and Kovin from Vágur, though in these cases few innovations have materialised recently. With weak national institutions of innovation, networking between business partners sharing knowledge is important in the Faroes. In the end, much networking depends on trust and confidence as regards individual persons, but this could also be restated thus: Possibly trust and confidence in persons is produced through networking, while networking does not in itself produce trust and confidence automatically.

Networking in the Icelandic cases studied is of a rather diverse character. In the NorthIce case networking combined local municipal and fisheries based networks and Reykjavik based university and innovation fund milieus into the same process. Indeed, the link between Höfn and Reykjavik is the crucial – and also critical – thing, as long as NorthIce is not that embedded in Höfn, apart from the material-spatial fix of the buildings provided. No doubt, the possibility of coming to – and from – Höfn either by car or by plane is crucial. In the case of 3xStál, networking out of Isafjörður to international markets happened by the “coincidence” of Canadian visitors examining shrimp processing in Isafjörður, when they saw some 3xStál machinery. No doubt the user-produced-relations between 3xStál and local shrimp processes had been important networks already in the early phase of developing 3xStál. As we saw in the case of Canadian visitors, machines can also pave the way for business networking; in fact, much technical networking is about machines or the like. Now 3xStál has expanded with subsidiaries in Reykjavik and Canada. While West Tours is predominantly a story of professional networking, Öræfi is about local networking to catch tourists on their way past as they travel along the Ring Road, but this is of course not independent from networking in marketing and with tour operators. In general, the country report from Iceland states that networking has now more of a local or a local-global character – and as such is now much less about working in a local-national nexus.

In the Greenland cases, combinations of local networks with international business contacts turned out to be decisive in the fisheries cases of Ummannaq Seafood and Arctic Fish, although as always fisheries depend considerably on fishery management and political

contacts in this respect. Local politicians managed to persuade networks of fishermen to start new business, where they could also invest accumulated capital. Uummannaq Seafood were then in a much more vulnerable situation, due to their lack of control over resources and to the fact that the majority of the capital was coming from the outside. In a sense, it is also comparable with Sandoy Seafood, where outsiders play a significant role – but for how long? With Arctic Fish, much of the networking is undertaken by the managing director, as he carries the networks with him due to earlier international business contacts and experience. Networking in the tourism sector is also going on in Ilulissat, but it tends to develop into two competing camps or constellations, both of which have their different international links. Nevertheless, tourism in Ilulissat remains dynamic and new businesses are emerging.

Little seems to happen without networking, but networking is no guarantee that anything else than just networking will actually happen. We can now go further into the difference between various networks discussing them in terms of social capital, following the definition of social capital quoted in the preface.

3.3 Social capital

Put very simple, none of the projects would have materialised without some pre-project social capital and the production of further social capital during the project. This lesson can easily be learnt from the above discussion on networking. But which forms of social capital produce positive outcomes and which forms do not? Non-productive social capital has been documented in local tourism development in Ilulissat (while the Uummannaq case is more about the lack of social capital committed to tourism). In the case of relations with the county and state administrations in relation to the Laponia case, social capital problems have clearly been identified as regards the macro level, something that Woolcock has termed "synergy" in "state-society" relations (Woolcock, 1998). Synergy did not work in relations between the local (Sami and municipal) actors-networks and the rather sector-oriented system of state administration in Sweden. Meanwhile, it is interesting that the Laponia process produced so much social capital locally and internationally, as a similar process on the Norwegian side paradoxically resulted in government institutions for, and Sami interests against (on the Tysfjorden – Hellemobotn case see Andreassen, 2000). Therefore, Laponia has no extension on the Norwegian side as of yet. Perhaps it was exactly the non-governmental character of the Laponia process in Sweden that propelled local action in favour of plans and projects with various partners, under the label of "Laponia". If the state had taken the initiative, things could have ended

up rather differently (similar plans for the Danish part of the Wadden Sea area were given up by the – now former – Danish minister of Environment due to local resistance). So the process of the conservation of nature-culture is indeed a question of who are the “owners” of social capital and the actors of coping strategies. To succeed, it matters significantly *who* benefits from projects and how the exact constellations of networking actors are arranged.

Furthermore, social capital tends not only to be about access to resources (power) independently of *what* it is about. Social capital tends to have a “taste” of something, for example fish. And it can be difficult to translate social capital from a fisheries context into a tourism one, just as social capital associated with Sami ethnicity cannot be used for any other purpose. However, if things come in certain ways, translations can happen, and this is what happened in the Swedish Laponia case. Here we need to stress the last words in Bourdieu’s definition: “Mutual acquaintance and recognition” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 119, and in many other places in books by Bourdieu). Social capital builds on some kind of reciprocity – of mutual recognition. This also means that it has reflexivity to it. If relations do not build on mutual recognition, where each accepts the other, it does not produce networks opening doors to other resources. As such then Bourdieu’s concept has an element of trust in it.

