

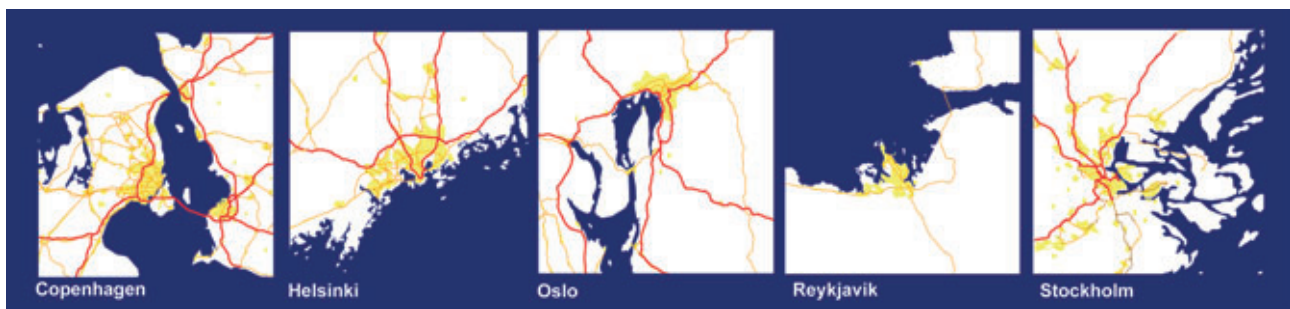
An actor-oriented survey of territorial governance systems in the Nordic capital regions

Peter Schmitt, Lisbeth Greve Harbo, Veera Lehto

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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 of 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.

Nordregio – Nordic Centre for Spatial Development

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Stockholm, Sweden, 2011

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Preface

The overarching vision of the “Nordic regional-policy collaboration programme 2009–2012” is that: “Nordic collaboration is to be the driving force in the development of a new, stronger regional policy. At the heart of the new policy is the use of close collaboration between various levels of decision-making and sectors to meet, head on, the challenges inherent in globalisation for the purpose of sustainable consolidation of the Nordic region’s development opportunities at local, regional and national level.”

This vision is to be implemented through a focused effort within the three priority action areas: sharing experiences and knowledge-building; globalisation and cross-border collaboration; and third-generation regional policy.

To develop these priority areas, the Nordic Committee of Senior Officials for Regional Policy (EK-R) appointed four working groups at a meeting on 16th of June 2008, tasked with developing proposals for specific initiatives and projects in each action area in dialogue with EK-R. The ‘Working group on exchange of experience and knowledge building – Nordic urban regions’ [*Erfaringsudveksling og kundskabsopbygning – Nordiske byregioner*] is thus mandated to “present and partly initiate concrete proposals for knowledge development and exchange of experience and prepare input to the Nordic policy development within the field of regional policy in urban regions role”. The working group comprises 1-2 civil servants from all 5 Nordic countries - suggested by each country and formally appointed by EK-R - with Denmark holding the chairmanship.

In its work, the working group on exchange of experience and knowledge building – Nordic urban regions has taken up the theme of ‘coordination in complex metropolitan governance systems’ in order to share experiences and disseminate Nordic examples of relevant policy actors aiming to solve the administrative and political problems associated with coordination. This paper form part of that broader task.

The paper was initially developed within the working group and while in progress, the theme was followed up by a seminar on ‘Metropolitan Governance in the Nordic Capital Regions’ held in Helsinki on the 11th of November 2010. At this seminar, representatives from all 5 Nordic metropolitan regions illuminated governance structures within a particular case study from each Nordic capital region. The lessons and experiences gained from these insights have also been included in this paper.

Summary

The ongoing process of economic globalisation challenges local, regional and state-level institutions as well as other public and private stakeholders to a) develop new modes of territorial governance, b) define new mechanisms to allocate resources, and c) to reconcile territorial competitiveness and social cohesion at the national, regional and local level. In response to this, governance systems across the Nordic Capital Regions are currently undergoing a period of transition, primarily through the addition of new actors, with each trying to find their niche in respect of the evolving and increasing strategic, territorial and institutional challenges.

This report aims to provide an introductory overview of territorial governance systems in the Nordic capital regions. In doing so, we focus on the categorisation of various actors that constitute these governance systems. This is achieved through the gathering of information on their principal tasks, scope of action and institutional character.

The resurgence of debate over the complex territorial governance systems now emerging across the Nordic metropolitan regions forms the point of departure for this report, since it describes how the scale of Nordic capital regions is constituted by different actors, each of whom have a particular interest in the issues and fields of interest in the focus here: physical planning (including transport planning), strategic planning (including land-use planning) and regional development (including, in particular, its economic dimension).

Methodologically, these actors were first identified in relation to the field of interest at hand – this being physical planning (including transport planning), strategic planning (including land-use planning) and regional development (including, in particular, its economic dimension). Secondly they were characterised by drafting short portraits of each actor with respect to their institutional foundation, their main fields of work, and their available instruments. In this light this report can be seen as being rather information-rich in character, since it is specifically designed to bring together the currently available, but often rather disparate, information on the various actors in order to provide an overview of the governance systems dealing with the above-mentioned fields of work in all five Nordic capital regions. The report also provides much needed information on the territorial scope (and the variations due to different definitions used in these metropolitan areas) and the formal planning systems for each of the five Nordic metropolitan areas (Copenhagen, Reykjavik, Oslo, Stockholm and Helsinki). In addition, current governance issues in each Nordic capital region have been highlighted via the presentation of a national case study at the end of each chapter thus adding greater ‘context’ in respect of complex governance structures.

In order to compile and synthesise our findings, information on each actor in the five Nordic capital regions is presented by highlighting the issue of scale/territorial logic on the one hand and the predominant ‘type of action’ (‘norm-based’, ‘utilitarian’ and ‘communicative/dramaturgical’) represented by that actor, on the other. It should be noted however that the latter can only be based on a tentative judgement stemming from the basic information outlined above. In order to produce more specific conclusions further detailed study would be required.

Those governance actors employing a rather utilitarian type of action, i.e. those that have been given a clear political mission with a rather focused agenda to either apply policies, or manage/develop policies within a specific field of work (such as transport or economic development etc.) can be deduced as a concrete political response to the newly evolving context that the capital region is dealing with. Such examples here include regional public transport bodies in the Helsinki and Stockholm regions and cross-border institutions, such as the Öresund Committee, as well as the Helsinki-Tallinn Euregio, which have developed a very straightforward approach to fostering cross-border cooperation based on concrete projects and can be therefore assigned to this type of action.

Perhaps most striking however is the emergence of the many actors that can be grouped together under the communicative/dramaturgical type of action. With the exception of Reykjavik, since the beginning of the 1990s a number of non-governmental (NGOs) or quasi non-governmental organisations (Quangos) have been established at the regional level (such as Copenhagen Capacity, Oslo Region Alliance, and the Council of the Mälars region or the Helsinki Region Cooperation Assembly). It appears that many such actors have been formed to cope with the new territorial, institutional and strategic context that has emerged in relation to the many new challenges that the Nordic capital regions face. It is, moreover, interesting to note here that the geographic scope of such actors is very often quite flexible or comprises a larger territorial entity than the existing norm-based (and partly also utilitarian) regional actors. In this sense, these new actors form through their interactions and their available instruments (for the most part 'communication') new forms of institutional arrangements. Clearly, however, they have not replaced the more formal State institutions and spatial planning systems, i.e. norm-based types of action, but they do increasingly complement them.

In this light the birth of these new actors can be interpreted as a concrete response to the multifaceted challenges that the Nordic capital regions currently face, i.e. to extend and re-frame the institutional capacity of this rather new intermediate scale that transcends many administrative boundaries between the municipal and the national level while at the same time coping with new and often divergent interests and rationales (such as international competitiveness or the integration of a larger labour market area through inter-municipal cooperation).

It remains to be seen, particularly in respect of individual cases, how far these new actors can actually become powerful players and how far the interplay with other actors functions effectively. Since the regional level is, in general, rather weakly institutionalised in the Nordic Countries in terms of the fields of work focused on here, the national level, and the responsible ministries in particular, may function as a kind of moderator or even a mediator here in respect of the interplay of the municipalities and other formal regional actors on the one hand and those actors using a rather more utilitarian or communicative/dramaturgical type of action on the other.

1. Scope of the report

1.1. Objective

This report aims to provide an introductory overview of territorial governance systems in the Nordic capital regions. In doing so, we focus on the categorisation of various actors that constitute these governance systems. This is being done by assembling information about their principal tasks, scope of action and institutional character.

In this sense we understand governance systems as complex and interrelated patchworks of various actors and several modes of interaction. These modes of interaction are characterised by different institutional arrangements such as rules, norms or other formalised, but also non-formalised principles of interaction that organise the networking of such actors. Each mode of interaction shall thus organise or regulate the interplay of actors in terms of policy development, integration and delivery. In order to gain a more comprehensive picture of the particular governance system in a given urban region, particularly in respect of a certain field of interest (such as, for instance, spatial planning and development) one would need to carefully study those interactions and the related collective actions, the associated processes, mechanisms and instruments as well as the wider legal, administrative and policy structures which provide the framework for territorial governance. This, however, can only be achieved within larger research projects.

Due to the limited nature of the budget available, the 'Working group on exchange of experience and knowledge building - Nordic urban regions' had to identify an alternative, but still reasonably robust approach to charting the evolution of such territorial governance systems in the Nordic capital regions. In this light it was decided to focus on the most important actors (i.e. governmental and non-governmental ones) within such territorial governance systems. They can be understood as the central actors that form the framework of such systems and thus are responsible for their general performance and day-to-day functioning.

Methodologically, these actors were first identified in relation to the field of interest at hand – this being physical planning (including transport planning), strategic planning (including land-use planning) and regional development (including, in particular, its economic dimension). Secondly they were characterised with respect to their institutional foundation, their main fields of work, and their available instruments. In this light the present report is of a rather informative character, since it assembles such information of the identified actors in order to help provide an overview of the governance systems dealing with the above-mentioned fields of work in all five Nordic capital regions. From this we can at least sketch a rough picture of the operating framework of such governance systems, which in turn could act as a base for a further study of the factual interactions between these actors and other associated characteristics of such territorial governance systems. A potential subsequent study would then be in a better position to provide more detailed indications of the quality, problems, conflicts and strengths of the specific modes of governance in any given Nordic capital region.

1.2. Why is metropolitan governance an important issue?

In the context of the current phase of globalisation new geographies of governance are emerging, where state capacities are being re-organised both territorially and functionally. In the midst of this re-composition of political space, one can detect a growing appeal to 'urban areas' in general and 'metropolitan regions' in particular as key places for economic growth, different kinds of infrastructures as well as breeding grounds for innovations (Scott 2001, Jonas/Ward 2007, OECD 2006). The increasing economic weight of metropolitan regions in European and in Nordic urban system in

particular can, for the most part, be attributed to the spatial logic and territorial needs of the knowledge-based economy in terms of human capital, infrastructures, cultural assets and creative *milieus* (Hall/Pain 2006).

In the Nordic Countries in particular, we can observe a gradual re-hierarchisation of national urban systems combined with the growing dominance and spatial extension of the capital regions and to some extent also the emergence of prosperous second-tier urban regions (such as Aarhus, Trondheim, Karlstad, and Tampere) on the one hand while numerous towns and cities – in a European perspective – across the comparatively sparsely populated Nordic landscape face a reduction in their comparative influence, on the other. Consequently a handful of Nordic metropolitan regions have become extremely important in their role as the drivers of international competitiveness and the mainstays of the socio-economic well-being of the Nordic National States, which is unsurprisingly also promoted by numerous state-run initiatives, projects and policies (Johansson *et al.* 2009).

The above-mentioned processes challenge local, regional and state-level institutions as well as other public and private stakeholders, to develop new modes of territorial governance (Otgaar *et al.* 2008, Andersen 2005, Knapp/Schmitt 2003), to define new mechanisms to allocate resources, to reconcile territorial competitiveness and social cohesion at the national and regional level, and finally to identify robust strategies to make their metropolitan regions attractive for investors and inhabitants (Ache *et al.* 2008). The resurgence of debates on territorial governance in particular considering metropolitan regions as being the key assets held by nation states must therefore be understood in relation to the ongoing process of economic globalisation and political re-territorialisation (Brenner 2003, 2004).

It is also important to note that the development of new forms of territorial governance for the hitherto rather ignored expanding ‘scale’ of the metropolitan region can be viewed as a highly contested process involving a significant power struggle, revolving around not only the content of this new scale, but also its relationship to other existing scales (e.g. local, national, European) and the articulation between such scales (cf. Scharpf 2001, Jessop 2005, Gualini 2006).

This wider context thus constitutes the point of departure for this report, since it describes how the scale of the Nordic capital regions is constituted by different actors who each have a particular interest in the issues and fields of work mentioned above.

1.3. Different modes of metropolitan governance

Since metropolitan regions do offer a new scope for territorial governance they demand a certain set of coordinative and regulatory institutional arrangements to negotiate and shape their futures. Metropolitan regions can be viewed as constituting a specific interface between different established level due to their multi-scalar relations reaching from the local up to the global scale. For this reason, their political and organisational potentials and capacities have to be activated to push (or even initiate) the political bargaining process.

What makes it even more difficult to establish a specific mode (or many modes) of governance for the scale of the metropolitan region is the fact that normally the rationale for defining a metropolitan region follows a functional logic (economic integration, labour market regions etc.). The relevant political stakeholders are, however, bounded by their territorial logics (i.e. the politico-administrative physical scope of municipalities, provinces, counties, districts etc.) and their inherent institutional restrictions. This means that a powerful discourse has to be established which suggests a way to overcome these territorial and institutional limitations perhaps by promoting various rationales to motivate stakeholders to invest their resources and capacities with a view to agreeing a new (or even better) mode of governance for the scale of the metropolitan region.

As we know from numerous studies on territorial governance, the co-existence of such institutional arrangements is characterised by a mix of formal and informal modes of governance to coordinate and regulate the interactions and power-relations between the different stakeholders involved. Based on his theory-led description of governance approaches in six German metropolitan

areas, Blatter (2005) suggests a very useful way to structure the observable modes of governance. He distinguishes four different types of actions based on their underlying action theory (norm-based, utilitarian, communicative and dramaturgical). The first (norm-based) is basically organised by general legal frameworks (as given by the Nation State/EU for instance), the second (utilitarian) by mutually agreed rules between the actors involved in order to maximise the utility of their cooperation (very often regarding one specific sector, e.g. transport), which can be also translated into conventions for instance, the third (communicative) considers – literally - communication as the main tool of coordination among different actors, and finally, the fourth is primarily concerned with creating visibility in terms of marketing or flagship projects for instance.

Blatter (2005) deduces further two different structural logics in terms of types of actions that are linked with the underlying structural pattern of interaction, namely tight coupling (rather formalised) versus loose coupling (less formalised). The resulting eight ideal-types of governance (cf. table 1) are thus helpful in better structuring and understanding the emerging metropolitan governance systems in the Nordic Countries or indeed, elsewhere.

Table 1: Types of action and structural pattern of interaction

type of action	structural pattern of interaction (modes of governance)	
	tight coupling	loose coupling
norm-based	hierarchical organisations (e.g. municipality, county)	multi-scalar system (e.g. city-hinterland association)
utilitarian	club (e.g. organisation for transport planning, water supply)	negotiation system (e.g. general agreements)
communicative	consensus-oriented dialogue (e.g. regional conference)	discourses (e.g. strategic alliances)
dramaturgical	coalition/federation (e.g. marketing-agency)	projects (e.g. lighthouse projects with a limited timeframe)

Source: Blatter (2005, 126), amended

Inspired by this, the Nordregio team has developed a somewhat similar table in order to synthesise the results (i.e. the main characteristics of governmental and non-governmental actors) of each Nordic capital region in typologies by focussing on scale/territorial logic on the one hand and the assumed predominant ‘type of action’ and ‘structural pattern of interaction’ that is represented by the identified actor on the other. The latter aspect (‘structural pattern of interaction’) can however only be anticipated, since further in-depth analysis is needed to make a definite grouping.

