Nordic Echoes of European Spatial Planning: Discursive Integration in Practice

(Noordse echo's op Europese ruimtelijke planning: discursieve integratie in de praktijk)

een wetenschappelijke proeve op het gebied van de Managementwetenschappen

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Nordic Echoes of European Spatial Planning:

Discursive Integration in Practice

A scientific essay in management sciences

Doctoral thesis

to obtain the degree of doctor
from the University of Nijmegen
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Kai Böhme
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on 26 August 1972.

Nordregio 2002

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

Stockholm, Sweden
2002

PREFACE

In this doctoral thesis, I argue that the emerging policy field of European spatial planning is an example of European integration by networking and policy discourses. Recent developments in Nordic spatial planning systems and policies indicate that discursive European integration can be successful when there are strong policy communities active at European and national level and direct links between them.

The study has been very much inspired by my everyday work at Nordregio, the Nordic Centre for Spatial Development. I would like to thank Nordregio, and its director, Hallgeir Aalbu, especially, for the opportunity to use the institution's facilities and for the possibility of taking extended leaves of absence from work in order to write my thesis.

Many people have contributed to my thoughts while writing this study. First of all, I want to thank Andreas Faludi for his patience and the valuable and relaxed supervision he has given me. I would also like to thank my colleagues, who provided me with inside information and the encouragement to carry on my study. Furthermore, I want to thank my interviewees and all those clients, project partners, etc. who on various occasions provided input for my studies without knowing it. I would also like to thank all those who have read and commented on different parts and drafts of this study. A special thanks goes to Keneva Kunz for not tiring of language editing this work.

Last but not least, I want to thank my family and my friends for being very supportive, especially during the final months, when life has been scarcely anything else but the thesis.

Stockholm,
Kai Böhme

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS

CEMAT	European Conference of Ministers Responsible for Regional Planning
CoE	Council of Europe
CSD	Committee on Spatial Development
DETR	Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions (United Kingdom)
DG ENV	Environmental Policy Directorate-General
DG Regio	Regional Policy Directorate-General
EC	European Community
EEA*	European Economic Area
EEA*	European Environmental Agency
EFTA	European Free Trade Area
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
EMU	European Monetary Union
ERDF	European Regional Development Funds
ESDP	European Spatial Development Perspective
ESPON	European Spatial Planning Observatory Network
EU	European Union
HELCOM	Helsinki Commission
IR	International Relations
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NOU	Report of a Government Commission (Norway)
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
SEA	Strategic Environmental Assessment
SOU	Report of a Government Commission (Sweden)
SPESP	Study Programme on European Spatial Planning
TENs	Trans-European Networks
TIA	Territorial Impact Assessment
VASAB	Visions and Strategies Around the Baltic Sea

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* As this abbreviation stands in the European context for at least two different things it is not used without referring to the complete name.

INTRODUCTION

For several years now, a new catchword has echoed in planning circles, the term "European Spatial Planning". It is a concept which has caused a lot of debate, not least in the Nordic countries, where it has presented a challenge to the traditional understanding of planning and development.

The very lack of a proper term for spatial planning in the Nordic languages illustrates this fact. The *European Spatial Development Perspective* (ESDP) has been translated into all official EU languages and I doubt that few other languages had as much trouble with the concept itself as did Denmark and Sweden. In Sweden the translated document went back and forth between the translator, the National Board of Housing, Building and Planning, the Ministry of Industry, which is responsible for spatial planning, and DG Regio at the European Commission, as they could not agree on how to translate the term spatial planning into Swedish. In the end they agreed on: *Det regionala utvecklingsperspektivet inom Europeiska unionen* (The regional development perspective in the European Union). Denmark which faced the same linguistic challenge – as neither in Swedish nor in Danish, there is term comparable to "spatial" – chose a different translation: *Det europæiske fysiske og funktionelle udviklingsperspektiv* (The European physical and functional development perspective). In Norway, where no official translation exists, as Norway is not member of the European Union, I have seen the following translation: *Felles Europeisk planperspektiv* (Joint European planning perspective). I have not been able to discover a translation of the term into Icelandic. The language problem indicates, however, that spatial planning is far from being a common concept in Scandinavia. The same is true for Finland. In Finnish, which belongs to a language family different from that of the other Nordic languages, there is no proper translation either. The official translation of the ESDP is *Euroopan aluesuunnittelun ja aluekehityksen suuntaviivat* (The guidelines for European regional planning and regional development).

The linguistic examples indicate already, that spatial policy making at EU level is a reciprocal "two-level game" (Putnam 1993) in which an analysis of the links between domestic and intergovernmental or supranational policy-making is pertinent for a proper understanding of the process.