Mutual recognition as *the* principle of networks is found in most of the cases studied, as has been documented. Of course, one cannot be sure of the future of such projects as NorthIce and Sotkamo bio-laboratory, if such activities are moved. It may not be a coincidence that the only cases where we did not see social capital or non-productive social capital, were cases involving aspects of colonisation and indigenous peoples, such as the cases of tourism in Greenland and those dealing with the Sami versus the Swedish state.

3.4 *Coping strategies?*

While social capital is a way of understanding networks as a stock of resources and empowering capacities that actors can draw on, coping strategies put emphasis on the practices, that both draw on, and also produce, social capital (Bærenholdt & Aarsæther, forthcoming). Furthermore, our cases clearly illustrate the role of spatiality in networking in Nordic peripheries, but from our cases we also find differences of practices related to the bridging or bonding of social groups. Indeed, our definition of networking has *a taste of bridging* by the weight put on “transcending the limits of institutionalised social fields.” Still, Putnam’s differentiation between bonding and bridging is

useful (Putnam, 2000), only social capital in it self does not need to have a taste of bridging or bonding. Hence, bridging and bonding are better denominators for types of coping strategies, especially when combined with the different spatialities of territorial versus mobile practices, like this:

Socio-spatial practices in coping strategies:

Territorial bridging	Mobile bridging
<i>COPING</i>	<i>STRATEGIES</i>
Territorial bonding	Mobile bonding

(Bærenholdt & Aarsæther, 2002)

Of course, this is only an abstract typology. In what follows, we attempt to show that it is a meaningful typology when trying to understand the cases studied, although this will change the typology into another image:

Main principles of coping strategies and possible regional policies involved in the projects studied

	Mobile bonding	Territorial bonding/Mobile bridging	Territorial bridging
No municipal /regional policies	3xStál ⇐	LIDO Seafood Sandoy Seafood Kovin Oilwind Uummannaq local tourism Öræfi rural tourism	-----
Municipal/ regional policies	NorthIce Sotkamo bio-lab.	Laponia-Sami project ⇐ Ilulissat local tourism West Tours⇒ Uummannaq Seafood ⇐Arctic fish⇐ Sotkamo skiing tunnel	Laponia municipal Kallbygd.com Kallbygd.wind p. Wine making SampoNet
<i>Character of Project</i>	<i>Mobile business (location not based in business criteria)</i>	<i>Mobile-territorial resource-(exp)-based (localised business)</i>	<i>Territorial condition prod. (not business)</i>

The scheme suggests that the cases represent three types of projects, projects that can either be based on, or informed by, regional policies and/or municipal actions, or none of them.

One type of project (in the last column) produces general *territorial conditions* for further socio-economic development, even though they are not businesses themselves. These are projects of an infrastructural character, although we have no road and airline projects in the sample (though we could have had this for either the Icelandic or the Greenland context). The general conditions produced by these projects include municipal networking in the Laponia project, which also produces new discursive frameworks and even format identities of an innovative character, as the understanding of the nature-culture relation is transformed. Moreover, innovation in political structures such as in the Kallbygden local committee can also belong to this category, as with the very local Wind power project, although this has mobile elements in it. The two Ilomantsi projects in wine making and ICT (SampoNet) are training projects and are therefore also producers of conditions that may lead to something else later on. The “production of conditions” is a traditional form of regional policy aiming at giving citizens in peripheral areas the same conditions as those enjoyed in the central areas. It is probably no coincidence that these projects did receive regional policy funding, including EU funding, and that all of them also included action by the municipal authorities. Through them we see the policies of technology diffusion, knowledge, education, power, landscape understanding etc. being brought into the peripheries. The spatial principles of these projects are generally territorial, as their target is to define measures according to territorial definitions and also to produce territorial identifications, thereby bridging different social groups within territories, both at the local level, by contributing to the production of territorial communities, and at the supra-local level, by contributing to the integration of people into states and/or the EU. These are the types of *territorial bridging* measures that the (EU-based) author of the country report on Greenland was alluding to in his claims on regional policies. These are however *not* real Schumpeterian innovation policies, as no business actors are involved in central roles here.