Also due to the aforementioned limitations of this study, the focus here has been on actors and not on ‘discourses’ or ‘projects’ as two very loose coupled forms of interaction, therefore the latter two are not really considered here. In contrast to the rather tightly coupled communicative and dramaturgical form of action, these two modes do emphasise the power of strategic alliances in order to e.g. activate a regional identity or to push certain projects of regional interest. In other words, even though one can assume that such modes of governance are becoming increasingly important in particular in metropolitan regions they are generally of a rather temporary nature and thus we assume that they could occur at any time elsewhere and thus do not necessarily inform us about the nature of the specific metropolitan governance system *per se*.

1.4. Methodology

As noted previously, the actors have been identified with regard to their territorial logic and interests (here the five Nordic capital regions) and in respect of their tasks – namely, physical planning (including transport planning), Strategic planning (including land-use planning) and regional development (including, in particular, economic development issues). The identification process was carried out by means of a literature review and internet research as well as in correspondence with the members of the ‘Working Group on exchange of experience and knowledge building - Nordic urban regions’.

Thereafter, short portraits of the various actors (i.e. governmental and non-governmental) were assembled with the intention of covering the following major characteristics:

- their legal form (i.e. their main institutional and organisational character),
- the main geographic scopes of their activities (defined, if yes, how?, or flexible)
- their main tasks (i.e. in relation to the tasks that are in the focus of this study, see above),
- their available instruments (financial incentives, regulatory power, communication, negotiation, organisational development),
- interaction with other relevant actors (i.e. in relation to the tasks that provide the focus for this study, see above),
- some additional background information (sources of finance, year of foundation, number of employees, annual budget).

These primary characteristics have been examined for the identified actors in each Nordic capital region. In order to make it possible to gain a comparable overview the bulk of the information produced has been integrated into a rather simple format by using text boxes. Their order in respect of each Nordic capital region does not reflect any level of importance. The advantage of this rather simple way of organising the given information is that it can be easily updated or enlarged in the future.

Furthermore, the actors included in this list are those that encompass the central urban core, i.e. the core municipality of each capital region, and thus some actors which could be characterised as part of the metropolitan governance system (dependent on the delimitation of the capital region) but who address only neighbouring areas, may have been left out.

In the following chapters 2 to 6, the obtained results for the five Nordic Capital regions are presented. As noted previously, this overview does not set out to provide a complete list of governance actors in each Nordic capital region. Particularly with respect to the municipal actors moreover it should be emphasised that only the planning department (due to the functional focus of the study) in the core municipality of each capital region is included. Although the core municipality is a major actor with regard to the development of the Nordic capital regions, the other municipalities in each metropolitan region also play their part and should thus be included if the overview was to be more comprehensive.

Before the actor-oriented views of the governance systems are introduced two brief sub-chapters are presented outlining the territorial scope (and the variations due to different definitions used in these metropolitan areas) and the formal planning systems for each of the five Nordic metropolitan areas (Copenhagen, Reykjavik, Oslo, Stockholm and Helsinki). In addition, current governance issues in each Nordic capital region have been highlighted via the presentation of a case study from each country at the end of each chapter. These case presentations were included in order to add greater context to the issue of complex governance structures with each case being based on the presentations given at the seminar on ‘Metropolitan Governance in the Nordic Capital Regions’ held in Helsinki on the 11th of November 2010. Finally, in chapter 7 the information provided for each Nordic capital region is synthesised and some conclusions and major observations drawn.

2. The Copenhagen capital region¹

2.1. Territorial scope

The current regional administrative unit for the capital region - “The Capital Region of Denmark” - is composed of 29 municipalities, including the City of Copenhagen. However, the island of Bornholm is part of this administrative region, which is perhaps a little unusual since no specific metropolitan functions are to be found there. Leaving Bornholm aside then sees 28 municipalities in the Copenhagen capital region.

Another definition of the Copenhagen capital region is used in the Danish Planning Act where the capital region is addressed specifically. This definition is not contiguous with any administrative level, but it includes 34 municipalities. Although it varies, depending on the number of municipalities included, these definitions refer to a region of approximately 1.8 million inhabitants.

In their territorial review the OECD used yet another definition of the Copenhagen functional area, namely by defining it to be the city of Copenhagen, the city of Frederiksberg as well as the five former counties surrounding them, totaling 2.4 million inhabitants.

Finally, the Copenhagen capital region is often considered in connection with the Öresund Region. The Öresund region consists of the two Danish regions, the Capital Region and the Region Zealand, and the Swedish Region of Scania, and has a total of 3.7 million inhabitants.

2.2. Short introduction to the formal spatial planning system

National spatial planning in Denmark is addressed in a non-binding national planning report and in national planning directives that bindingly regulate certain land use practices such as summer houses and area reservations for large public investments such as natural gas plants and wind turbines.

Binding regional land use plans disappeared from the Danish planning system as part of the 2007 structural reform process. The municipal level has taken over most of the planning tasks formerly handled by the counties. The five ‘regions’ as they are now termed prepare regional plans which provide strategic visions for the region's development in areas such as nature and environment, business and rural development. Furthermore, the regions also act as mediators if municipalities disagree on common planning issues. The capital region has a special provision in the new Planning Act, since the overall planning principles for the spatial development of the capital region (consisting of the above-mentioned 34 municipalities) is now the responsibility of the Minister for the Environment, which must concretise the general land use of the capital region in a national planning directive, something which was previously the role of the regional plan in this respect has thus now been taken over by the national planning level.

¹ What term to use for the capital regions is a matter of definition and the reasons that delimitation is required. Since the label ‘capital region’ has been chosen as the generic term in this paper, some confusion might occur when the Danish regional authority for the capital region holds the official English title of ‘The Capital Region of Denmark’. We hope, however, that it will be possible for readers to keep these two uses of the same name separate in what follows.

Danish municipalities each draw up a comprehensive municipal plan that includes both the municipal planning strategy and the land use regulations for urban and rural areas. In addition, the municipal plan includes an overview of the municipal decisions and the limitations imposed by governmental plans and decisions. For this the municipalities are required to report on specific issues such as protected areas, construction regulations for state roads, development in the coastal zone and the linkages to municipal planning in neighbouring communities as well as the completed strategic environmental assessment.

One of the main objectives of the 2007 Planning Act was that the municipalities should be responsible for land use planning for both cities and the countryside. Moreover, the emphasis here is on strengthening strategic planning, giving the general public a greater role in the planning process, increasing the possibility of mixed land use, and promoting sustainability. Digital planning is also an integral part of the new planning processes which shall ensure better transparency and information, and shall increase participation in the planning processes.

In this new structure the state sets the general guidelines for planning, while it remains a local task to translate these broad guidelines and visions into actual physical planning. Meanwhile, the five regions in charge of a new type of plan - the Regional Development Plan - to ensure that strategic development planning takes place. The new administrative structure continues the general trend characterising Danish planning since the municipal reform process of 1970, namely that there has been a gradual shift from a hierarchically guided planning system to one exemplifying a more process-oriented management, where planning decisions are taken in a network between public actors. However, it is not that the traditional hierarchical division is gone, rather that the planning process now takes place within the framework of the more formal planning hierarchy.

The municipalities are obliged to maintain a municipal plan that covers the entire municipal area. The new municipal plans both summarise and concretise the overall development of each municipality. Each plan consists of a main structure, containing the broad goals for development and land use in the municipality, a collection of guidelines for land use within certain topics, and the framework for the content of the local plans. Where the main structure gives an overview of the plan's content, the guidelines work as a basis and framework for the municipal administration of the rural zone provisions and the administration of a number of sectoral laws, such as the Environmental Protection Act.

The local plan must not be in conflict with the desirable future development of the regional development plan; with regulations and decisions that the Minister has issued to ensure national planning interests; or against any national level directive provisions on retail and the national planning directive for the capital region.

The regional councils have the obligation to ensure that there are regional development plans for each region. The regional development plan should be a tool to promote regional growth and sustainable development with the regional plan expressing the regional council's vision for the overall future development of the region across sectoral areas. Regional development plans do not contain specific land use designations. They should instead - based on an overall assessment - describe the desirable future development of the region's urban, rural and remote areas, as well as of nature and the environment, including recreation and business i.e. tourism, employment, education and culture.

Mega-regional level

As discussed above, depending on the definition used for the Copenhagen capital region, various mega-regional levels can be identified. In 2010 the member organisations of the Öresund Committee (Danish and Swedish municipalities and regions) agreed on the Öresund Regional Development Strategy, a joint strategy for the Öresund region. The strategy addresses various strategic initiatives including labour market cooperation and infrastructure.

Within the Danish section of the Copenhagen capital region, the Ministry of Transportation influences infrastructural developments in the capital region and the Nature Agency has a particular responsibility for overall planning in the Copenhagen capital region. In parallel to these national actors,

the Capital Region of Denmark and Region Zealand address strategic development in the capital region where it cooperates with the municipalities on e.g. public transportation issues.

Also several of the more specific cooperation agencies, such as the business development agencies of Growth Forum and Copenhagen Capacity address development across the Öresund region as well as the Copenhagen capital region.

City-regional level

While the Capital Region of Denmark is the primary administrative actor that covers most of the Copenhagen capital region, it is the capital municipalities that are responsible for aligning their plans across the capital region. They do so via the municipal plans where the interaction between national planning, the regional development plans and the neighbouring municipal plans are to ensure that each municipality's planning is done in accordance with a general shared interest in terms of land use.

Municipal level

As a major actor in the Copenhagen capital region, the City of Copenhagen plays an important role in planning at the municipal level though the other municipalities in the region are also responsible for formulating municipal plans that are in accordance with each other and which are to benefit the capital region as a whole. Furthermore, the municipalities cooperate on public transportation via bus in the traffic company *Movia*, and on the metro via the company *Copenhagen Metro*.

2.3. An actor-oriented view of metropolitan governance

DANISH MINISTRY OF TRANSPORTATION

Transportministeriet

Legal form: State administration

When established: 2005 (replaced the Traffic Ministry which was established in 1986 and which itself was replaced another ministry responsible for traffic, founded in 1892)

Number of employees: 140 in the Department itself

Annual Budget: -

Financed by: The state

Geographic scope of the tasks: Denmark

Tasks: Holds the administrative as well as the parliamentary responsibility for the execution of tasks concerning the Minister's field of responsibility: roads, vehicles, railways, fixed links, harbours, ferry operations, coastal protection, aviation, airports and postal services.

Instruments: Legal framework, national directives and policies

Interaction: Municipalities, regions, agencies, public institutions, the Government

Source: www.trm.dk

NATURE AGENCY (the former 'Agency for spatial and environmental planning')
Naturstyrelsen, ex. By- og Landskabsstyrelsen

Legal form: State administration
(under the Ministry of Environment)

When established: 2011
(under the new name of *Naturstyrelsen*)

Number of employees: 180

Annual Budget: -

Financed by: The Ministry of the Environment

Geographic scope of the tasks: Denmark

Tasks: Responsible for the Danish state's general interests within the areas of nature, the aquatic environment and the planning of urban and rural areas. The agency is in charge specifically of the overall planning of the metropolitan area (comprising 34 municipalities).

Instruments: National planning reports, planning objectives, national planning directives

Interaction: Municipalities, regions, Ministry of the Environment, the Government

Source: www.naturstyrelsen.dk

THE CAPITAL REGION OF DENMARK
Region Hovedstaden

Legal form: Regional administration

When established: 2007 (new composition after the restructuring of the Danish Planning system)

Number of employees: 43 in the department for regional development

Annual Budget: 219 million DKK (2010)

Financed by: 70% is financed by the state and 30% from the municipalities.

Geographic scope of the tasks: The formal borders of the Capital Region of Denmark, comprising 29 municipalities (including Bornholm).

Tasks: The regions have specific tasks in the areas of regional development, business, education and culture, nature and environment and public transport. They have to take the initiative and be responsible for strategic regional development in collaboration with other regional and local actors.

Instruments: Regional development plans

Interaction: Municipalities, other regions, the agency for spatial and environmental planning, the ministry of environment, businesses and citizens in the region

Source: www.regionh.dk; 3. økonomirapport 2010

REGION SKÅNE (Skåne Regional Council)
Region Skåne

Legal form: Regional administration

When established: 1999 (established as part of a trial in restructuring the Swedish regional level – it was made permanent as of 3rd of June 2010)

Number of employees: 57 in the department for regional development

Annual Budget: 3.784 million SEK (regional development 2009)

Financed by: Region Skåne

Geographic scope of the tasks: The region of Scania, comprising 33 municipalities in total

Tasks: The regional council is responsible for health and medical services, regional growth and development, public transport, culture, and interregional and cross-border cooperation. This includes drawing up strategies for the region's development, deciding on investments in the regional transportation infrastructure, and distributing funds for development initiatives.

Instruments: Regional development programme, regional growth programme, various sectoral policies.

Interaction: Municipalities, other regions, the national ministries, businesses and citizens in the region.

Source: www.skane.se; Annual report 2009

TECHNICAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL ADMINISTRATION, CITY OF COPENHAGEN

Teknik- og Miljøforvaltningen, Københavns Kommune

Legal form: Municipal department

When established: 1998

Number of employees: 2.200

Annual Budget: 1.9 billion DKK

Financed by: The City of Copenhagen

Geographic scope of the tasks: The municipality of Copenhagen

Tasks: The administration's main tasks are to perform regulatory functions within the areas encompassing the environment, local planning, urban renewal, building permits, and in road and traffic matters; in addition manage cleaning and maintenance of city roads and parks, and parking control.

Instruments: Municipal plans, local plans.

Interaction: Ministries, the Capital region of Denmark, other municipalities, citizens and businesses.

Source: www.kk.dk/FaktaOmKommunen/Forvaltninger/TMF

THE URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND INFRASTRUCTURE CENTRE, CITY OF COPENHAGEN

Center for byudvikling, Økonomiforvaltningen, Københavns Kommune

Legal form: Municipal department

When established: 1998

Number of employees: -

Annual Budget: -

Financed by: The City of Copenhagen

Geographic scope of the tasks: Primarily the municipality of Copenhagen but have also certain responsibilities in the greater region of Copenhagen as well as the city's international linkages.

Tasks: Centre for Urban Development shall, considering and involving relevant stakeholders, establish a framework for the balanced physical development of Copenhagen. The areas of responsibility include: municipal planning, housing politics, harbour and urban renewal, regional planning, traffic, and VVM assessments.

Instruments: Municipal plans, local plans, municipal and regional strategies.

Interaction: Ministries, the Capital region of Denmark, other municipalities, citizens and businesses.

Source: www.kk.dk/FaktaOmKommunen/Forvaltninger/Okonomiforvaltningen

CPH CITY & PORT DEVELOPMENT

By & Havn

Legal form: A public development company in terms of a partnership owned by the City of Copenhagen (55%) and the Danish Government (45%).

When established: 2007 – on its establishment the Ørestad Development Corporation; Frederiksberg Railway Company, and Port of Copenhagen Ltd were dissolved.

Number of employees: -

Annual Budget: 487 million DKK (2009)

Financed by: It is a commercially driven corporation.

Geographic scope of the tasks: The Ørestad and the Copenhagen harbour areas – all located within the municipality of Copenhagen.

Tasks: The task of the company is to develop the areas owned by the corporation (in Ørestad and the Copenhagen Harbour) and to let property, operate parking facilities and to operate harbour activities. The vision is to create urban districts of international class that are attractive to live and work in and which are also exciting to visit.

Instruments: Operational management of the above-mentioned tasks are handled by a number of companies that each have their own area of responsibility: Copenhagen Malmö Port AB, DanLink-Udvikling P/S, Udviklingsselskabet Prøvestenen P/S, Byggemodningsselskabet Sluseholmen P/S, Byggemodningsselskabet Marmormølen P/S.

Interaction: Municipal planners, politicians, developers, public authorities, private businesses.

Source: www.byoghavn.dk

THE ÖRESUND COMMITTEE

Öresundskomiteen

Legal form: Private guild with a political board

When established: 1993

Number of employees: 9

Annual Budget: 1.6 million DKK (2010)

Financed by: The member organisations (municipalities and regions) and the Nordic Council of Ministers.

Geographic scope of the tasks: The Oresund region which consists of the two Danish regions, the Capital Region of Denmark and Region Zealand, and the Swedish Region Skåne.

Tasks: To develop the Oresund region.

Instruments: Cooperation between their member organisations; a common development strategy for the whole region.