Spatial planning is, on the one hand, a policy field which involves the European Union and the Member States, even though it is not a Community competence. On the other hand, there are domestic politics

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which influence the official positions of Member States in the EU processes, as well as the experiences and attitudes of individuals wherever they function in the European machinery.

In this study, I examine the spatial planning systems in the five Nordic countries and their inter-linkages with EU policies. What is Nordic planning? To answer this means underlining both common traits specific to the Nordic planning systems as well as the differences between the Nordic countries. That done, we can proceed to examine how the countries are influenced by EU policies and how they, in turn, influence EU polices. Will the Nordic countries become more harmonised with other EU countries as a result of the exchange, or will they make the EU more Nordic?

Before proceeding with this discussion, we need to clarify what is meant by Nordic countries and why they are grouped together in this issue. The Nordic countries consist of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, as well as the autonomous territories of the Faroe Islands, Greenland and Åland.[1] A more correct term to use when referring to this group of countries and territories is *Norden*, a term without a precise equivalent in English. In lieu of such a term, English speakers frequently invoke the term Scandinavian to include the entire Nordic area, but this more correctly refers to the Scandinavian peninsula and would exclude Finland and Iceland, if not possibly Denmark as well. In this study, the term *Norden* and the Nordic countries will be used.

The Nordic countries have a common cultural heritage, and there is a strong Nordic identity and co-operation, which traces its roots back to earlier centuries. As a result of this, there are well-established forums for co-operation between the Nordic countries, such as e.g. the Nordic Council (between parliaments) and Nordic Councils of Ministers (between countries). Having contributed to the bonds between the Nordic countries, the common cultural heritage has also left its mark on the development of their welfare states, which are a central and important feature of Nordic co-operation.

As we will see in the course of this study, the Nordic countries have also a specific approach to physical planning and regional development, which is undergoing changes not least through the

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[1] Even though this issue focuses only on the five Nordic countries – Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden – it should be kept in mind that there are also three autonomous territories - Faroe Islands, Greenland and Åland – which enjoy extensive autonomy, as indicated by the fact, that the Danish Faroe Islands and Greenland were given the option of opting out of the European Community. The Finnish Åland Islands, too, held a separate vote on whether to join alongside with Finland in 1995, but in this case the vote was positive.

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introduction of the concept of spatial planning from the European scene into the Nordic planning environments.

What is the specific Nordic approach? How does this approach influence European spatial polices and vice versa? Is it, in general, justified to speak of a Nordic approach, as the Nordic countries themselves often stress the differences between them? These are the questions I want to address in my study on planning in the Nordic countries and its interrelation with European planning activities.

When discussing spatial planning in various countries, a wide range of aspects needs to be taken into account and examined for comparing national planning policies and systems. Attempting to gathering information of such extensive scope runs into some limitations, however. Cherry (1986) points out a number of obstacles regarding trans-national comparison of planning systems, including language, access to data, grasping the precise role of actors, and accounting for the ideological environment.

Fortunately, my everyday work tasks at Nordregio, the Nordic Centre for Spatial Development, have provided me access to information and data on the Nordic countries and insight-providing views on spatial policy processes in the various Nordic countries. These contacts and information were of invaluable use and importance for the success of this study. The collection of data was, however, concluded in autumn 2001, therefore developments which came with the national elections in and the change of government in Denmark (20 November 2001) and Norway (9 September 2001), are not taken into consideration in this study.

To understand a planning system and the ongoing policy process which is part and parcel of it, the precise role of central actors and the procedures for decision making need to be mapped out. It can be important to understand where power and influence finally reside, who is acting on behalf of whom, what consultations occur and what compromises are sought. Where my own understanding, as an external, non-Northerner, was not sufficient, my colleagues from the various Nordic countries helped me to understand the various relations prevailing between central actors in the field. In order to make the discussions of the national planning systems easily understandable, the annex provides those readers, that are interested in detailed information on the planning system, with additional information on the local scenery, namely the main actors and instruments concerning spatial planning. Furthermore, the annex and the glossary link the English names, used in this study, to the original titles in the respective national language.

The current ideological environment is clearly shaping planning policies and planning systems. This is especially true as regards the tradition of decision and policy-making. Here, once again, I benefited from intense discussion with my colleagues and other people I met through my work for Nordregio. Each country chapter has a section on the history of the country and its relevance for planning philosophy. The intention of these sections it to provide the reader with a feeling for the national environment of spatial planning.

Language is often considered a major hurdle to cross-national research. I have been in the advantageous position of understanding the languages of three out of the five Nordic countries. In addition, I have made extensive use of sources in English and German. The study is based on literature reviews, information and impressions of spatial policies and development in the Nordic countries and at European level I have gathered through my work at Nordregio. As far as Finland and Iceland are concerned, the countries where I have, because of the languages, no access to materials in the prevailing national language, I have carried out supplementary interviews with key persons. Apart from interviews specifically carried out for this study, numerous professional conversations with practitioners and researchers from all the Nordic countries have enriched my sources of information. Last but not least, all country chapters have been read and commented on by at least one national expert in the field.