In the middle column we see the innovations of *resource-based and localised businesses* that pursue strategies of innovation within the paradigm of the periphery rich in natural resources, although this may also include *experiencing* instead of *extraction*. The Sami Laponia project can be regarded as a newcomer to this group, as business is a central part of it, though there are spin-offs such as the Padjelanta Economic

Association, which runs tourist facilities on contract. What is interesting in all these cases is that they combine *territorial bonding* to defend and manage resources with *mobile bridging* to market and sell the products to international markets for food or tourist experience. This combination does work in most cases. The arrows ($\Leftarrow \& \Rightarrow$) point to modifications in need of extra comments in the following. The case of Uummannaq with regard to local tourism shows what happens when territorial bonding and mobile bridging are disconnected. The case of Arctic Fish in Ilulissat is among the more dynamic ones, as it originates from the strength and capital of a large group of Ilulissat-based fishermen coming together, investing in the use of non-local resources for foreign markets, while workers on-board the crab vessels are recruited in Ilulissat, contributing significantly to employment and municipal taxes. Of course, this business could continue and skip the principles of territorial bonding, become as such, a mobile business. The same applies to the four Faroes fishery based cases, though they will probably remain under the strong principles of territorial bonding at work in the Faroes. Note should also be made of West Tours in Isafjörður, which succeeds well in the territorial bonding of tourism products, but has little success in mobile bridging efforts to make tourists come, and therefore there is the risk that West Tours will become a case of traditional regional policy, preparing the conditions for something that we do not know whether or when it will happen.

In the first column we find the “real” technology cases, where something out-of-the-ordinary happened in local development, because either policies helped locate technology-based firms (if Sotkamo bio-lab and NorthIce succeed...) or local people decided that they would try to do their business where they preferred to live (3xStál). In these cases, the crucial networking process is of a mobile bonding character, which entails the existence of a common social field of technology development where actors belong to each other as a bond, and work together by the means of mobile networking. Therefore, it is no surprise, that if need be, mobility can also be used for moving the activity to any other place that can provide the same kind of resources needed, and this will only be easier when procedures have been standardised and the “face-to-face” user-producer relations and cultural affinity is no longer seen as crucially important, as in the case of 3xStál, which already has subsidiaries in Reykjavik and Canada. In any case, mobility can also be used just to stay – as long as it happens to be the case that the people in control want firms to stay – because they have a sense of “belonging” to the place. This can even happen when key actors are no longer living in the specific locality but feel a certain form of commitment to the place. These are cases of

real Schumpeterian innovation policy and/or entrepreneurship. In principle, such projects work together with the last column on the territorial production of conditions, although there are differences in time. They are doing so, as little would have happened in Isafjördur, Höfn and Sotkamo, if the public have not provided general accessibility by road construction, air strips, a local science park or a university development centre. Mobility and mobile bonding in particular require the provision of conditions that secure the techno-cultural conditions for mobility (these projects were not studied, because they had already materialised and in some conditions were now considered “natural”).

Coping strategies that are primarily of a territorial bonding *or* of a mobile bridging type rarely work, as they often have difficulty in fulfilling the requirements pertaining to coping strategies, with the combination of :

- Innovation – “new solutions to local problems as a response to the transformation of a globalising and increasingly knowledge-based economy
- Networking (see above) – “transcending the limits of institutionalised social fields”
- Formation of Identity – “that can reflect on cultural discourses from the local to the global”.

The dynamics of global-local tensions implicit in this definition exclude strategies of territorial bonding alone. Mobile bridging then certainly contains an element of coping, but as it does not include a commitment to either localised, or stable, interpersonal relations, the coping strategy elements tend to be weak.

From the outset, and by the selection of cases, we claim that the projects studied are cases of *innovation* in the sense defined above, as this definition can include a diversity of projects. Not all of the projects did succeed by *networking* “transcending the limits of institutionalised social fields”, though these were also the projects with less success, generally speaking. *The formation of identity itself has however not been investigated.* Nevertheless, we can see cases where business actors reflexively use symbolic references such as the image of Vatnajökull in the NorthIce and Öräfi projects. This does not however say much about identity formation among people. Hence, the case of Lapponia is crucial as it is innovative in forming new discursive frameworks, potentially enabling people to do new things in ways meaningful to themselves. Moreover, Arctic Fish is a clear case of innovation, although still in the

field of resource extraction, as Greenland fishermen see themselves turn businesses into something *meaningful* to themselves (not only because of the incomes generated). Indeed cases such as Arctic Fish, 3xStál, LIDO Seafood, Laponia and the Sotkamo skiing tunnel are projects of innovation in the context of a globalising and knowledge-based economy. They also depend on complex networking combining actors from different social fields, where some are territorialized, and others are mobile relations connecting local initiatives to markets and funding agencies. They also combine knowledge and identities from these different fields. So at the very least we can say that *innovative local development does not happen without cross-cutting networking, that is, networking transcending the limits between social fields*.