Interaction: Municipalities and regions in the Oresundregion, the Danish and Swedish national levels, the businesses and citizens on both sides of the Øresund.

Source: www.oresundskomiteen.dk

METROSELSKABET (≈ The Metro company)

Metroselskabet

Legal form: *Metroselskabet* is a public partnership, owned jointly by the City of Copenhagen (50%), the Danish Government (41.7%) and the City of Frederiksberg (8.3%).

When established: 2007

Number of employees: 150

Annual Budget: 722 million DKK (net turnover 2009)

Financed by: The Danish state and the municipalities of Copenhagen and Frederiksberg.

Geographic scope of the tasks: The municipalities through which the metro and its planned extensions run.

Tasks: *Metroselskabet* has the overall responsibility for the operation and maintenance of the Copenhagen Metro and the ongoing extension of the metro system; currently the fourth phase of the Metro, called Cityringen, expected to open in 2018.

Instruments: The operational management of the Metro was contracted out to *Ansaldo STS*, with *Metro Service A/S* as subcontractor, until October 2010. The work of finding a new operating contractor through an EU tendering process was concluded in January 2010, and *Ansaldo STS* will continue to be responsible for operation of the Metro until 2015.

Interaction: Municipalities, the Capital Region of Denmark, ministries, and other affected actors.

Source: www.m.dk

GROWTH FORUM COPENHAGEN

Vækstforum Hovedstaden

Legal form: Regional organisation

When established: 2007

Number of employees: 8

Annual Budget: -

Financed by: The Capital Region of Denmark

Geographic scope of the tasks: The Capital Region of Denmark (29 municipalities)

Tasks: The Growth Forum is tasked with developing business development strategies for the region and monitoring and analysing the conditions for growth in the area. The Forum is also a facilitator for regional projects on innovation, knowledge building, technology, new business and tourism - including providing financial support.

Instruments: Regional growth strategies, analyses, financing of projects.

Interaction: Key players from industry, research and educational institutions, labour market, municipal and regional councils.

Source: www.regionh.dk/vaekstforum

COPENHAGEN CAPACITY

Copenhagen Capacity

Legal form: A public investment organisation

When established: 1994

Number of employees: 45

Annual Budget: 40 million DKK (2009)

Financed by: The Capital Region of Copenhagen, and the Region of Zealand

Geographic scope of the tasks: The greater Copenhagen area

Tasks: *Copenhagen Capacity's* mission is to promote the region internationally with the aim of attracting and maintaining foreign companies. The services include business information, access to an extensive network of consultants, authorities and businesses.

Instruments: Lobbying in the interests of the business community.

Interaction: The business community in Copenhagen and abroad, Copenhagen-based institutions such as Invest in Denmark and WoCo, the Capital Region of Denmark, the City of Copenhagen, other municipalities, Copenhagen University.

Source: www.copcap.com; Annual report 2009

DANISH TOWN PLANNING INSTITUTE

Dansk Byplanlaboratorium

Legal form: Private independent institution

When established: 1921

Number of employees: 11

Annual Budget: -

Financed by: The majority of the activities are covered by participant fees. The remaining costs are covered by subsidies from municipalities, regions, and private companies.

Geographic scope of the tasks: Denmark

Tasks: To showcase urban and regional planning in Denmark to town planners, students, public authorities and interested citizens who wish to know more about town planning, generate debate about current planning issues and disseminate new knowledge in the field.

Instruments: Maintains a library, has extensive publishing activities, participates in development projects, organises courses, seminars, conferences and study tours, and takes part in the debate on town planning.

Interaction: Planners, practitioners, and politicians taking part in their events; and general communicative interaction.

Source: www.byplanlab.dk

COPENHAGEN X

Copenhagen X

Legal form: A 'project' of the Danish Architecture Centre

When established: 2002

Number of employees: 6

Annual Budget: -

Financed by: Realdania, the City of Frederiksberg, and the City of Copenhagen

Geographic scope of the tasks: The Copenhagen Capital region.

Tasks: Facilitation and dissemination of information on urban development, building projects, and architectural visions and innovation.

Instruments: Digital presentations, annual printed guides, events, tours, and dialogue with citizens and stakeholders.

Interaction: Planners, citizens, politicians, researchers, and architects.

Source: www.cphx.dk

REALDANIA

Realdania

Legal form: A strategic foundation

When established: 2000

Number of employees: 50

Annual Budget: Net capital: EUR 2.5 billion / grants in 2009: approx. EUR 60 million

Financed by: Own funds

Geographic scope of the tasks: Denmark

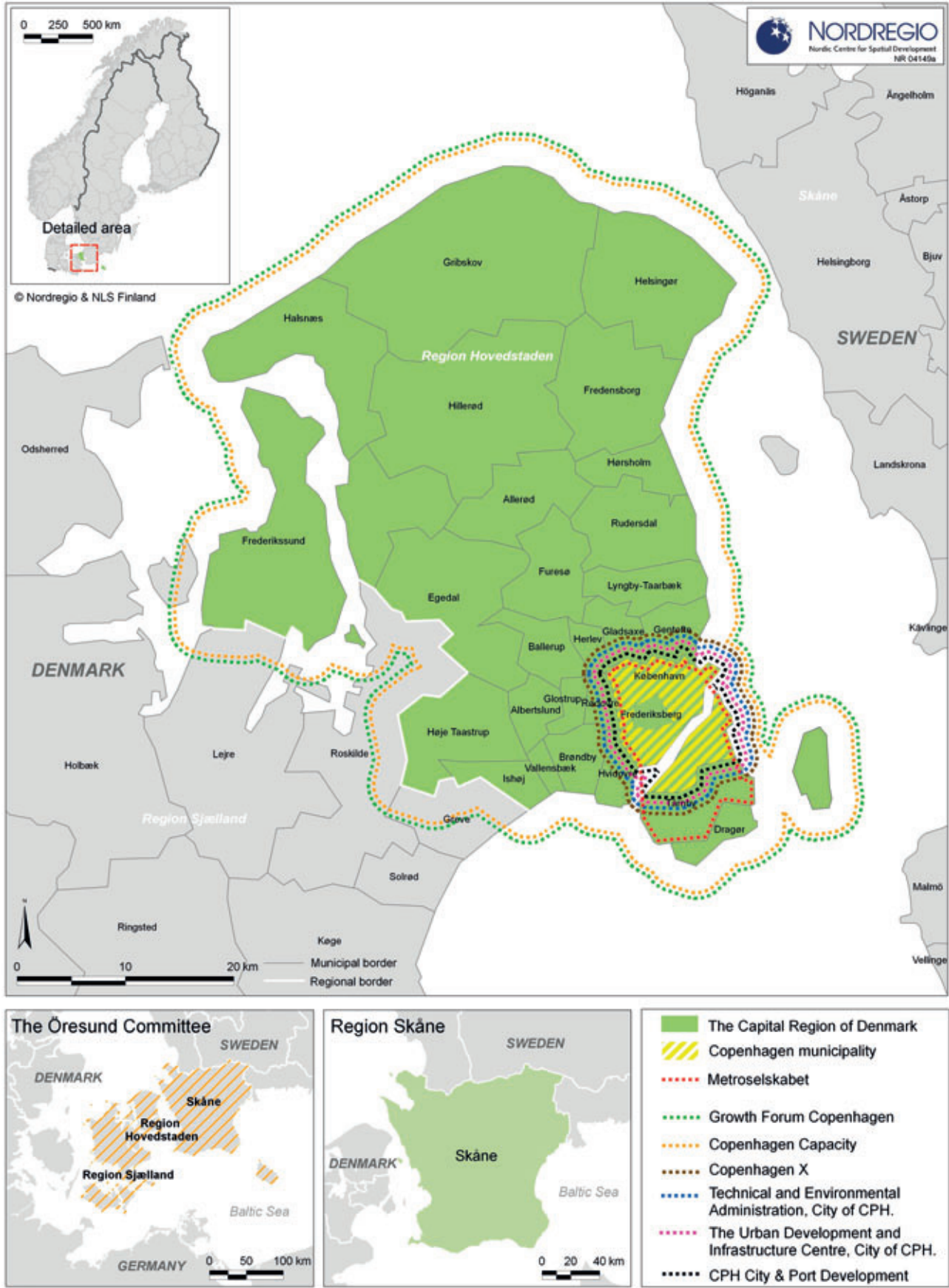
Tasks: The objective is to initiate and support projects that improve the built environment. The mission is to improve quality of life levels for the common good through the built environment.

Instruments: Granting funding for projects that match the goals of the foundation. Realdania is currently involved in approximately 34 strategic flagship projects and 309 focus projects.

Interaction: Planners, citizens, politicians, researchers, architects, developers, public authorities, private businesses, educational institutions.

Source: www.realdania.dk

Map 1: Overview of the main geographic scope of territorial governance actors in the Copenhagen capital region



Governance systems at play:

The Transformation of Copenhagen

The transformation of Copenhagen over the last 20-30 years has been dramatic. In the 1980s Copenhagen was a city in decline - with a large public debt, a run-down urban fabric, and a population dominated by industrial workers and pensioners. The transformation of this deteriorating city into the modern metropolis of today – a dynamic city with up to date infrastructure, rapid economic growth, and a population dominated by young people – required a combination of factors, including the involvement of a range of actors.

The key changes that have happened within the central parts of Copenhagen include the transformation of the inner harbour from under-used and obsolete areas into new and dynamic commercial and residential areas; the development of a brand new suburb, Ørestaden; and the improvement of infrastructure both in terms of the establishment of a metro system, investment in Copenhagen international airport and the construction of the bridge to Sweden.

Roughly described, the financing of the transformation has been raised by the municipality of Copenhagen selling off the inner harbour areas to private investors and using that revenue to finance the metro, which in turn has made the development of the Ørestad suburb possible. These attractive new areas in the city then provided an economic boost to Copenhagen's commercial sector and made it possible to attract new industries. Both economic growth and the existence of attractive new residential areas made it possible to attract young professionals and families to the inner parts of Copenhagen.

Since large-scale public investments thus have been the foundation for the process the two key actors here have been the municipality of Copenhagen and the Danish state. According to Bisgaard (2010), the coherent and long-term development plans for Copenhagen have clearly paved the way for trust in the process from the investors just as the state has supported the development through large-scale investments in infrastructure as well as in new dwellings for cultural institutions such as DR (the Danish Broadcasting Corporation), the national theatre etc. However, the concrete organisation of the transformation has also resulted in a number of smaller actors having a specific task, such as the '*By og Havn*' (CPH City & Port Development) which is a pivotal public company responsible for one of Denmark's largest urban development corporations. Another public company was set up to develop the new suburb of Ørestaden, and the public company '*Metroselskabet*' (The Copenhagen Metro) is the engine behind the development of the metro.

This quasi-form for private companies represents a very new mode of public governance in Denmark and has, in conjunction with the classical master and municipal planning of the municipalities of Copenhagen, been essential to the success of the large-scale transformation of the urban structure of the Copenhagen region.

A range of more informal but still quite influential actors have supported the dynamics of Copenhagen's transformation. These include information and research projects such as '*Copenhagen X*' and '*Realdania*' that have highlighted the visions and intentions of building projects and the new physical changes while also stressing the social dimensions of the city. The outcome of the activities of these organisations has been a series of debates, input to the planning processes, and raised public awareness and support. However, more formalised organisations such as Copenhagen City and the other municipalities in the capital region have also addressed these 'softer' aspects of planning in terms of citizen involvement, and specific thematic projects such as '*Copenhagen Cycle City*'.

3. The Reykjavik capital region

3.1. Territorial scope

The Reykjavík capital region consists of the core municipality of Reykjavik and the six municipalities surrounding it. The area is the largest urban area in Iceland and with a population of approximately 200,000 the Reykjavík capital region comprises over 60% of the population of Iceland. Of the seven municipalities in the Reykjavík capital region, Reykjavík is by far the most highly populated area with 120,000 inhabitants, which contrast with the other six municipalities which are quite small and rural in comparison.

3.2. Short introduction to the formal spatial planning system

In principle, the Icelandic planning system has two levels: the national level and the municipal level. Since there is no administrative regional level, regional planning is rather *ad-hoc*, dealt with cooperatively between various autonomous organisations and is very much a new task. Planning in Iceland is thus mainly understood as physical planning and as something which is, to a large extent, an issue only for the urban areas.

At the national level, physical planning is mainly the responsibility of the Ministry of the Environment and of the Planning Agency – which is subordinate to the Ministry. Regional development is however, a task under the Ministry of Industry and Commerce. Similarly, the Regional Development Institute is also subordinate to this ministry.

Icelandic municipalities prepare municipal and local plans both of which are legally binding. The municipal plan is a mandatory 'land use plan' for the entire municipality while the local plans are detailed plans mandatory for development areas. The municipal plan must explain the municipality's policies regarding land use, transportation and service systems, environmental issues and the development of human settlement over a 12 year period. The preparation of the plan must take into account the objectives of the Planning and Building Act and forecasts of the development and needs of the municipality during that period. When a municipal plan is drafted the goal must be to achieve compliance with the plans of the adjacent municipalities. Where two municipalities cannot reach agreement on issues which should be coordinated in their local plans a special committee can be set up to resolve the conflict. In addition, the local plans must be based on the municipal plan and provide details on the implementation of the municipal plan.

Regional Plans are prepared on the initiative of the relevant local authorities or by the Icelandic Planning Agency in order to coordinate municipal development policy in relation to settlement and land use for a period of 12 years. Municipalities covered by a regional plan should usually be a geographic, economic and socially cohesive unit. A regional plan must cover the entire area of the municipalities involved. Regional plans are implemented through local authorities, but these organisations are not obliged to implement the regional plan. However, municipal and regional plans

must be consistent with each other, and municipalities will therefore meet resistance if they attempt to carry out activities contrary to the regional plan.

In the Reykjavik capital region a collective body of 7 municipalities has created a common regional plan. This is the first common regional plan developed for the capital region. It was approved in 2002 and has not been revised since then, though a string of “small scale” amendments have been made. This regional plan for the Reykjavik capital region covers planning up to 2024 and also includes a policy statement on short term development programmes (4 year programmes, to be revised annually).

Mega-regional level

Due to the small size of Iceland, discussion of planning tasks and processes that encompass the capital region essentially entails nation-wide planning. Although all of Iceland – urban as well as rural areas according to the most recent Planning Act - is to be covered by mandatory municipal land use plans, there is no overall national land use plan besides infrastructure planning and the application of various policies and programmes that indirectly might address land use.

City-regional and municipal level

As noted previously, regional level planning for the capital region is something of a recent phenomenon and, as such, is still in the process of development. This effectively means that municipal planning remains the primary planning level in Reykjavik. With the current weak cooperation structure between the municipalities in the Reykjavik region, this level of planning retains the character of joint municipal plans rather than actual regional plans and “as such, they often avoid dealing with difficult issues or conflicts of interest” [Böhme 2002, p. 148].

3.3. An actor-oriented view on metropolitan governance

MINISTRY OF THE ENVIRONMENT

Umhverfisstofnun

Legal form: State administration

When established: 1990

Number of employees: 32

Annual Budget: -

Financed by: The state

Geographic scope of the tasks: Iceland

Tasks: Formulates and enforces the Icelandic government's policy for environmental affairs. The Ministry supervises the affairs pertaining to nature in Iceland, e.g. conservation and outdoor recreation, protection of animals and wildlife management, pollution prevention, planning and building matters, and environmental monitoring.

Instruments: Legal framework, national directives and policies.

Interaction: Municipalities, the Planning Agency, the government, other ministries

Source: <http://eng.umhverfisstofnun.is/>

PLANNING AGENCY

Skipulagstofnun

Legal form: State administration (under the Ministry of Environment)

When established: -

Number of employees: -

Annual Budget: -

Financed by: Ministry of the Environment

Geographic scope of the tasks: Iceland

Tasks: Gives advice on planning and building issues, assists local authorities in preparing spatial plans and is tasked with reviewing the spatial plans produced by local authorities.

Instruments: Legal framework, the Planning Act, advice, and control measures.

Interaction: Municipalities, the Ministry of Environment

Source: www.skipulagstofnun.is

CITY OF REYKJAVIK

Reykjavíkurborg

Legal form: Local administration

When established: -

Number of employees: 9000 (the staff in total)

Annual Budget: -

Financed by: The municipality

Geographic scope of the tasks: The municipality of Reykjavik

Tasks: Municipal land use planning

Instruments: Municipal plans, local plans.