3.5 Regional policies in the light of social capital and coping strategies

The research reported on here is based on a multi-faceted understanding of what regional policy is, though the investigations were not able to cover all relevant aspects of this policy area. We see regional policies in a typology of three forms:

- A. Direct regional policy
- B. Spatial effects of welfare state regimes
- C. Cross-border regional cooperation.

Among the projects selected, the dominant type was that of type A, *direct regional policies*, predominantly within programmes on framing and supporting projects in certain localities. Some direct regional policy support actually come from *cross-border regional cooperation*, within the framework of Nordic Atlantic Cooperation for example, or via the West Norden Fund. Such projects do not however need to build on cooperation and new trans-national “spaces”. The *spatial effects of welfare state regimes* remain fundamental, though they are difficult to study through the project case approach used. Some of the Finnish and Swedish projects have been characterized as the “Territorial production of conditions”, such as for example the projects on training and on new political organisation. These can be understood as generative processes in the restructuring of welfare states.

Furthermore, we anticipated three types of means through which regional policies are implemented:

- I. Direct or indirect (re) allocation of resources
- II. Establishment of networks and organisations
- III. Production of discursive ideas and doctrines.

Different types of funding were involved here, particularly in the projects generated in what we refer to as the “East Nordic project economies”. Much funding comes with EU programmes and national programmes based on EU principles. Typically such an allocation of funds requires that new partnerships are established, and in some cases the processes producing networks and discursive frameworks are the most important results. Here, the case of Laponia – with UNESCO ideas and EU money – is an interesting one, as it actually has a perspective of social transformation. Some of the regional policy supported projects are of a substantially businesslike and innovative character, such as for example NorthIce, and the two projects in Sotkamo. These projects do however seem to have rather insecure futures. Only the Arctic Fish project, initiated by the municipality has thus far produced significant economic effects. Meanwhile, a number of the development projects studied, particularly those in the Faroes, *did not include any substantial regional policy means*, although they did include a rather small amount of funding from both the West Nordic Fund and also through Nordic Atlantic Cooperation.

In some cases regional policies really do however support coping strategies and the production of social capital with long-term implications. The Laponia projects are crucial cases in this respect. On the other hand, none of the projects would have succeeded without support from, or access to, *social capital*. The same can also be said of *networking*. Successful regional policy – supported projects – are thus characterised by the drawing on, and production of, social capital. In conclusion, one may then legitimately ask whether regional policies can work at all if they are not implemented as coping strategies.

4. Conclusion: Coping strategies as regional policies?

Are regional policies and coping strategies locally working in concert? In the case projects studied, they did, but there were also projects of local development that did not have any regional policy element in them. *Why* was this so? Is it simply a question of acknowledging that nothing happens if people locally do not take action? The question over *how* regional policies actually work in concert with local level strategies must be answered with an acknowledgement of the EU-type of regional policies that build on the principle of networking. For example, the LEADER projects favour the “bypassing” of states. As such, EU funding can support social transformation and spatial restructuring processes, something that we did not see much of in the West Nordic – classical entrepreneurial – tradition. Still, the role of mobile practices whether bonding and bridging, are significant in most projects, with or without

links to regional policy. In this way the local level may be said to be transforming, economically, socially, politically, and culturally.

What should then be considered the essence of a successful regional policy is a question that we will not give any definitive answer to here. We can see clear political elements in business innovation, but it would at this stage simply confuse the issue to say that all coping strategies are instances of regional policies. If we detect no legitimate political power acting with reference to citizenship (EU, state or municipal), why should we then call development practices regional policies? Everything that has a spatial effect does not have to be called regional policy. The term regional must be based on the understanding that something is part of something else. In other words: Regional policies need to meet the criteria of reflexively expressing objectives about part-whole-relations. Even welfare-state policies do this, as long as they have the objective of covering specific territories with certain services.

What we have found is that municipalities have a central role in social transformation and spatial restructuring across the Nordic peripheries. However, the notion of “municipality” means one thing in the Faroes, and quite another in Northern Sweden. Municipalities that deliver important welfare state services also tend to pursue local development strategies and thus often attempt to mediate between national and supra-national regional policy institutions, and local entrepreneurial initiatives. By so doing, the municipalities contribute to the production of social capital. Social capital is vital to such processes, whatever the role of regional policies. Moreover, it is important *who* has social capital and *what* the social capital is about. Social capital in this sense is not fungible, as it is not something that individual actors can possess as such, and thus it cannot easily be transferred. It depends rather on mutual recognition between actors (though not necessarily between all possible actors). Mutual recognition can also be termed *reflexive reciprocity*. Networking is always needed, and the forms of social capital and networking involved in innovation need to build on relationships where people themselves recognise each other's efforts. Regional policies should therefore facilitate this.

Acknowledgements:

There are no references to the five other – country-specific – reports of the project

(Nordregio working papers) by:

- Esko Lehto on *Sotkamo* and *Ilomantsi* in *Finland*.
- Karin Beland Lindahl on *Laponia* at Jokkmokk in *Sweden*.
- Gestur Hovgaard on *Vágur* and *Sandoy* in *The Faroes*.
- Unnur Dis Skaptadottir & Karl Benediktsson on *Isaffjörður* and *Hornafljörður* in *Iceland*.
- Jørgen Ole Bærenholdt on *Uummannaq* and *Ilulissat* in *Greenland*.

as it should be clear to the reader when information and analysis on countries, localities and projects studied refer to these country reports. As the Swedish country report only reported on the Laponia projects, the Kallbygden projects analysis is based on notes and overhead images from Sofia Lindgren's and Christian Kajser's presentations on Kallbygden to the MOST CCPP strategy conference in Storfjord, June 2001 in addition to Sofia Lindgren's paper. In addition, significant inputs to the various projects have come from Madeleine Granvik, Markku Tykkyläinen, Kjell Havnevik, Jukka Oksa, Olavur Waag Høgenesen and Jochen Peters, not to mention the participants in the interviews during the field work segment of the project, and discussions in several conferences and seminars including the presentation at NORDREGIO. We would therefore like to take this opportunity to thank all of the authors and contributors concerned.

References

- Aarsæther, Nils & Jørgen Ole Bærenholdt (2001) "Reflexive Local Development: Coping Strategies in a Globalized Environment," chapter 1 in Aarsæther & Bærenholdt (eds) *The Reflexive North*, Copenhagen: MOST and Nordic Council of Ministers, NORD 2001:10, pp. 15-40.
- Andreasen, Lars, (2000) "Makten til å kategorisere, Samepolitik og vern av natur," *Diderot* no. 2: 134-153.
- Benediktsson, Karl (2000) "Recreating rural spaces: Iceland's agricultural regions in a post-productivist era", paper to the MOST CCPP workshop Whether, how and why regional policies are working in concert with coping strategies locally, Joensuu, Finland, 15-19 November.
- Bourdieu, P. and Wacquant, L.J.D. (1992) *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bærenholdt, Jørgen Ole & Aarsæther, Nils (eds) (2001) *Transforming the Local, Coping Strategies and Regional Policies*, Copenhagen: MOST and Nordic Council of Ministers, NORD 2001:25.
- Bærenholdt, Jørgen Ole & Nils Aarsæther (2002) "Coping Strategies, Social Capital and Space", *European Urban and Regional Studies* 9(2):151-165.
- Bærenholdt, Jørgen Ole (1991) *Bygdeliv, Livsformer og bosætningsmønster i Nordatlanten, Om fiskeriafhængige bygder i Island og på Færøerne*, Forskningsrapport nr. 78, Publikationer fra Institut for Geografi, Samfundsanalyse og Datalogi, Roskilde Universitetscenter.
- Bærenholdt, Jørgen Ole (1998) "Regioner er politiske rum – også for geografer!," *Nordisk Samhällsgeografisk Tidsskrift* no. 26: 3-21.
- Bærenholdt, Jørgen Ole (2000) Revised research design for the project "Coping Strategies and Regional Policies – Social Capital in Nordic Peripheries" under the Nordregio research programme (unpubl.)
- Eliassen, Søren (2000) *Lokal innovation og produktion af teknologi til fiskeindustri – Betingelser for lokalisering af innovation og produktion af maskiner og udstyr til fiskeindustri i Alaska og Island*, Phd. afhandling, Institut for Geografi og Internationale Udviklingsstudier, Roskilde Universitetscenter (unpubl.)
- Flyvbjerg, Bent (1991) *Rationalitet og Magt, vol. 1: Det konkrete videnskab*, Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag.
- Hallin, Göran and Bjarne Lindström (1998) "Det ouppklarade partnerskapet: EU's strukturfonder och den svenske