Interaction: The Planning Agency, ministries, and neighbouring municipalities.

Source: www.rvk.is

REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

Byggðastofnun

Legal form: State administration (under the Ministry of Industry and Commerce)

When established: -

Number of employees: -

Annual Budget: -

Financed by: The state

Geographic scope of the tasks: Iceland

Tasks: The Institute monitors and researches regional development in Iceland. Its main function is to contribute to regional development through the implementation of government policy via the introduction of regional strategies. Its operations aim at strengthening settlements in rural areas through the support of viable, long-term projects with a diverse economic base.

Instruments: Regional strategies

Interaction: Close cooperation with the Minister of Industry and Commerce

Source: Nordregio (2002)

JOINT COMMITTEE FOR REGIONAL PLANNING

Samstarfsnefndir um svæðisskipulag

Legal form: State administration (under the Ministry of Industry and Commerce)

When established: -

Number of employees: -

Annual Budget: -

Financed by: The state

Geographic scope of the tasks: Iceland

Geographic scope of the tasks: Possible all over Iceland

Tasks: As there is no regional tier and no natural actor for regional planning, the appropriate local authorities can - in consultation with the Planning Agency - establish a joint committee for the preparation of a regional plan. The composition of the committees is regulated in Article 12 of the Planning and Building Act.

Instruments: -

Interaction: -

Source: Nordregio (2002)

ASSOCIATION OF MUNICIPALITIES IN THE CAPITAL AREA

Samtök Sveitarfélaga á Höfuðborgarsvæðinu - SSH

Legal form: Collective body for all the municipalities surrounding the capital of Reykjavík

When established: 1976

Number of employees: -

Annual Budget: -

Financed by: Member municipalities

Geographic scope of the tasks: The City of Reykjavík and its neighbouring municipalities in the Reykjanes electoral constituency.

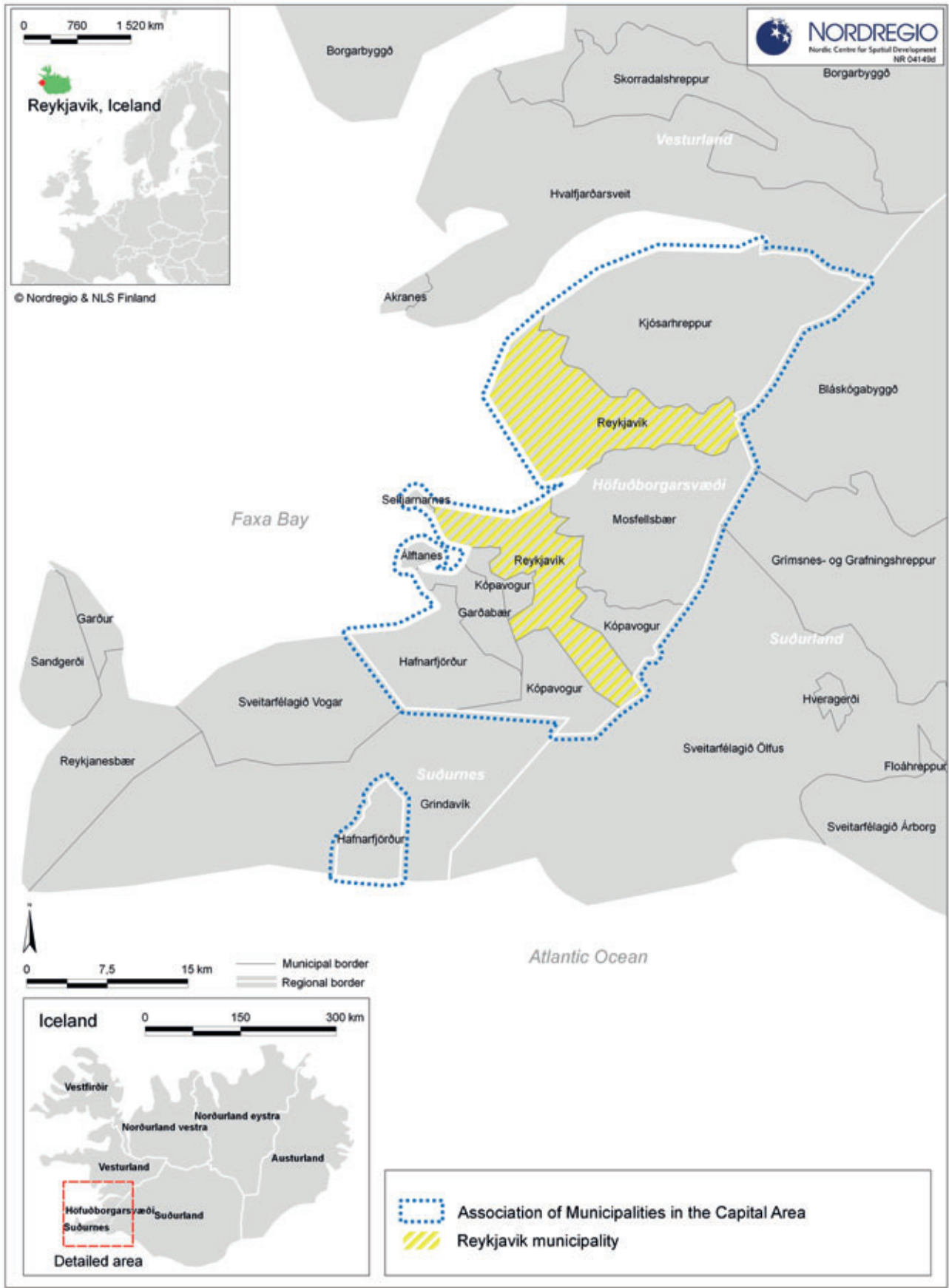
Tasks: Works for the interests of the inhabitants in the Reykjavík capital region. Aims to safeguard common interests, such as transportation and planning.

Instruments: Strategies.

Interaction: Close interaction with the Association of Local Authorities which addresses legislation matters at the national level.

Source: www.ssh.is

Map 2: Overview of the main geographic scope of territorial governance actors in the Reykjavik capital region



Governance systems at play:

The Rapid Growth of Reykjavik

Although the development of Reykjavik is currently at a standstill due to the economic crisis, the city has in recent decades experienced great economic growth which has prompted significant changes in the cityscape.

This recent growth spur was particularly dramatic considering the scale of Reykjavik. In the early 20th century, Reykjavik was only a small town with a few thousand inhabitants while it is now home to more than 200,000 inhabitants – close to 2/3 of the Icelandic population. The historical part of Reykjavik is located on a peninsula and thus most of the urban development has happened inland away from the historic centre, and particularly in the last decade most new residential dwellings have been completed in the Reykjavik region rather than in Reykjavik municipality. The whole of the capital region is characterised by extended growth and it is a dispersed, car-based urban area with low density, open land and poor public transport.

City densification has thus been a key issue for the planning offices in the Reykjavik region but with a lack of physical planning at the state and regional level in Iceland, the preceding attempts to curb the sprawl has been unsuccessful. Particularly in recent years with the rapidly growing economy in Iceland, the physical changes in the Reykjavik region have been dominated by large building projects and high-rise office towers and apartment buildings. Without an overall master plan for the development of the capital region, these developments have occurred as an increasingly expansion of the built-up area and in competition between the capital municipalities.

Within the Planning Act of Iceland, the municipalities have the possibility to set up joint regional planning with the 7 municipalities that comprise the Reykjavik Region approving, in 2002, the first regional plan for the capital area: The regional plan 2001-2024. The land use intentions of the regional plan are to centralise and intensify within the existing urban area, preserve the green hinterland and in general create a coherent urban area. However, as the administrative and political climate between the 7 capital municipalities in recent years has been more competitive than cooperative, both in the boom years and in the current aftermath, the effectiveness of the regional plan has been severely tested and thus far it has failed to encourage the coherent development of the region.

One solution to this failure could be the instalment of either a corresponding governing body or stronger involvement from the national level. Indeed, how to concretely set up a well-functioning governance structure in the Reykjavik capital region is currently a subject of much discussion.

4. The Oslo capital region

4.1. Territorial scope

The Oslo capital region is rather small and compact compared to the more extensive capital regions of Copenhagen and Stockholm. A common delimitation of the region is to state that it includes the City of Oslo - which also acts as its own county authority within the administrative structure of Norway - and the neighbouring Akershus County. The 22 municipalities of Akershus County range in size from 2,600 to 107,000 inhabitants and from 35 to 1000 square kilometres. The Oslo capital region has a total population of approximately one million inhabitants.

4.2. Short introduction to the formal spatial planning system

Similar to most of the other Nordic countries, the Norwegian planning system is three-tiered: national-regional-municipal. However, there is no overarching spatial or physical planning at the national level, the municipalities, the main *loci* for physical planning, is to be found at the municipal level. According to Norwegian law, the municipalities are responsible for three types of plans: Master Plans, Local Development Plans and Building Development Plans. Though there is no proper national planning at the physical level, national guidelines with strong planning implications that the municipal plans should be in accordance with do exist. The most important of these in relation to land use in the capital region are the guidelines on transport development and those on coastal land use in the Oslofjord area.

Amdam (2001: 174) points out that the main focus of the Norwegian planning system is on cross-sectoral co-ordination and land-use planning, where programmes intended to influence and direct the political agendas of the territorial authorities are an important element. Counties and municipalities should not be seen as a system where the municipalities are subordinate to the counties; instead, the relationship between the levels reflects a division of responsibilities and tasks. Accordingly, municipal plans neither add up to nor are they derived from any kind of national or regional plans.

When considering the Norwegian planning system it is important to bear in mind the distinction between local political institutions on the one hand, i.e. institutions based on local elections like those of the municipalities and the country municipalities, and the state agencies at local and county level on the other. The responsibility lies with the political branch of government, whereas the state administration is responsible for implementing central government policies within their more specific sectors and for monitoring local government performance in relation to national directives and norms (Böhme 2002: 304).

Norway has three levels of government: the Central Government and Parliament at national level, the County Authorities (*fylkeskommune*) at regional level, and the Municipalities at the local level. The Central government is responsible for the national road network and railways. The County Authorities are responsible for county roads and transport.

The Municipalities are responsible for harbours, municipal roads, water supply, sewerage, garbage collection and disposal, organisation of land use within the municipality e.g. the laying out of land for industrial or commercial use, or housing.

Mega-regional level

The Ministry of Environment ensures that planning at the local level takes place within the framework of national priorities. It monitors compliance with central government planning guidelines. The Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development's role is to maintain responsibility for certain parts of the Planning and Building Act and over Housing and building policy. The Ministry responsible for Transport and Communication is involved in spatial planning with larger traffic plans relating to the Greater Oslo region.

The Planning Act Committee in Norway is in favour of a further development and possibly strengthening of planning instruments at the central state level. This, however, does not imply a weakening of the position of the municipalities and the local authorities.

Oslo region has its own non-governmental alliance for the region (Oslo Region Alliance), mainly focused on strategic co-operation work formed by the local actors. In addition, the Eastern-Norway County Network is working to strengthen collaboration between different counties in the area. There is even cross regional co-operation between Oslo and Gothenburg.

City-regional level

The county councils take care of county roads and transport in the region, while the counties are formally responsible for integrative regional planning. The role of the County Governor is to contribute to the safeguarding of national policy and guidelines in the municipalities, as such, this administration represents the state in the counties. The municipality of Oslo and the county of Oslo is the same entity, making Oslo the only city in Norway where these two administrative levels are integrated.

The Eastern Norway County Network oversees the voluntary co-operation of eight counties in Eastern Norway. It was originally set up to enhance international initiatives such as participation in Interreg programmes or other international arenas for regional co-operation.

Municipal level

The Agency for Planning and Building Services in Oslo is responsible for the Comprehensive Development Plan, the Municipal Master Plan and Local plans.

The City Council has five standing committees, each having its own areas of responsibility. These are: Health and Social Welfare; Education and Cultural Affairs; Urban Development; Transport and Environmental Affairs; and Finance. The municipality of Oslo and the county of Oslo is the same entity, making Oslo the only city in Norway where two administrative levels are integrated.

The urban development sector is responsible for planning and for the overall development of the city, including land use planning, housing and urban renewal, the private sector, real estate management, development areas, shopping centres, and outdoor markets. The Transport and Environmental Affairs sector comprises the infrastructure of Oslo and the city's green spaces, and includes public transport, harbour activities, motor traffic, parking, waste management, water and sewerage, energy, the outdoors, recreation, environmental issues, forests, parks and sports facilities.

As one of the two municipalities to do so in Norway, Oslo has installed a City Government, an Executive Board, made up of politicians with a political programme supported by the majority of the City Council. The City Government prepares all the matters forwarded from the municipal administrations, before sending them to the City Council. It also holds the political initiative over a wide range of subjects, and can present to the Council any matter it sees fit, usually based on its' political programme. The Agency for Planning and Building Services in Oslo is part of the City Administration in Oslo.

4.3. An actor-oriented view of metropolitan governance

MINISTRY OF TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS

Samferdselsdepartementet

Legal form: State administration

When established: 1946

Number of Employees: 135

Budget: -

Financed by: The state

Geographic scope of the tasks: Norway

Tasks: The field of responsibility includes long-term planning, research and analysis as well as regulatory development and budgetary matters in its sectors.

Instruments: Policies, strategies and economic measures. The ministry prepares the National Transport Plan (2010-2019) and other plans for the transport and communications sector.

Interaction: Other ministries, business life, counties and municipalities.

Source: www.regjeringen.no

MINISTRY OF THE ENVIRONMENT

Miljøverndepartementet

Legal form: State administration

When established: 1972

Number of Employees: 260

Budget: -

Financed by: The state

Geographic scope of the tasks: Norway

Tasks: To safeguard national or regional interests in planning.

Instruments: The Planning and Building Act, government planning guidelines, national policies, and economic measures.

Interaction: Other Ministries, agencies, county governors, counties and municipalities.

Source: www.regjeringen.no

MINISTRY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Kommunal- og regionaldepartementet

Legal form: State administration

When established: 1948

Number of Employees: 195

Budget: -

Financed by: The state

Geographic scope of the tasks: Norway

Tasks: The field of responsibility includes housing policy, district and regional development, and local government.

Instruments: Policies, strategies and economic measures.

Interaction: Other ministries, counties and municipalities.

Source: www.regjeringen.no

COUNTY GOVERNOR OF OSLO AND AKERSHUS

Fylkesmennene i Oslo og Akershus

Legal form: State administration in the counties

When established: 1660

Number of Employees: app. 270

Budget: 153 mill NOK (2010)

Financed by: The state

Geographic scope of the tasks: The county of Oslo and Akershus

Tasks: Contributes to the safeguarding of national policies and guidelines in the municipalities.

Instruments: The Planning and Building Act, government planning guidelines, and national policies.

Interaction: Ministries, directorates, and the municipalities within the county.

Source: www.fylkesmennene.no

AKERSHUS COUNTY

Akershus Fylkeskommune

Legal form: Regional administration

When established: 1976

Number of Employees: app. 4000

Budget: 4364 million NOK (2010)

Financed by: The state

Geographic scope of the tasks: The county of Akershus

Tasks: Responsible for integrative regional planning and overall land use policies in Akershus, including making strategies for long-term solutions within land-use and transport.

Instruments: Regional planning strategies, county plan and county sub-plans.

Interaction: Municipalities in the county, other counties, ministries and directorates.

Source: www.akershus.no

AGENCY FOR PLANNING AND BUILDING SERVICES, CITY OF OSLO

Plan- og bygningsetaten

Legal form: Municipal department (subordinated to the Department of Urban Development)

When established: -

Number of Employees: App. 400

Budget: 4.2 million euro (2008)

Financed by: The state

Geographic scope of the tasks: Oslo municipality

Tasks: Responsible for land-use and transport planning through the comprehensive development plan, environmental impact analyses, local plans and building permits as well as maintenance of geographical maps.

Instruments: Comprehensive development plan, municipal master plan, and local plans.

Interaction: Other departments within the City administration, other municipalities within the region, administration on the regional level (the county and the County Governor), and ministries and national directorates.

Source: www.oslo.kommune.no

RUTER AS

Ruter As

Legal form: Public limited company – owned by the City of Oslo (60 %) and Akershus county (40 %).