- regionalpolitiken”, *Nordisk Samhällsgeografisk Tidsskrift* no. 26: 22-36.
- Hansen, Kjell (1998) *Välfärdens motsträviga utkant*, Lund: Historiska Media.
- Jessop, Bob (2000) *Globalisering og interaktiv styring*, Frederiksberg: Roskilde Universitetsforlag.
- Persson, Lars Olof (1999) Support for local initiatives in marginal areas, An evaluation of the rural programme in Sweden’s Objective 6 Region, Paper presented at the 39th Congress of European Regional Science Association, Dublin, 23-27 August.
- Putnam, Robert D. (2000) *Bowling Alone*, New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Rannikko, Pertti (1998) ”Europeiska unionens LEADER-program och local mobilisering – ett exempel från östra Finland”, *Nordisk Samhällsgeografisk Tidsskrift* no. 26: 83-92.
- Veggeland, Noralv (2000) *Den nye regionalismen, Europeisk integrasjon og flernivåstyring*, Bergen: Fagbokforlaget.
- Woolcock, Michael (1998) ”Social Capital and Economic Development: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis and Policy Framework”, *Theory and Society*, vol. 27, no.2: 151-208.

Nordregio

The Nordic Centre for Spatial Development

An Independent Centre for Research, Documentation and Information Dissemination

Established in July 1997 by the Nordic Council of Ministers on behalf of the governments of the five Nordic countries, Nordregio serves as an independent research centre on questions concerning spatial planning and regional development. Our staff come from all the Nordic countries, as well as from other European countries. Located in Stockholm, Sweden, the Centre applies a Nordic and comparative European perspective in its investigations, which include:

- ◆ initiating and carrying out research projects and analyses where the comparative perspective is central;
- ◆ offering internationally attractive educational programmes, where the sharing of experience provides new angles of approach to national issues and activities;
- ◆ disseminating experience and contributing to the professional discussion on spatial analyses, planning and policies.

A Young Institution with 30 Years of History

Nordregio grew out of the consolidation of three former Nordic institutions: *NordREFO* (The Nordic Institute for Regional Policy Research, established 1967), *Nordplan* (The Nordic Institute for Studies in Urban and Regional Planning, established 1968) and *NOGRAN* (The Nordic Group for Regional Analysis, established 1979).

The legacy of these institutions includes a widespread network of researchers and civil servants in all the Nordic countries as well as in Europe, a network which has been incorporated in Nordregio and upon whose experience Nordregio will continue to build.

Read more about Nordregio on the website www.nordregio.se.

NORDREGIO PUBLICATIONS

REPORTS

Nordic Perspectives on Process-Based Regional Development Policy. Editors Markku Sotarauta and Henrik Bruun (Future Challenges and Institutional Preconditions for Regional Development Policy; Volume 1) (Nordregio Report 2002:3) 275 pp. SEK 280

Hanell, Tomas, Aalbu, Hallgeir & Neubauer, Jörg: **Regional Development in the Nordic Countries 2002.** (Nordregio Report 2002:2) 154 pp. A4, Illustrations in colour. EUR 30

Local labour market performance in Nordic countries. Editor Lars Olof Persson. (Nordregio Report 2001:9) 148 pp. SEK 150

Clement, Keith & Hansen, Malin: **Sustainable regional development in the Nordic countries.** (Nordregio Report 2001:8) 130 pp. SEK 150

Sandberg, Audun: **Institutional Challenges for Common Property Resources in the Nordic countries.** (Nordregio Report 2001:7) 51 pp. SEK 50

EIA, large development projects and decision-making in the Nordic countries. Editor Tuija Hilding-Rydevik. (Nordregio Report 2001:6) 239 pp. SEK 250

Polsk-svensk handbook för planeringsbegrepp – Polsko-szwedki podręcznik pojęć z zakresu planowania przestrzennego. (Nordregio Report 2001:5) 399 pp. SEK 400

Innovation and learning for competitiveness and regional growth. Editor Peter Maskell. (Nordregio Report 2001:4) 114 pp. SEK 125

Att forska om gränser. Redaktör José L. Ramírez. (Nordregio Report 2001:3) 211 pp. SEK 250

Cluster Policies – Cluster Development? A contribution to the analysis of the new learning economy. Edited by Åge Mariussen. (Nordregio Report 2001:2) 131 pp. SEK 150

A Comparative Study of Nordic EIA Systems: - Similarities and Differences in National Implementation. Edited by Hólmfríður Bjarnadóttir. (Nordregio Report 2001:1) 155 pp. SEK 150

Evaluering av regionale utviklingsprogram i Norge. Åge Mariussen et al. (Nordregio Report 2000:5) 106 pp. SEK 100

Study Programme on European Spatial Planning: Conclusions and Recommendations : The full report is included on CD-ROM. (Nordregio Report 2000:4) 31 pp. SEK 100

Environmental Assessment in the Nordic Countries – Experience and prospects. Proceedings from the 3rd Nordic EIS/SEA Conference, Karlskrona, Sweden 22-23 November 1999. Edited by Holmfridur Bjarnadóttir. (Nordregio Report 2000:3) 253 pp. SEK 250

Future Challenges and Institutional Preconditions for Regional Policy. Four Scenario Reports. Edited by Ilari Karppi. (Nordregio Report 2000:1) 249 pp. SEK 250

Elling, B. **Scenarier for Nordens Infrastrukturlandskab – Transportinfrastruktur, miljø og regional udvikling, Del II.** (Nordregio Report 1999:6) 188 pp. SEK 200

Structures and Prospects in Nordic Regional Economics. Editors: Alanen, A., Eskelinen, H., Mønnesland, J. Susiluoto, I. & Tervo, H. (Nordregio Report 1999:5) 308 pp. SEK 250

From Trends to Visions. The European Spatial Development Perspective. Editors: Böhme, K. & Bengs, C. (Nordregio Report 1999:4) 86 pp. SEK 100

Aalbu, H., Hallin, G. & Mariussen, Å. **When Policy Regimes Meet. Structural Funds in the Nordic Countries** (Nordregio Report 1999:3) 200 pp. SEK 150

Schmidt-Thomé, K. & Bengs, C. **ESDP and Spatial Planning in the Baltic Countries** (Nordregio Report 1999:2) 80 pp. plus maps SEK 125

Hallin, G. **Avreglering och regional utveckling.** Regionala konsekvenser av institutionella ändringar i Nordens kommunikationstjänster (Nordregio Report 1999:1) 95 pp. SEK 100

Nordic Institutions and Regional Development in a Globalised World. Editor: Åge Mariussen (Nordregio Report 1998:2) 141 pp. SEK 150

The Progress of European Spatial Planning: Facing ESDP. Editors: Christer Bengs & Kai Böhme (Nordregio Report 1998:1) 90 pp. SEK 100

WORKING PAPERS

Grönqvist, Mikaela: **Partnerskap – från princip till praktik:** En jämförande studie i hur partnerskapsprincipen tolkats i praktiken i ett regionalt strukturfondsprogram i Sverige och i Finland. (Nordregio WP 2002:3) 84 pp. SEK 100.

Leeson, George W.: **The Changing Face of the Population of Europe :** Geographical Distribution, Urbanization, Depopulation and International Migration. (Nordregio WP 2002:2) 61 pp. SEK 75

Låt mångfalden blomstra! – Lokal demokrati i nordiska länder. Redaktör Ulla Herlitz. (Nordregio WP 2002:1) 59 pp. SEK 50

Nordisk turisme i et regionalt perspektiv. Redaktør Anne-Mette Hjalager. (Nordregio WP 2001:11) 172 pp. SEK 150

Lars Winther: **The Spatial Structure of the New Economy in the Nordic countries.** (Nordregio WP 2001:10) 58 pp. SEK 50

Fungerande partnerskap för regional utveckling – Erfarenheter från tre regioner i Sverige och Norge. Av Elsie Hellström... (Nordregio WP 2001:9) 43 pp. SEK 50

Roger Henning: **Regional Governance in the Nordic Capital Areas.** (Nordregio WP 2001:8) 74 pp. SEK 100.

Ex-Ante Evaluation of Baltic Sea INTERREG IIIB, Programme: Final Report. Edited by Merja Kokkonen. (Nordregio WP 2001:7) 42 pp, SEK 50.