When established: 2008

Number of Employees: App. 90

Budget: -

Financed by: The counties of Oslo and Akershus

Geographic scope of the tasks: The counties of Oslo and Akershus

Tasks: To plan, manage and promote public transportation in Oslo and Akershus.

Instruments:

Interaction: Relevant ministries and national authorities, regional co-operations, municipalities, and citizens.

Source: [www.ruter.no/Ruter årsrapport 2010](http://www.ruter.no/Ruter_årsrapport_2010)

OSLO REGION ALLIANCE

Oslo regionen

Legal form: Collaborative regional organisation

When established: 2005

Number of Employees: -

Budget: 1.9 million NOK (2009)

Financed by: Membership fees

Geographic scope of the tasks: Consists of 57 local authorities, including the City of Oslo, Akershus and Østfold counties and the municipalities surrounding Oslo. The Oslo region has about 1.6 million inhabitants

Tasks: The goal is to strengthen the Oslo region as a competitive and sustainable region in Europe, and the main tasks are joint profiling, innovation and competitiveness, spatial development, transport and communications as well as social infrastructure.

Instruments: Strategies and seminars.

Interaction: The member administrations – including Akershus and Østfold counties, the City of Oslo and other municipalities surrounding Oslo - Innovation Norway, and the Council of Mälardal region.

Source: www.osloregionen.no

EASTERN NORWAY COUNTY NETWORK

Østlandssamarbeidet

Legal form: Regional co-operation organisation

When established: 2006

Number of Employees: 4

Budget: 5 million NOK (2009)

Financed by: The 8 member counties

Geographic scope of the tasks: Akershus, Buskerud, Hedmark, Oppland, Oslo, Telemark, Vestfold and Østfold counties

Tasks: To influence the development of the region; to achieve better and more efficient solutions for matters within county responsibilities; by division of work and joint projects; to increase competitiveness of the region and international co-operation with other Nordic countries.

Instruments: Lobbying by making joint approaches towards decision-making bodies, especially on state or county level.

Interaction: Other actors in the region such as municipalities.

Source: www.ostsam.no; Annual Report 2009

GOTHENBURG-OSLO COOPERATION

Göteborg-Oslo-samarbetet

Legal form: Regional co-operation organisation

When established: 1995

Number of Employees: 2

Budget: 3.3 million NOK

Financed by: The municipalities and regions involved.

Geographic scope of the tasks: The region comprises the City of Oslo, Akershus and Østfold counties, City of Gothenburg and Region Västra Götaland.

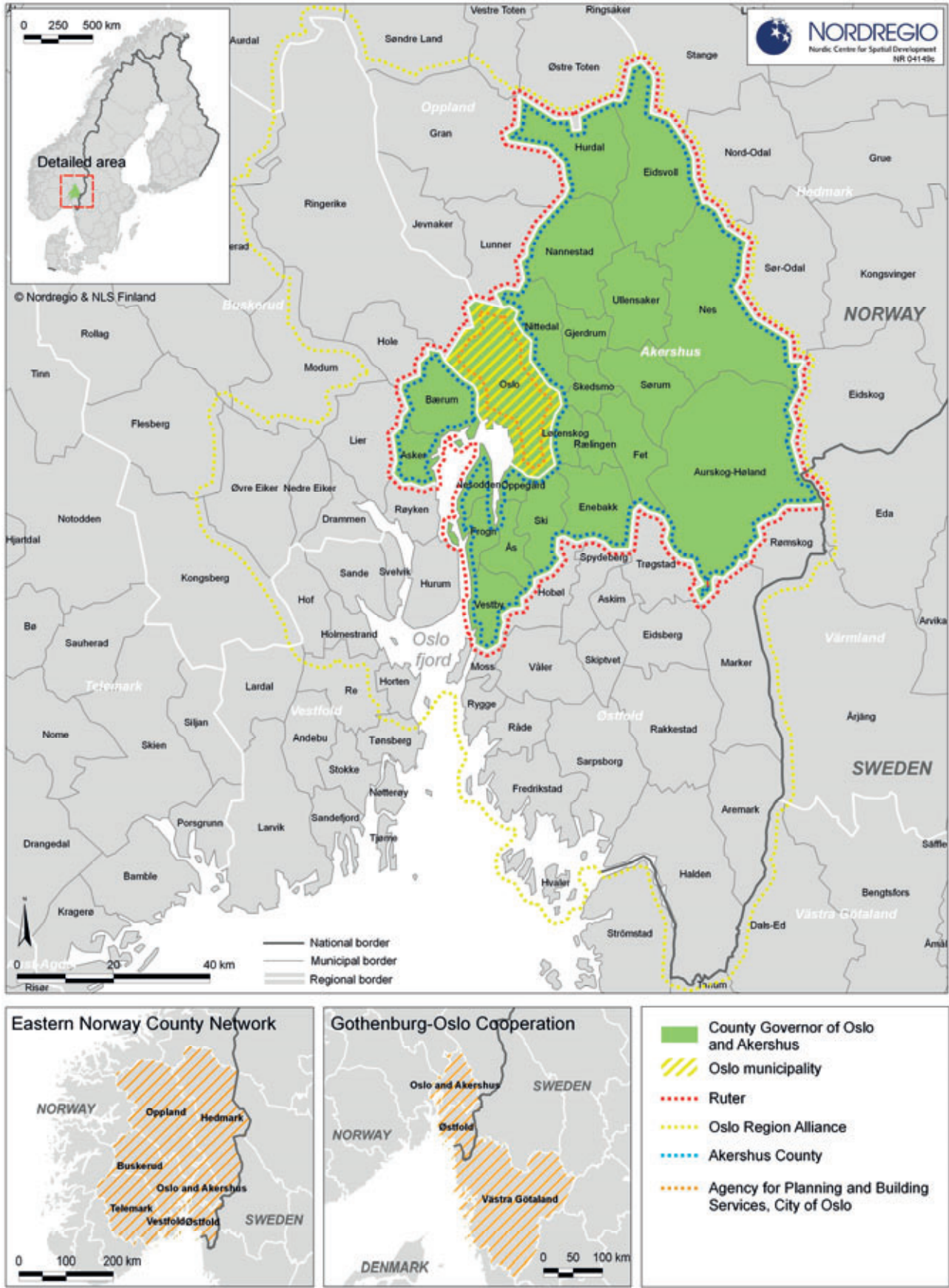
Tasks: The aim is to improve the competences and attractiveness of the area on a European scale, and to attract people and business life to the region. There are common projects within transport planning and common seminars for business networking.

Instruments: Plans, strategies, seminars and lobbying.

Interaction: Co-operation with authorities for transport and communications, ministries, the EU, international, national and local actors.

Source: www.go-regionen.org; Annual Report 2009

Map 3: Overview of the main geographic scope of territorial governance actors in the Oslo capital region



Governance systems at play:

Mandatory joint planning in Oslo-Akershus

Oslo is a monocentric and rather dense capital region which is currently challenged by a population growth of 1-2 % per year – due to both a high birth and immigration rate - and restrictions on the possible extension of the capital. The limitations on the expansion of the urban land use area might seem contradictory in a country marked by a very low general population density but the Oslo area is surrounded by water, forests and farm land that cannot be built on for environmental or economic reasons. This means that a lot of people are moving into an already crowded area and this increasing congestion requires better strategic cooperation and planning between the public authorities in order to adequately address the challenge of balancing continued economic development, population pressure, mitigation and adaptation to climate change, conflicting land use, and the need for infrastructure investment.

While each county in Norway is tasked with developing a regional plan, this has primarily been a policy paper that serves as the foundation for regional planning and contains no binding instructions in respect of the municipal plans. County planning as a solution to the challenges of the capital region was initiated already in 1996 but thus far has not had much success. In 2008 the Government and the Parliament then imposed mandatory regional cooperation between the City of Oslo and Akershus County Council as a model for meeting the governance challenges in the capital region. The intention was to strengthen regional planning by making the two actors cooperate on future land use and transportation solution across the municipal border in the region.

As it is deemed important to ground this regional planning within the municipalities in the region, the political steering group for the cooperation venture includes members from the City of Oslo, Akershus County and the government as well as the municipalities of Akershus County. It is expected that a Compulsory joint regional plan will be approved in 2013. The political steering group was led by the state secretary of the Ministry of Environment.

It will, however, be the balance between the positive and negative factors surrounding this initiative that will determine its success. There are many actors involved – from various tiers of government – and these actors contain a large degree of asymmetry with respect to size, responsibilities and functions, and formal organisation. Furthermore for the local and regional actors a wide range of pros and cons exist in respect of cooperation. The motivation for cooperation can be ascribed to the possibility to influence other actors, to obtain a clearer framework for planning decisions in the region, and to achieve sustainable growth with regard to economic development, the environment and social issues. In contrast, reluctance is found in respect of differing views and scepticism about facts, causes and effects, a derived fear of being overruled by stronger actors and/or being bound into too rigid a framework as well as general uncertainty about public sector financing, market responses and distributional issues.

To make compulsory joint planning a success it is necessary to address these questions related to asymmetry, and to achieve results in a long-term perspective continued involvement from government and the municipalities as well as the two major regional players is necessary, as is the development of tools that can actually influence change.

5. The Stockholm capital region

5.1. Territorial scope

The Stockholm capital region is located in Europe's northern periphery and on Sweden's eastern shore bordering the Baltic Sea. It is the largest metropolitan capital region in northern Europe (by size of population and the amount of firms).

As in the other Nordic capital regions many definitions exist in respect of delimiting the Stockholm capital region ranging from the city of Stockholm with some neighbouring municipalities to Stockholm County and to the larger Stockholm Mälars Region. The County of Stockholm is formed by 26 municipalities with 2 million inhabitants (21% of the population of Sweden). The Stockholm-Mälars Region is home to approximately 3 million people and comprises five counties: Stockholm, Södermanland, Uppsala, Västmanland and Örebro. Of the country's seven largest cities four are located in the Stockholm-Mälars Region: Stockholm, Uppsala, Västerås and Örebro.

5.2. Short introduction to the formal spatial planning system

Sweden has a three-tiered administrative system with national, regional (counties) and municipal levels. As regards spatial planning, however, the municipalities do play the most significant role. There is no national spatial planning as such, but the State has an important role to play in providing major infrastructure (roads, rail, university facilities etc) and in setting the legal framework for spatial planning (here the Planning and Building Act of 2011 and the Environmental Code of 1999). Also at the regional level there is no formalised legal base for all counties throughout the country, that is why different sorts of regional planning arrangements exist, the most interesting set of arrangements is to be found in Stockholm county.

In the early 1950s regional planning was institutionalised in the Stockholm region, which provides, due to its comprehensive and explicitly strategic character, something of an exception in Swedish terms. Its main instrument, the regional development plan (*regional utvecklingsplan*) has been since then as indicative and is designed to guide municipal planning. As such it is rather process-oriented, providing significant room to informal coordination and networking. The municipalities – of which there are 26 in the Stockholm region – are obliged to make long term municipal comprehensive plans (*översiktsplan*) for the territory of the entire municipality, which are not legally binding but do form the basis for decisions on the use of land and water areas. It also serves as a guideline for the development of detailed development plans and building permits, which are legally binding (*detaljplan*) at the neighbourhood level. In a nutshell then one can say that the municipalities bear the main responsibility for land-use planning in Sweden – something which is normally referred to as the municipal planning monopoly: no changes to the use of land can take place unless it is based on a municipal plan. Only in certain cases can the State decide on changes in land use thus going against municipal plans (COMMIN 2007).

The Regional Planning Office has the mandate to develop non-binding regional plans, which are based on several stages of negotiations and participation with all municipalities and other relevant stakeholders in the Stockholm region. The Stockholm County Council is in this sense a designated 'Regional Planning Authority' – its operational organ is the 'Office of Regional Planning'. The Regional Development Plan has also to be elaborated in cooperation with the County Administrative Board, which is a State organ that examines, for instance, municipal planning decisions and building permits in appeal cases. It can also retain certain rights to intervene and shall guarantee that national interests and laws are sufficiently taken into consideration. The Regional Development Plan has to be adopted by the County Council, the democratic counterweight to the County Administrative Board.

Another strategic policy paper that is related to regional development is the so-called Regional Development Programmes (RDP). The respective county administration boards, county councils or regional co-operative bodies are obliged to elaborate such RDPs in close cooperation with both public and private actors to create strategies for sustainable development in the respective counties (Lindqvist 2010: 26).

Mega-regional level

The Council of Mälardal region (*Mälardalsrådet*) is a regional co-operation council which works to promote territorial co-operation at what we can call the mega-regional level. The Mälardal region covers a total of 56 member municipalities across five counties.

Within the business sector there are two other actors functioning mainly at the mega-regional level: Stockholm Regions Europe Committee (*Stockholmsregionens Europakommitté*) and *Stockholm Business Region AB*. The former is a co-ordinating organisation tasked with promoting the Stockholm Region for entrepreneurs. The latter, *Stockholm Business Region AB* is a cooperation organisation which covers 45 member municipalities in the Greater Stockholm Region. The organisation works mainly with strategies, lobbying and regional marketing.

City-regional level

The County Administrative Board (CAB) in Stockholm (*länsstyrelsen*) is the regional state authority and is tasked with ensuring that national and regional interests are taken into account in planning, that laws are implemented and that governmental directives are followed. All CAB's are responsible for fostering development in their respective counties. Responsibility for regional growth is normally the task for the regional political level, either through county councils (*landsting*) or municipal co-operative bodies (*samverkansorgan*). The county of Stockholm, however, is one of four counties where the CAB is responsible for regional growth policy. This is also the case for the adjacent county of Västmanland. In the other counties in the larger functional region of Stockholm-Mälardalen, responsibility for regional growth lies with a municipal co-operative body.

Where the mutual interests of several municipalities are at stake the Government may appoint a regional planning body with the task of monitoring regional questions and providing basic planning data for municipalities and Government authorities. This is the case for the larger Stockholm region, which has worked with regional planning since the early 1950s (See above). The Stockholm regional development plan (RUFS, latest in revision in 2010) is both, a regional development programme (RDP) and a strategic physical plan.

The Greater Stockholm Public Transport (*Storstockholms Lokaltrafik* – SL) Stockholm County with its 26 municipalities works as a traffic principal in the Greater Stockholm region. In addition the Swedish Transport Administration (*Trafikverket*) works in the area of traffic planning and transport system plans on a national scale but also on a county scale.

The Stockholm County Association of Local Authorities (*Kommunförbundet Stockholms Län* – KSL) is a politically controlled organisation which represents all municipalities in the Stockholm County while promoting cooperation between municipalities in the Region.

Municipal level

As noted previously, the municipalities (*kommunerna*) have a kind of ‘planning monopoly’ in the Swedish system. Each municipality has their own planning office. The Office of City Planning and Building in Stockholm (*Stockholms stadsbyggnadskontor*) develops comprehensive plans (*översiktsplaner*) and detailed development plans (*detaljplaner*).

5.3. Actors in the metropolitan governance of Stockholm

MINISTRY OF ENTERPRISE, ENERGY AND COMMUNICATIONS

Näringsdepartementet

Legal form: State administration

When established: 1969

Number of Employees: 300

Budget: -

Financed by: The state

The geographic scope of the tasks: Sweden

Tasks: Responsible for transport, regional growth policies and Regional Development Programmes (RDPs)

Instruments: Policies and strategies.

Interaction: Other ministries and regional actors.

Source: www.sweden.gov.se

MINISTRY OF HEALTH AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS

Socialdepartementet

Legal form: State administration

When established: 1920

Number of Employees: 260

Budget: -

Financed by: The state

Geographic scope of the tasks: Sweden

Tasks: Responsible for planning and building policies

Instruments: Plan and construction policies and legal directives (e.g. Planning and Building Act)

Interaction: Other ministries, the National Board of Housing, Building and Planning

Source: www.sweden.gov.se

MINISTRY OF THE ENVIRONMENT

Miljödepartement

Legal form: State administration

When established: 1987

Number of Employees: 550

Budget: -

Financed by: The state

Geographic scope of the tasks: Sweden

Tasks: Responsible for sustainable urban development and environmental policies

Instruments: environmental Environmental policies and legal directives (e.g. Environmental Code)

Interaction: Other ministries, the National Board of Housing, Building and Planning

Source: www.sweden.gov.se

SWEDISH TRANSPORT ADMINISTRATION

Trafikverket, ex. Vägverket

Legal form: State administration

When established: 1841 (several name changes)

Number of Employees: 2960

Budget: 1.6 billion SEK (2009)

Financed by: The state

Geographic scope of the tasks: Sweden

Tasks: Responsible for long-term planning of road, rail, sea and air transport.