Kokkonen, Merja & Mariussen, Åge: **Ex-Ante Evaluation of Interreg III B, North Sea Programme - Final Report.** (Nordregio WP 2001:6) 31 pp.. SEK 50

Mariussen, Åge: **Milieux and innovation in the northern periphery - A Norwegian/northern benchmarking.** (Nordregio WP 2001:5) 46 pp. SEK 50

Karppi, Ilari, Kokkonen, Merja & Lähteenmäki-Smith, Kaisa: **SWOT-analysis as a basis for regional strategies.** (Nordregio WP 2001:4) 80 pp. SEK 80

Sverigestudier 1996 – 1998. En konsistent syn på den rumsliga utvecklingen? Ett uppdrag från Miljödepartementet. (Nordregio WP 2001:3) 154 pp. SEK 150

Karppi, Ilari: **Competitiveness in the Nordic Economies. Assessments and Strucutral Features.** (Nordregio WP 2001:2) 45 pp. SEK 50

Arbetsprogram 2001-2003. (Nordregio WP 2001:1) 31 pp. No charge

The Baltic Sea Region Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow – Main Spatial Trends. Tomas Hanell et al. (WP 2000:10) 218 pp. Illustrations in colour. Out of print

Regional Development Programmes and Integration of Environmental Issues - the role of Strategic Environmental Assessment Workshop proceedings edited by Tuija Hilding-Rydevik. (WP 2000:9) 63 pp. SEK 250

Mariussen, Å., Aalbu, H. & Brandt, M. **Regional Organisations in the North** (WP 2000:8) 49 pp. SEK 50

Competitive capitals: Performance of Local Labour Markets – An International Comparison Based on Gross-stream Data (WP 2000:7) 27 pp. SEK 50

Nordregio, Ledningskonsulterna & SIR **Regionala tillväxtavtal: Utvärdering av förhandlingsprocessen i sju län och på central nivå** (WP 2000:6) 43 pp. SEK 50

Property Development and Land-use Planning around the Baltic Sea
Böhme, K., Lange, B. & Hansen, M.(eds.) (WP 2000:5) 146 pp. SEK 150

Schulman, M. **Stadspolitik och urbanforskning i Norden** (WP 2000:4)
75 pp. SEK 50

Berger, S. & Tryselius, K. **De perifera regionernas roll i de nordiska ländernas IT-strategier** (WP 2000:3) 37 pp. SEK 50

The Common Potential in Northernmost Europe: Final report
Kokkonen, M. (ed.) (WP 2000:2) 92 pp. SEK 100

Hallin, G., Borch, O-J. & Magnusson, S. **Gemenskapsprogram (SPD) för Sveriges mål 5a Fiske – utanför Mål 6-regioner** (WP 2000:1) 63 pp. SEK 50

Böhme, K. & Kokkonen, M. **INTERREG IIC CADSES Interim Evaluation** (WP 1999:7) 51 pp. SEK 50

Bengs, C. **Spatial Planning in Perspective. A professional course for experienced Baltic planners 1998-1999. Evaluation report and market survey.** (WP 1999:6) 47 pp. SEK 50

Eikeland, S. **Personal Incentives in Norwegian Regional Policy** (WP 1999:5) 17 pp. No charge.

Persson, L.O., Aalbu, H., Böhme, K. & Hallin G. **C-FRAMÅT. Att välja regionala framtider för Uppsala län** (WP 1999:4) 74 pp. SEK 70

H. Aalbu **Næringspolitikken i de nordiske land** (WP 1999:3) 36 pp. SEK 50

Amcoff, J. & Hallin, G. **FoU-resurser i Fyrstad** (WP 1999:2) 19 pp. SEK 50

Ceccato, V. & Persson, L.O. **Forskning för Regional Utveckling.** Svensk FoU med europeiska utblickar (WP 1999:1) 55 pp. SEK 50

Hanell, T. **Availability of Regional Data to Estimate Economic Trends in Very Small Regions in Finland, Sweden and Denmark.** (Nordregio WP 1998:7) 30 pp. SEK 50

Hallin, G. & Larsson, S. **Företagsutveckling Fyrstad och Företagsstart Fyrstad.** (Nordregio WP 1998:6) 78 pp. SEK 70

Ruutu, K. & Johansson, M. **Division of Power and Foundation of Local Self-government in Northwest Russia and the Baltic States.** (Nordregio WP 1998:5) 121 pp. with maps and statistical overviews. Out of print

Aalbu, H. & Bachtler, J. **Options for a Technically Feasible Performance Reserve Scheme.** (Nordregio WP 1998:4) 13 pp. No charge.

Programme 1998-2000. (Nordregio WP 1998:3) 26 pp. No charge.

Aalbu, H. **The Structural Funds as an Agent for System Change: A Mid-term Evaluation of Sweden's Objective 6 Programme.** (Nordregio WP 1998:2) 19 pp. SEK 50

Arbetsprogram 1998-2000. (Nordregio WP 1998:1) 23 pp. No charge.

To be ordered from:
Nordregio Library
P.O.Box 1658
SE-111 86 Stockholm, Sweden
library@nordregio.se
Tel: +46 8 463 54 15
Fax: +46 8 463 54 01