Instruments: Strategies, planning and research.

Interaction: Ministries, the Office of Regional Planning, Greater Stockholm Public Transport, and the county councils.

Source: www.trafikverket.se; Annual Report 2009

NATIONAL BOARD OF HOUSING, BUILDING AND PLANNING

Boverket

Legal form: State administration

When established: 1988

Number of Employees: 200

Budget: 647 million SEK (for Stockholm's county in 2008)

Financed by: The state

Geographic scope of the tasks: Sweden

Tasks: To develop methods and planning policy guidance for planning and urban design. *Boverket* is responsible for ensuring that ecological, economic, cultural and social aspects are taken into account in planning, and assists the Ministry of the Environment when decisions on legally binding detailed plans are applied to the government.

Instruments: Design and building regulations and other regulatory measures, as well as evaluations and impact assessment of policy initiatives on national and regional levels.

Interaction: The Government and particularly the Ministry of Environment.

Source: Boverket Annual Report 2009

OFFICE OF REGIONAL PLANNING, STOCKHOLM COUNTY COUNCIL

Tillväxt, miljö och regionplanering, SLL

Legal form: Regional administration

When established: 1971

Number of Employees: 40

Budget: 76 million SEK (2009)

Financed by: The Stockholm County Council

Geographic scope of the tasks: Stockholm County

Tasks: Seeks to achieve a shared vision for how the unique assets and strengths of the Stockholm Region can best be managed and developed. Works on a broad spectrum of regional planning issues.

Instruments: Strategies and visions like the regional development plan for Stockholm's County, seminars and meeting places, forecasts, statistics and research.

Interaction: The Stockholm County Council, municipalities, government agencies, local associations, universities, county administrative boards in neighbouring counties, and various stakeholders.

Source: Stockholms läns landsting, Annual Report 2009

COUNTY ADMINISTRATIVE BOARD OF STOCKHOLM

Länsstyrelsen i Stockholms län

Legal form: State administration in the counties

When established: 1634

Number of Employees: 450

Budget: -

Financed by: The state

Geographic scope of the tasks: Stockholm County

Tasks: To ensure the strategic goals of the national level in the implementation undertaken by county councils and municipalities; and to co-ordinate the different interests of the county and promote the development of the county.

Instruments: Co-financing, long-term planning strategies, and development programs.

Interaction: Municipalities, regional authorities, ministries and the government.

Source: Länsstyrelsen, Annual Report 2009

OFFICE OF CITY PLANNING AND BUILDING, CITY OF STOCKHOLM

Stockholms stadsbyggnadskontor

Legal form: Municipal department

When established: 1955

Number of Employees: 306

Budget: 190.3 million SEK (2008)

Financed by: The City of Stockholm

Geographic scope of the tasks: The Stockholm municipality

Tasks: Responsible for the physical planning on the municipality level, administers housing and construction permissions, and considers applications for funding

Instruments: Local detailed plans, local master plans, and strategies.

Interaction: Other municipal departments, neighbouring municipalities, the Office of Regional Planning in the county, and citizens and businesses.

Source: Stadsbyggnadskontoret 2010

SL (≈ Greater Stockholm Public Transport)
Storstockholms Lokaltrafik - SL

Legal form: Public limited company – owned by the Stockholm County Council

When established: 1916

Number of Employees: 567

Budget: 9 billion SEK (2007)

Financed by: Commercially driven as well as contributions from the Stockholm County Council

Geographic scope of the tasks: Stockholm County.

Tasks: Plans, markets and provides public transport for the Stockholm County.

Instruments: Capacity investments in the transport system as well as maintaining and modernising the existing infrastructure.

Interaction: Stockholm County Council, national transport authorities and municipalities in the county.

Source: SL Annual Report 2008

STOCKHOLM COUNTY ASSOCIATION OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES - KSL
Kommunförbundet Stockholms Län - KSL

Legal form: Municipal co-operation organisation

When established: 1966

Number of Employees: 29

Budget: 50.6 million SEK (2008)

Financed by: Member fees (according to their tax base) and by externally financed operations.

Geographic scope of the tasks: All municipalities in the Stockholm County

Tasks: Supports and develops municipal autonomy, safeguard municipal interests, promote cooperation between municipalities and assist municipal operations.

Instruments: Initiate cooperation; create meeting places for debate and discussion, and lobbying.

Interaction: Member municipalities, *Trafikverket*, universities, and regional authorities.

Source: KSL, Verksamhetsberättelse (2008)

COUNCIL OF THE MÄLAR REGION
Mälardalsrådet

Legal form: Regional co-operation organisation

When established: 2004

Number of Employees: 6 (in the administration)

Budget: 13.8 million SEK (2008)

Financed by: The member municipalities and regions

Geographic scope of the tasks: Municipalities and county councils in the Stockholm-Mälardalen Region, which consists of the five counties of Stockholm, Uppsala, Västmanland, Södermanland and Örebro. In total there are 56 member municipalities, 5 county councils and 4 associated municipalities.

Tasks: To promote the development of the Stockholm-Mälardalen Region into an attractive, future-oriented region within an integrated Europe. Focus areas are infrastructure and transport planning, business development, culture, and environment.

Instruments: Discussion board for regional development, project works

Interaction: Close cooperation with the members of the council, as well as the Council's office.

Source: Mälardalsregionens Verksamhetsberättelse 2008

STOCKHOLM REGION

Stockholmsregionens Europakommitté

Legal form: Regional co-operation organisation

When established: 1996

Number of Employees: 12 (in Stockholm, Brussels, Warsaw and St. Petersburg)

Budget: -

Financed by: Member fees and EU-funding for different projects

Geographic scope of the tasks: Uppsala County, Västmanlands County, Sörmland County and Stockholm County

Tasks: Facilitates the international work of the stakeholders and promotes the Stockholm Region in Europe. Functions also as a forum for information exchange on EU-related matters with significance for the Stockholm Region.

Instruments: Information dissemination, and seminars and conferences

Interaction: The City of Stockholm, the Stockholm County Council and the Association of Local Authorities in Stockholm County, The Baltic Sea States, Eurocities, Metropolis, UCLG – United Cities and Local Governments, UBC – The Union of the Baltic Cities and Edge Cities.

Source: www.stockholmregion.org

STOCKHOLM BUSINESS REGION

Stockholm Business Region

Legal form: Regional cooperation organisation

When established: 2006

Number of Employees: 35

Budget: 15.5 million SEK (2008)

Financed by: The member counties and municipalities

Geographic scope of the tasks: The counties of Stockholm, Uppsala, Södermanland, Västmanland, Örebro, Gävleborg and Dalarna, including the 45 member municipalities.

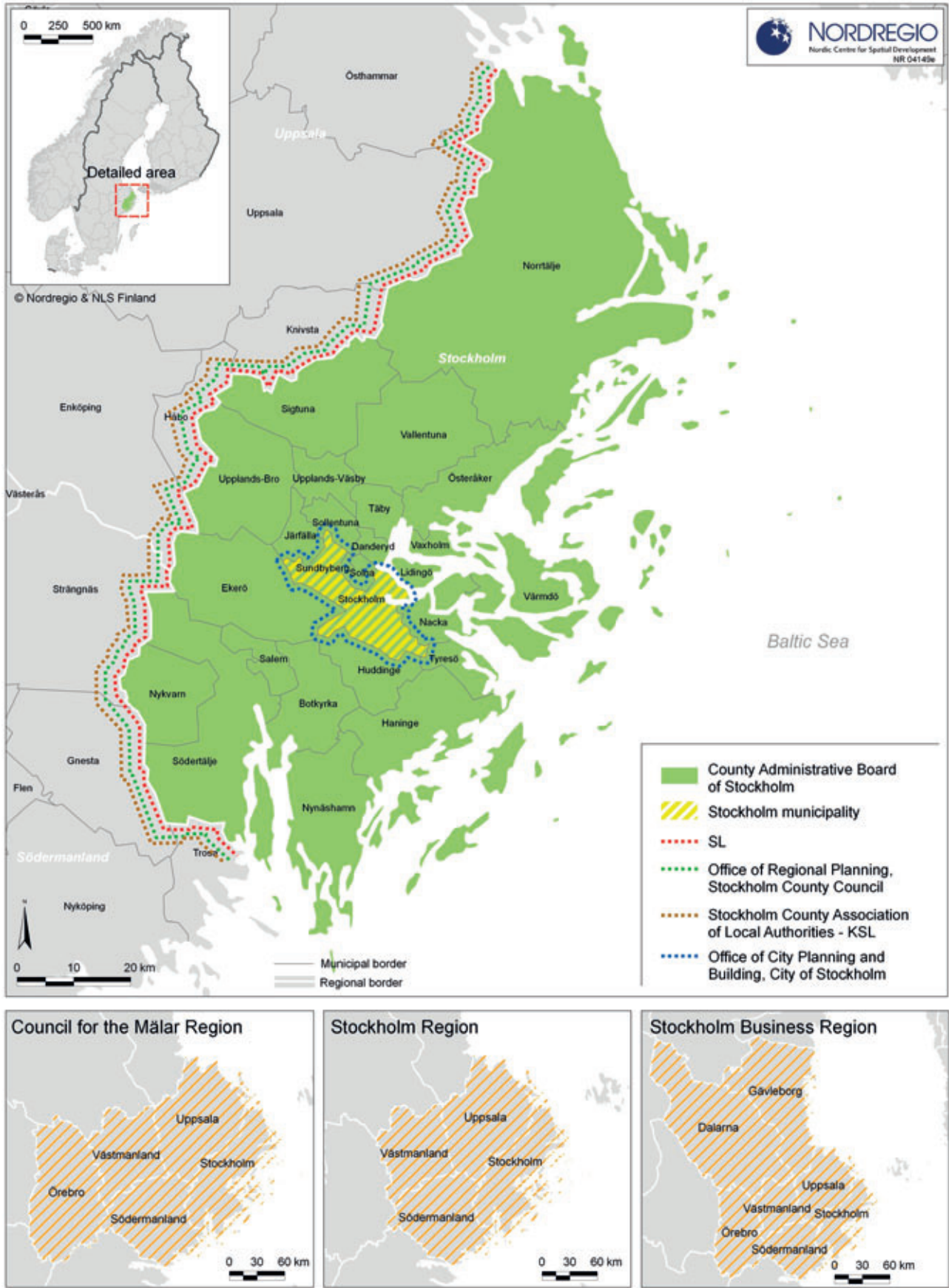
Tasks: To develop business opportunities in the Stockholm region by preparing long-term visions for Stockholm city, the Stockholm region and the whole of Sweden.

Instruments: Strategies, lobbying and marketing.

Interaction: Business life, regional organisations, municipalities and counties, the Gothenburg region, Region Skåne and Sweden Agency (ISA)

*Source:
Stockholm Business Alliance, Verksamhetsplan 2008*

Map 4: Overview of the main geographic scope of territorial governance actors in the Stockholm capital region



Governance systems at play:

Traffic and housing in a growing Stockholm region

The Stockholm region is growing rapidly. Today there are about 3 million inhabitants living in the Stockholm-Mälardal region with the population expected to continue to grow by 2% annually in the decades to come. This rapid growth is causing traffic and housing problems in the region and thus large-scale traffic planning for the next ten years has already been undertaken.

One such scheme is the Stockholm bypass (*Förbifart Stockholm*) which is a planned express highway designed to connect the southern and the northern parts of the Stockholm road system while bypassing the core city areas. Although it has been the focus of significant criticism, the construction of the Stockholm bypass has now been approved and will begin in 2012. In connection with the debate on the bypass, there is also a wide discussion on the new residential areas that need to be built in order to maintain regional functionality and its competitiveness.

When finished in about 8-10 years, the Stockholm bypass project will provide a new motorway linking southern and northern Stockholm, resulting in a new route for the European highway (E4) around Stockholm. This is a huge underground project with criticisms being lodged for environmental reasons. The project has been planned for several decades with a large number of alternatives studied. To reduce the impact on sensitive natural and cultural environments, just over 18 km of the total 21 km of motorway link is in tunnels. When the link opens for traffic it will be one of the longest road tunnels in the world. By 2035, the Swedish Transport Administration (*Trafikverket* 2011) estimates that approximately 140,000 vehicles per day will use '*Förbifart Stockholm*'. However the whole project has been questioned at the political level. According to Malmberg (2010) the county council has been against these plans for many years and the tunnel is going to surface in the northern part of the city in a low-income residential area. Another interesting aspect here is also the financing which will now be dealt with mainly through congestion charging (80 %) although some state investment (20 %) will remain necessary.

The plan to construct the Stockholm bypass is mainly argued on the grounds of regional necessity. The bypass is about maintaining connectivity across the Mälaren and bridging the distance between Stockholm north and south. This argument also has a political aspect since the southern parts of the region have poorer access to hospitals, airports, workplaces and generally have lower incomes when compared to the north.

Stockholm has a dominant role in maintaining the competitiveness of the region. In economic terms the Stockholm-Mälardal region consists of eleven labour market regions. These eleven regions differentiate from each other in terms of inhabitants with the highly educated concentrated primarily in Stockholm, Västerås and Örebro. The possible integration of the current labour markets could have two kinds of economic effects in the future: either there could be expected to encourage faster growth in economic terms followed by a better matching between demand and supply, or there could possibly be an increase in the specialisation of the labour force and the economy, which could generate better possibilities for higher productivity. On the other hand this could also lead to an extension of the travel to work distances which can influence negatively other political goals, e.g. that of reducing CO₂ emissions.

The lack of housing and future transport challenges can be seen as one of the main threats to the capital region. There is a generally-held belief that the new communications investments will be successful in keeping the region competitive. In the future further discussion may be held on how to integrate more areas into the Stockholm-Mälardal region.

Such an enlarged and integrated area would however also challenge the current governance system, generating a need for more collaboration and coordination between further municipalities and other associated stakeholders. Can the Council of Mälardalen (Mälarrådet), as an 'ideal organisation', take responsibility as the main promoter of the whole region or should a stronger organisation be responsible for metropolitan governance in the larger Stockholm region? This question remains open.

6. The Helsinki capital region

6.1. Territorial scope

The Helsinki capital region is the largest urbanised area in Finland, and is by far the most important economic, cultural and scientific region of the country. The territorial scope of the Helsinki capital region is complicated, as it has mainly characterised by three layers, consisting of the (a) wider Uusimaa region (b), the Helsinki Metropolitan Area and (c) the Helsinki Region.

a) The Uusimaa region – which consists of the 21 municipalities which form one regional council, including the capital, Helsinki with a population of around 1.4 million inhabitants (2009) and a total land area of 6,730 km².

b) The next layer, totally informal, is the Helsinki Region which consists of the closest spatial set of local authorities surrounding the City of Helsinki. This loose-knit set of 14 municipalities has formed a single cohesive whole to co-sign an agreement to create a long term strategic Vision for 2050.

c) The third level is the Helsinki Metropolitan Area, which consists of four municipalities (Helsinki, Espoo, Vantaa and Kauniainen) which form the core of the larger capital region. This organisation began work in 1974 as YTV – Helsinki Metropolitan Area Council. YTV dealt primarily with the maintenance of public transportation and waste management. In 2010 it was divided into two separate organisations: HSY, which is the Helsinki Region Environmental Services Authority (dealing in particular with water and waste management). The other organisation is HSL – Helsinki Region Transport, which is responsible for public transport within the Helsinki Metropolitan Area.

6.2. Short introduction to the formal spatial planning system

According to the Land Use and Building Act (which came into force 1.1.2000) Finland's spatial planning has three levels of plans with a clear division of labour between them: the regional land-use plan, the local master plan and the local detailed plan. The planning system is hierarchical: higher plans steer lower plans. All three 'administrative tiers', namely, state, region and municipality, have a say in land-use, although the local level has been enhanced in relation to actual land-use planning, and plans compiled by municipal authorities no longer need approval by higher authorities (Ministry of Environment 2010).

In Finland's land use planning system there is no spatial plan on the national level. National land use guidelines are addressed in a written document, and implemented mainly through regional plans. According to the Ministry of Environment (2010) all regional and local plans are drawn up through participatory planning procedures, which give local residents the chance to get involved in the planning processes that affect them. This basically means that involvement in participatory meetings is open to everyone, where it is possible to air one's opinion concerning the ongoing plans.

Regional land use plans may be drafted in three forms: comprehensive regional land use plans covering all major planning issues across the whole region, phased regional land use plans covering certain specific planning issues during each planning phase or sub-regional land use plans covering

smaller sub-regions or coherent areas such as river systems. *“The option of producing phased or sub-regional land use plans gives the regional planning authorities flexibility where changing conditions make the drafting of such plans desirable, or where resources are limited. In such cases the authorities must nevertheless also strive to keep the comprehensive land use plan for the whole region up to date”* (Ministry of Environment 2005: 5).

Mega-regional level

The South Finland Regional Alliance (*Etelä-Suomen Maakuntien liittouma*) is an example of a non-profit organisation tasked with facilitating regional cooperation at a larger geographic scale covering all in all seven regional councils in southern Finland.

In addition the Ministry of the Environment, the Ministry of Employment and the Economy as well as the Ministry of Transport and Communications each develop different kinds of strategies and policies with regard to different issues related to the spatial development of the larger Helsinki Region.

City-regional level

The Regional Council (*Maakunnan liitto*) is a federation of municipalities which formulates and accepts the regional land-use plans in Finland: In the Helsinki Capital Region this public sector institute is called ‘the Uusimaa Regional Council (*Uudenmaan liitto*)’. For the regional state authority purpose Finland has 15 regional centres for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment whose task is e.g. to control municipal planning and construction within their respective regions. In the Helsinki Capital Region the organisation is called the Uusimaa Regional Centre for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment (*Uudenmaan ELY*).

In total, over one million people live in the Helsinki Metropolitan Area which includes the city of Helsinki (ca. 583,300) and three other cities, Vantaa (ca. 197,600), Espoo (ca. 244,300) and Kauniainen (ca. 8,600). There has been cooperation since 1970 on forming common transportation links within and between the four municipalities. The newly founded organisation Helsinki Region Transport (in 2010) has a longer perspective goal to connect the four municipalities in the field of transport planning.

The KUUMA-municipalities, Discussion Board for the Metropolitan Area and The Helsinki Metropolitan Area Cooperation Assembly are two additional non-profit co-operation ‘actors’ organised by different municipality groups. Their aim is to work for the future of the capital region by publishing visions and encouraging discussions with various regional actors.

Municipal level

An amendment in the Land Use and Building Act of 2009 contained one important change for the Helsinki Metropolitan Area: Helsinki, Espoo, Vantaa and Kauniainen are now required to prepare a common master plan. The main reason behind the amendment was that the Helsinki Metropolitan Area is considered to be in particular need of harmonisation in terms of its land use planning objectives. No statutory deadline has however been imposed for the preparation of this common master plan. Certain details regarding the formulation of the plan, such as the timetable and the committee formation, have been left to the cities of the Helsinki Metropolitan Area to settle.

6.3. An actor-oriented view of metropolitan governance

MINISTRY OF TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS

Liikenne- ja viestintäministeriö

Legal form: State administration

When established: 1892

Number of Employees: 149

Budget: -

Financed by: The state

Geographic scope of the tasks: Finland

Tasks: Develops traffic policies; deals with traffic safety issues, and allocates money for large transportation investments.

Instruments: Strategies, policies and financing.

Interaction: Cooperation with other ministries, Helsinki Region Transport and with regional actors.

*Source: Balance Sheet 2009
of Ministry of Transport and Communications*

MINISTRY OF THE ENVIRONMENT

Ympäristöministeriö

Legal form: State administration

When established: 1983

Number of Employees: 300

Budget: -

Financed by: The state

Geographic scope of the tasks: Finland

Tasks: Coordinates planning of VAT's which are specific targets for the Helsinki region and coordinates metropolitan policy as a development policy.

Instruments: Confirmation of regional land use plans and joint master plans, preparing the National Land Use guidelines other strategies and policies for land-use planning, coordinating the Metropolitan policies, making letters of intent.

Interaction: Other ministries, municipalities and other regional actors

*Source: Ministry of Environment Administrations Main
Targets and Tasks between the years 2009–2012*

MINISTRY OF EMPLOYMENT AND THE ECONOMY

Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriö

Legal form: State administration

When established: 2008 (formerly Ministry of Trade and Industry)

Number of Employees: 600

Budget: -

Financed by: The state

Geographic scope of the tasks: Finland

Tasks: Responsible for the preparation of national legislation, objectives and strategies for regional development; and supervises their implementation and monitors results. The Ministry also coordinates national urban policies

Instruments: Policies, regional strategies, and programmes.

Interaction: Other ministries and regional actors.

Source: Ministry of Employment and the Economy

UUSIMAA REGIONAL COUNCIL

Uudenmaan liitto

Legal form: Municipal regional administration

When established: 1934

Number of Employees: 68

Budget: 7.9 million Euro

Financed by: Mostly by the member municipalities

Geographic scope of the tasks: 21 municipalities

Tasks: Responsible for regional development and planning, including to plan the Uusimaa Region strategically.

Instruments: The regional plan (a long-term overall development plan), the regional strategic programme and regional land use plans.

Interaction: Cooperation with member municipalities and other counties

Source: The Uusimaa Regional Council Action and Economical Plan 2010-2012

HELSINKI REGIONAL TRANSPORT AUTHORITY (HSL)

Helsingin seudun liikenne

Legal form: Legal Federation of Municipalities

When established: 2010 (former YTV 1970)

Number of Employees: 350

Budget: 490 million Euro (2010)

Financed by: The member municipalities

Geographic scope of the tasks: The six member municipalities of Helsinki, Espoo, Vantaa, Kauniainen, Kerava and Kirkkonummi.

Tasks: Responsible for the planning and organisation of public transport services in its member municipalities as well as for the preparation of the Helsinki Region Transport System Plan (HLJ 2011)

Instruments: Transport system plans, and transport strategies for the region.

Interaction: Member municipalities, other municipalities in the Helsinki region, Uusimaa County Council and the Uusimaa ELY Centre.

Source: Helsinki Region Transport 2009

UUSIMAA CENTRE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, TRANSPORT AND THE ENVIRONMENT - ELY

Uudenmaan ELY

Legal form: Governmental regional organisation

When established: January 1st, 2010.

The tasks of the ELY Centre comprise those of the former Employment and Economic Centres, Road Districts, Regional Environmental Centres and State Provincial Offices

Number of Employees: 125 in the Environment department

Budget: e.g. 98.6 million Euro for Transport, 24.1 million euro for the Environment

Financed by: The state

Geographic scope of the tasks: Uusimaa Region with its' 21 municipalities, Uusimaa and Itä-Uusimaa. Transport issues within the Kanta- and Päijät-Häme regions are also taken care of.

Tasks: Manages the regional implementation and development tasks of the state administration. It has three areas of responsibility: a) business and industry, the labour force, competence and cultural activities; b) transport and infrastructure, and c) the environment, land use and natural resources

Instruments: Promotion, steering and monitoring, permissions and notices

Interaction: The municipalities in the region, the Regional Councils and Helsinki Region Transport.

Source: ELY Action and Financial Plan 2011-2014

HELSINKI CITY PLANNING DEPARTMENT

Kaupunkisuunnitteluvirasto

Legal form: Municipal department

When established: 1964

Number of Employees: 275

Budget: 20.5 million Euro (2007)

Financed by: The City of Helsinki

Geographic scope of the tasks: The municipality of Helsinki

Tasks: Local planning, including traffic planning, techno-economic planning and environmental planning; promotion of urban planning research; and participation in regional land use and traffic structure development.

Instruments: Local detailed plans and the local master plan.

Interaction: Other departments in the municipality, the Uusimaa Regional Council and Helsinki Region Transport.

Source:

Helsinki City Planning Department Action plan 2007-2009

KUUMA MUNICIPALITIES

KUUMA kunnat

Legal form: Municipal co-operation organisation

When established: 2003 (continues until 2012)

Number of Employees: 3

Budget: 590,000 Euro (2010)

Financed by: Ministry of Employment and the Economy, The Uusimaa Regional Council 50% and municipalities 50%

Geographic scope of the tasks: Formed by 6 municipalities: Järvenpää, Kerava, Mäntsälä, Nurmijärvi, Pornainen and Tuusula. From the beginning of 2011, the 4 municipalities of Hyvinkää, Vihti, Kirkkonummi and Sipoo (former Municipality Alliance *Neloset*) joined Kuuma Municipalities.

Tasks: To improve the competitiveness and liveability of the area; to establish inter-municipal co-operation within e.g. the fields of transport and land-use, economic development

Instruments: Strategies, lobbying and programmes.

Interaction: Member municipalities, business life and schools. In addition with ministries, Helsinki Regional Transport Authority, and municipalities in the Helsinki Metropolitan Region

Source: KUUMA Action and Financial Plan for 2009-2011

HELSINKI METROPOLITAN AREA COOPERATION ASSEMBLY

Pääkaupunkiseudun neuvottelukunta

Legal form: Municipal co-operation organisation

When established: 2004

Number of Employees: 1

Budget: -

Financed by: The municipalities and project partners

Geographic scope of the tasks: The municipalities of Helsinki, Espoo, Vantaa and Kauniainen.

Tasks: To achieve strategic goals with greater competitiveness in the Metropolitan Area, to make the area more coherent and to improve the social welfare of the area with the provision of better services. To develop strategies considering the land-use, housing and traffic in the area.

Instruments: Strategies and visions

Interaction: Co-operation with ministries, KUUMA-municipalities and Uusimaa-region

Source: Seutuportaali (2010)

HELSINKI REGION COOPERATION ASSEMBLY

Helsingin seudun yhteistyökokous

Legal form: Municipal co-operation organisation

When established: 2005

Budget: -

Financed by: The municipalities and project partners

Geographic scope of the tasks: 14 municipalities within the Helsinki Region

Tasks: Land-use, housing, traffic and service issues in the region.

Instruments: Visions, action plans and strategies.

Interaction: Ministries, the Uusimaa-region and KUUMA-municipalities

Source: Seutuportaali (2010)

SOUTH FINLAND REGIONAL ALLIANCE

Etelä-Suomen maakuntien liittouma

Legal form: Regional co-operation organisation

When established: 1995

Number of Employees: 4

Budget: 148,000 Euro (2009)

Financed by: Member councils

Geographic scope of the tasks: The six regional councils of Etelä-Karjala, Häme, Kymenlaakso, Päijät-Häme, Uusimaa and Varsinais-Suomi

Tasks: Promotes co-operation and interaction between member councils, monitors common goals and interests of the regional member councils, promotes co-operation in Southern Finland, creates interesting discussion forums publishes and distributes reports and research material concerning Southern Finland promotes, spreads and implements co-operation in the Baltic Sea Region.

Instruments: Co-operation and lobbying, forums for discussion

Interaction: Industrial and commercial organisations, trade organisations, municipalities and regional municipalities, educational and research institutions, political organisations, as well as state authorities both on a national and regional level.

Source: South Finland Regional Alliance, Action strategy 2005-2008

HELSINKI-TALLINN EUREGIO

Helsinki-Tallinn Euregio

Legal form: Regional co-operation organisation

When established: Network co-operation since 1999; as a non-profit association (NPA) since 2003.

Number of Employees: 17

Budget: 110,000 Euro (2008)

Financed by: Annual partnership fees and additional funding for joint projects from governmental and international programmes.

Geographic scope of the tasks: Helsinki-Tallinn, Uusimaa-Harju regions

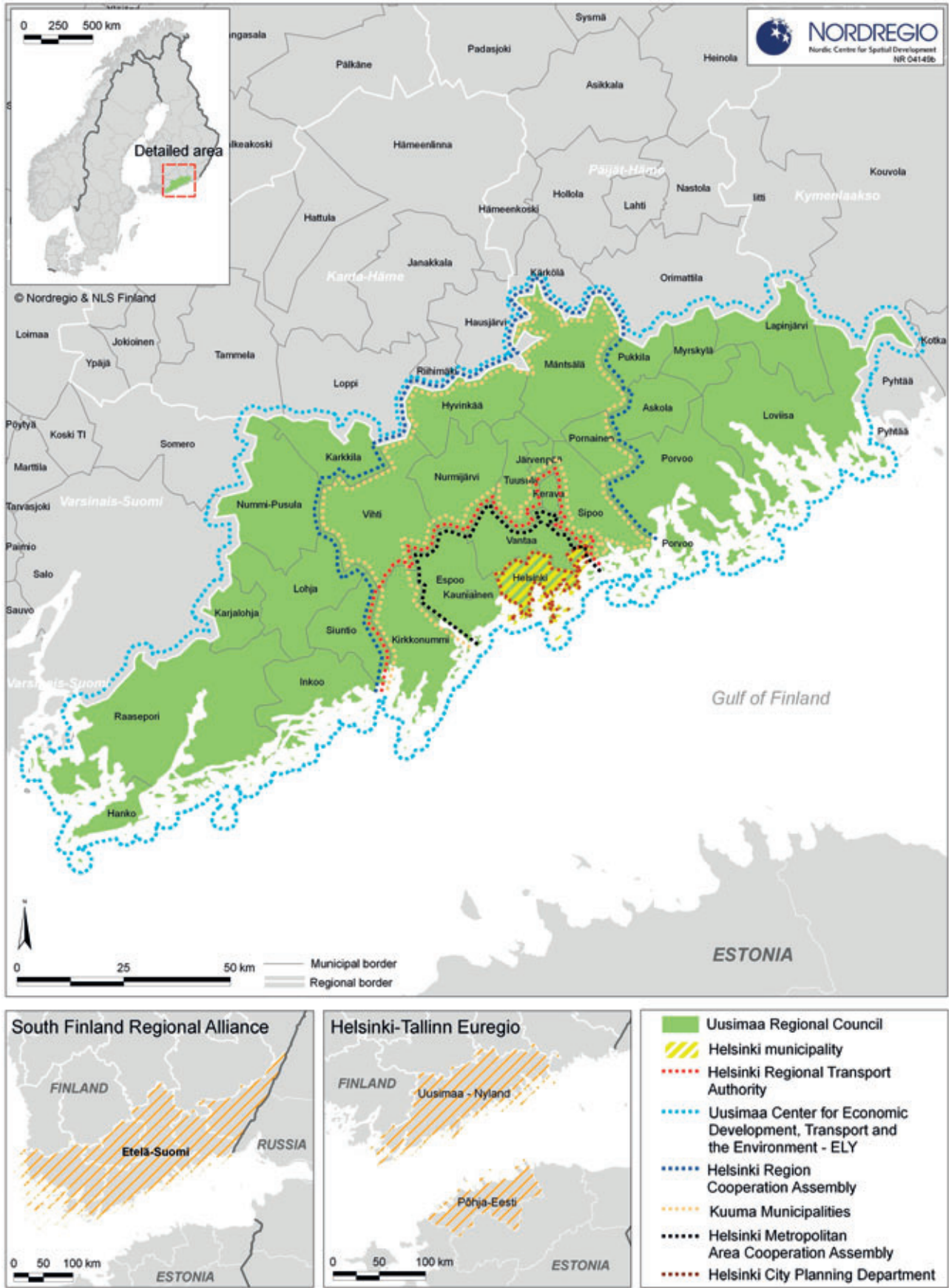
Tasks: Enhances cross-border integration between the Helsinki-Uusimaa region and Harju county, aims to strengthen the regional knowledge-based economic and political development, the development of a united multi-cluster innovation region of high competitiveness, and works on developing a common public transport ticket system

Instruments: A political discussion platform, initiatives relating to cross-border and inter-regional projects and networking, and the promotion of co-operation and cross-use of regional competencies.

Interaction: Partnership with City of Helsinki, City of Tallinn, Harju County Government, Uusimaa Regional Council Union of Harju, County Municipalities

Source: Helsinki-Tallinn Euregio Annual Report 2009

Map 5: Overview of the main geographic scope of territorial governance actors in the Helsinki capital region



Governance systems at play:

Integrating land use and transportation in the Helsinki region

Metropolitan governance has been an important topic of discussion in the Helsinki Region in recent years. The region has moreover undergone a remarkable period population growth since the beginning of the 21st century while at the same time there has also been an increase in the number of jobs available. In addition the average need for living space has increased just as the structure of business has changed in the region. Taken together, these changes have affected the urban structure by increasing the degree of suburbanisation. New suburbs in Helsinki have traditionally been very sparsely populated, and in the long run this has caused decentralisation in the region, even though population growth has been even stronger in the suburbs than in the city itself.

The current discussions on governance in the Helsinki region is thus a matter of a growing need to develop the traffic structure of the region, address congestion issues as well as land use questions, to deal with housing questions and generally support sustainable development in urban planning. As more land is needed for housing new land use areas that are capable of maintaining growth have to be created somewhere. One example of such new housing areas in the Helsinki context is in the former harbour areas of the city. The city authorities have also bought up new land areas from the neighbouring municipalities in order to help cope with the growth pressure.

One way to attain a more sustainable regional structure is the so-called METKA-model, which combines housing, traffic and land-use in the context of future scenarios. Work with this model is based within a group of civil servants from the County Council, the Environmental Administration, Finnish railways, the Finnish Transport Agency, and the Hyvinkää-Riihimäki Economic Alliance. The main idea of the METKA-model is to unite land-use in the region and to develop rail and road use between the capital city and the various surrounding city centres. To achieve this, there is a clear need to change the traditional policy approach: Areas close to rail connections need to be developed, urban sprawl needs to be diminished, and car users need to be 'encouraged' into becoming users of public transportation. These challenges may potentially be successfully addressed through recourse to legislation though it is likely that other means of governance may also be necessary.

A more programmatic metropolitan policy was adopted in Finland in 2007. This policy was coordinated by a ministerial working group on governance and regional development issues (HALKE). Briefly explained, this national approach aims at strengthening international competitiveness as well as creating balanced development in terms of land-use, planning and traffic. This approach to collaboration between the state, the region and the city is still quite new. Thus far it is clear that this approach to metropolitan policy is more of a commitment tool which can be used for prioritising important goals, but as such, it does not really offer new financial means in terms of implementation.

As regards housing, the state and the municipalities in the region have recently agreed on a letter of intent to boost the availability of new areas for residential construction in the Helsinki region. The aim here is to build homes for, on average, 12,000-13,000 residents a year throughout the period 2008- 2017; the municipalities will commit to 20 % state supported rental apartments.

In addition a new Helsinki Regional Transport System Plan (HLJ 2011) has now been published. The plan has been enlarged to cover 14 municipalities and address both housing and transportation issues. The main ongoing process in transport co-operation in the region is the building of the 'Ring Rail Line' starting from Helsinki-Vantaa Airport to the city centre. Four stations are planned in new housing areas along the route. The Ring Rail Line is an essential part of the urban line network upgrade that will improve public transportation across the entire Helsinki region. The line will connect residential and work places while also significantly improving accessibility to Helsinki-Vantaa Airport. The construction of the Ring Rail Line began in spring 2009 and it is expected to be complete by mid-2014.

According to Tolkki *et al.* (2010) the municipalities in the capital region are seen as independent actors with the municipal structure being somewhat disjointed. The municipalities continue to act logically based on their own needs. Regional actors generally represent only one sector such as the Helsinki Regional Transport Authority (HSL) or are, on the other hand, informal voluntary-based community organisations, which have no legal based status, tasks or strong mandate to govern and no history of focusing on 'regional' needs. When it comes to regional interests, land-use, housing and traffic issues are particularly important and thus need to be looked at from a broader perspective. Individual municipalities tend however to want to maintain their relatively strong positions in the process and this often leads to sub-optimal solutions. Consultation boards are practical for knowledge exchange and opinion formulating, but decision-making needs a stronger background upon which to succeed. Tolkki *et al.* (2010) suggest that there is a need for a new level of administration to better address the challenges facing the metropolitan area. The legitimacy basis of this new level should moreover be tied to open elections – despite the risk of increasing costs and bureaucracy. Many urban challenges are however still to be faced and many possible solutions are available. How the Helsinki Region will ultimately choose to address these complex challenges however remains to be seen.

7. Synthesis and major observations

7.1 Objective

In the following tables we try to compile the information on each actor in the five Nordic capital regions by focussing on the issue of scale/territorial logic on the one hand and the assumedly predominant 'type of action' that is represented by the identified actor on the other. We have also tried to anticipate the 'structural pattern of interaction' as elucidated in chapter 1.3. These typologies are of course based on the authors' interpretations of the assembled information in chapters 2 to 6.

It should also be noted here that all identified actors that belong to the norm-based action type can be assigned to the 'tight coupling' type here. With regard to the 'utilitarian' and 'communicative/dramaturgical' types of action we have tried to distinguish between rather 'tight' and 'loose coupling' structural patterns of interaction.

Copenhagen capital region

Table 2: Types of action and structural pattern of interaction in the Copenhagen capital region (year of foundation in brackets)

Main focus of scale/ territorial logic	Assumedly predominant type of action and structural pattern of interaction (i.e. modes of governance used by the actor at hand)		
	norm-based (tight coupling)	utilitarian (tight or loose coupling)	communicative/ dramaturgical (tight or loose coupling)
Local	The Urban Development and Infrastructure Centre, City of Copenhagen (1998) Technical and Environmental Administration, City of Copenhagen (1998)	CPH City & Port Development (2007) (rather tight coupling) METROSELSKABET (2007) (rather tight coupling)	
Regional	The capital region of Denmark (2007) Region Skåne (1999)	Growth Forum of Copenhagen (2007) (rather loose coupling)	Copenhagen Capacity (1994) (rather tight coupling) Copenhagen X (2002) (rather loose coupling)
National	Danish Ministry of Transportation (2005) Nature Agency (2011)		Danish Town Planning Institute (1921) (rather loose coupling) Realdania (2000) (rather loose coupling)
Cross-border		The Öresund Committee (1993) (rather loose coupling)	

Source: Own illustration, based on Blatter (2005, 126)

Reykjavik capital region

Table 3: Types of action and structural pattern of interaction in the Reykjavik capital region (year of foundation in brackets)

Main focus of scale/ territorial logic	Assumedly predominant type of action and structural pattern of interaction (i.e. modes of governance used by the actor at hand)		
	norm-based (tight coupling)	utilitarian (tight or loose coupling)	communicative/ dramaturgical (tight or loose coupling)
Local	City of Reykjavik (?)		
Regional	Institute for Regional Development (?)	Joint Committee for Regional Planning (rather tight coupling)	
National	Ministry of the Environment (1990) Planning Agency (?) Regional Development Institute	Association of Municipalities in the Capital Area (rather loose coupling)	
Cross-border			

Source: Own illustration, based on Blatter (2005, 126)

Oslo capital region

Table 4: Types of action and structural pattern of interaction in the Oslo capital region (year of foundation in brackets)

Main focus of scale/ territorial logic	Assumedly predominant type of action and structural pattern of interaction (i.e. modes of governance used by the actor at hand)		
	norm-based (tight coupling)	utilitarian (tight or loose coupling)	communicative/ dramaturgical (tight or loose coupling)
Local	Agency for Planning and Building Services in Oslo (?)		
Regional	Akershus County (1976) County Governor in Oslo and Akerhus (1660)	Ruter AS (2008) <i>(rather tight coupling)</i>	Oslo Region Alliance (2005) <i>(rather tight coupling)</i> Eastern Norway County Network (2006) <i>(rather loose coupling)</i>
National	Ministry of the Environment (1972) Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development (1948) Ministry of Transport and Communications (1946)		
Cross-border			Gothenburg-Oslo Cooperation (2003) <i>(rather loose coupling)</i>

Source: Own illustration, based on Blatter (2005, 126)

Stockholm capital region

Table 5: Types of action and structural pattern of interaction in the Stockholm capital region (year of foundation in brackets)

Main focus of scale/ territorial logic	Assumedly predominant type of action and structural pattern of interaction (i.e. modes of governance used by the actor at hand)		
	norm-based (tight coupling)	utilitarian (tight or loose coupling)	communicative/ dramaturgical (tight or loose coupling)
Local	Office of City Planning and Building in Stockholm (1955)		
Regional	County Administrative Board of Stockholm (1634)	The Greater Stockholm Public Transport (1916) (rather tight coupling) Stockholm County Association of Local Authorities (1966) (rather loose coupling)	Office of Regional Planning, Stockholm County Council (1971) (rather tight coupling) Council of the Mälars Region (2004) (rather loose coupling) Stockholm Region (1996) (rather loose coupling) Stockholm Business Region AB (2006) (rather loose coupling)
National	Ministry of the Environment (1985) Ministry of Enterprise, Energy and Communications (1969) Ministry of Health and Social Affairs (1920) Swedish Transport Administration (1841) National Board of Housing, Building and Planning (1988)		
Cross-border			

Source: Own illustration, based on Blatter (2005, 126)

Helsinki capital region

Table 6: Types of action and structural pattern of interaction in the Helsinki capital region (year of foundation in brackets)

Main focus of scale/ territorial logic	Assumedly predominant type of action and structural pattern of interaction (i.e. modes of governance used by the actor at hand)		
	norm-based (tight coupling)	utilitarian (tight or loose coupling)	communicative/ dramaturgical (tight or loose coupling)
Local	Helsinki City Planning Department (1964)		
Regional	Uusimaa Regional Council (1934) Uusimaa Centre for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment – ELY (2010)	Helsinki Region Transport Authority (HSL) (1970, 2010) (rather tight coupling)	Kuuma Municipalities (2003) (rather tight coupling) Helsinki Metropolitan Area Cooperation Assembly (2004) (rather loose coupling) Helsinki Region Cooperation Assembly (2005) (rather loose coupling) South Finland Regional Alliance (1995) (rather loose coupling)
National	Ministry of the Environment (1983) Ministry of Employment and the Economy (2008) Ministry of Transport and Communications (1892)		
Cross-border		Helsinki-Tallinn Euregio (1999, 2003) (rather loose coupling)	

Source: Own illustration, based on Blatter (2005, 126)

7.2 Major observations

First to be mentioned here are those actors that can be characterised as using a rather utilitarian type of action, i.e. those that have been given a clear political mission with a rather focused agenda to either apply policies, or manage/develop policies within a specific field of work (such as transport or economic development etc). Their genesis can be interpreted as a concrete political response to the newly evolving context that the capital region is dealing with. In the field of Regional Public Transport in the Helsinki and Stockholm region, however, such actors have already existed for many years. This is perhaps something which can best be understood as the wise anticipation of the importance of the regional level. The Öresund Committee as well as the Helsinki-Tallinn Euregio are examples of more recently established actors that have been assigned here to the utilitarian type of action. This has been done since they have developed a very straight forward approach to foster cross-border cooperation based on concrete projects. Certainly 'communication' is a central tool for them to apply power, which would also qualify them to be related to the communicative/dramaturgical type of action. The Gothenburg-Oslo cooperation, for instance, has been assigned in the latter, since its agenda seems to be less focussed and project driven compared to the aforementioned other two. Again these assignments are tentative and have not been based on any further investigations than assembling data from the internet and other sources and on the comments received from the 'Nordic working group on exchange of experience and knowledge building – Nordic Urban regions'.

Perhaps most striking however is the emergence of the many actors that can be grouped together under the communicative/dramaturgical type of action. With the exception of Reykjavik, in the last two decades a number of non-governmental (NGOs) or quasi non-governmental organisations (Quangos) have been established at the regional level (such as Copenhagen Capacity, Oslo Region Alliance, Council of the Mälars region or the Helsinki Region Cooperation Assembly). It appears that many such actors have been formed to cope with the new territorial, institutional and strategic context that has emerged in relation to the many new challenges that the Nordic capital regions have to face.

Apparently in Helsinki, Copenhagen and Stockholm in particular there is clearly perceptible response here to the need to strengthen the Capital region's organisational capacity with regard to inter-municipal/cross-border cooperation and the promotion of economic development (i.e. by supporting the link between public and private actors). It is moreover interesting to note here that the geographic scope of such actors is very often either flexible or comprises a larger territorial entity than do the existing norm-based (and partly also utilitarian) regional actors. In this sense, these new actors form through their interactions and their available instruments (for the most part 'communication') new forms of institutional arrangements. They clearly have not however replaced the more formal State institutions and spatial planning systems, i.e. norm-based types of action, rather they complement them.

Due to numerous reforms within the more formal political and administrative structures in recent years actors who use a rather norm-based type of action have enlarged their spheres of work enormously, since they are effectively 'obliged' to collaborate with such new actors. As a result, the level of interaction with these NGOs and Quangos has been intensified with a view to seeking new modes of cooperation and participation in spatial planning (including land-use planning and physical planning) and regional development. This change has often been conceptualised in the context of the move from government to governance, which is, however, somewhat misleading, since the formal governmental institutions remain in place with their formal power and responsibilities as well as democratically legitimised bodies. However as Jessop (1997) argues, this shift to governance has certainly led to changes in government. It is necessary to mention here for instance the disruption of established channels, networks and alliances through which (particularly local) government is linked to citizen and businesses. Therefore one of the central challenges of territorial governance is now how to create new forms of integration out of this fragmentation, and new forms of coherence out of inconsistency (Davoudi *et al.* 2008, 351).

In this light the birth of these new actors can be interpreted as a concrete response to the multifaceted challenges that the Nordic capital regions currently face, i.e. to extend and re-frame the

institutional capacity of this rather new intermediate scale that transcends many administrative boundaries between the municipal and the national level while at the same time coping with new and often divergent interests and rationales (such as international competitiveness or the integration of a larger labour market area through inter-municipal cooperation). Due to the multi-scalarity of metropolitan regions it seems, moreover, that there is a greater potential here to link local, national and transnational issues.

What is also eye-catching is that these NGOs and Quangos differ very much in the territorial scope and definition of their tasks. Haughton *et al.* (2010) terms this development as the 'new spatial planning'. In their view the new spatial planning describes a momentum where planning and policy delivery takes place in newly created, flexible and often temporal spaces. Their boundaries are rather fuzzy and may change in respect of the issue/task at hand. Again this new spatial planning does not replace statutory planning as such, but it complements it to a certain extent. Also, as the example of the regional planning office in Stockholm indicates, the principal tasks have been the same for many years; rather it is the range and intensity of interaction with numerous state and non-state actors that has increased enormously in recent years.

To sum-up, in most of the Nordic Capital Regions, the governance systems are currently in transition primarily through the addition of new actors to the game who try to find their *niche* in respect of the evolving and increasing strategic, territorial and institutional challenges. However, the instrumental toolbox of these new actors is often quite limited. Most thus offer, primarily, a platform for communication, and seek to frame debates and discourses or, at best, to push strategies/projects of mutual interest.

It remains to be studied further in terms of individual cases how far they can actually become powerful players and how far the interplay with other actors (in particular those that are listed under the rubric 'norm-based types of action' in the table above) is functioning effectively. Here one needs to study in particular the organisational capacity of the Nordic municipalities at hand in order to make more qualified conclusions. This is due to the fact that they – because of their comparatively highly developed political and fiscal autonomy – have a significant say in spatial planning and economic development.

One critical question here will be how far these municipalities are able or willing to deal with the challenges that the larger and more multifaceted context of the capital regions offer. Then again it is likely to be decisive in terms of how far the aforementioned actors, using a rather communicative/dramaturgical type of action, can compensate for their lack of formal power by developing close and fruitful cooperation with these municipalities. Since the regional level is in general rather weakly institutionalised in the Nordic Countries in terms of the fields of work in the focus here, the national level (in particular the responsible ministries) might function as a kind of moderator or even mediator in respect of the interplay of the municipalities and other formal regional actors on the one hand and those actors using a rather more utilitarian or communicative/dramaturgical type of action on the other. Once again it is clear that further study would be necessary to properly assess the current level of 'cooperative performance' in this respect.

Some studies (in particular elaborated by the OECD 2006, but also by Giersig 2008), however, conclude that this interplay (here in the case of Helsinki and Stockholm) is not currently functioning very well. They propose instead to establish a more powerful (i.e. formalised) regional organisation that compensates for the administrative, institutional and territorial fragmentation and thus is better able to bundle together a number of disparate responsibilities in the field of spatial planning and regional development.

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