It must, however, be borne in mind that the question of language is not only about the understanding of words but also terms and their conceptual and contextual meaning. When discussing Nordic spatial policies and planning systems for a non-Nordic audience, one begins to move from the context of one culture, or from culture specific terminology, to culturally non-specific or less precise imagery. Cropper (1986) illustrates such movements using the example of the difference between policy and politics. English-speaking countries distinguish clearly between these two terms, whereas e.g. French- and German-speaking countries encompass both concepts with *politique* and *Politik* respectively. Similarly, talking about *spatial planning* is a challenging task in the Nordic countries, as described above.

Facing a new, European concept of planning for which they lack even an acceptable common expression has brought new challenges for Nordic national planning systems and policies and gives us an opportunity to see them in a new light. In this study, Nordic approaches to planning are reviewed against the background of spatial policy at

European level, in particular the European Spatial Development Perspective and the process behind this document.

The question of how the various countries influence the European debate and are influenced by the ESDP raises the issue of European integration. As the ESDP is a non-binding instrument without any major financial means connected to it, the focus is mainly on networking and discourse. This will be further elaborated in **Part I** which provides the overall background for the study. This part starts with a chapter on what actually is meant by terms such as "spatial planning" and "spatial policy". My education at the University of Dortmund (1992-1997) and experiences gathered during my work on co-ordination of the Study Programme on European Spatial Planning (SPESP) and various evaluations of Interreg programmes, have left their mark on the discussion in this section. Practical experiences at Nordregio also provided input to the chapter on planning for Europe, i.e. the process leading to the *European Spatial Development Perspective* (ESDP). This is accompanied by a theoretical framework highlighting ongoing debates on European integration, network governance and policy discourses. In addition to surveying overall European aspects, this part also provides an introduction to the Nordic countries and Nordic co-operation. As part of the examination of the policy environment in the Nordic countries theories on corporatist and consensus-oriented decision-making are discussed. National differences as regards spatial planning are discussed, focusing on planning in Europe, and general information on the Nordic countries is provided before turning to the question of whether planning policies at European level will lead to harmonisation of the divergent understanding of planning in Europe.

Part II present the Nordic planning systems and policies, country by country. Historical developments, general relations to the European Union as well as recent developments and ways of handling the European debate are covered here. As compared to the *EU Compendium of Spatial Planning Systems and Policies* (EC 1997) the country chapters focus on the analysis of interaction between European and national spatial planning rather than describing the planning systems in detail. Anyway, the country chapters together with the annex provide an updated picture of spatial planning in all five Nordic countries. The descriptions of the various countries are influenced by my work with and for the Nordic countries, as I e.g. have taken part in the discussion on the Norwegian *landsdelstudier* and actively worked on the review of Swedish spatial development perspectives which will be discussed later on. The fact that I have been an exchange student at the Royal Institute of Technology

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(1996-97) and that I am member of the board of the Swedish Society for Town and Country Planning, FFS, (2000 to date) has given me special inside views on Swedish planning. The Swedish chapter may thus contain slightly more detailed information and be a little bit more critical as compared to the chapters on the other four countries. My ambition has been, however, to provide an equally balance picture of all five Nordic countries.

Part III finally brings all the parts together. The conclusions concentrate on the degree to which Nordic planning has been Europeanised during the last decade. Special emphasis is given to formal changes in the planning systems and changes in policies related to spatial planning. This way of looking at Nordic and European spatial planning is then given a counterbalance by a section examining the marks the Nordic countries have left in European spatial policy making. How eccentric are the Nordic countries when it comes to working with and influencing – customising, one could perhaps say - the European Union in the field of spatial planning? By linking these conclusions to the theoretical framework given in the beginning, the example of Nordic and European spatial planning can show how European integration can also function in policy fields where instruments at European level consist basically of networking and discourses.

In German, at least, there is only a slight distinction between spatial planners and dream planners, *Raumplaner* or *Traumplaner*. So, paying credits to my German origin I conclude this study with a dream of eccentric Nordic spatial planning.

PART I – EUROPEAN SPATIAL PLANNING

In this part we discuss European spatial planning from various perspectives. However, before plunging into a discussion of European planning in particular, it can perhaps be helpful to spend a moment considering planning in general.

Although today there are both established practices and various professions of planning, a universal definition of what planning in seems to be rather elusive. Planning can take various shapes; it can begin with technocratic approaches, which then undergo a social process to emerge as almost artistic acts. In Western Europe, furthermore, the term planning is used in numerous constellations, e.g. national security planning, economic planning, social planning, environmental planning, regional development planning, urban planning, land-use planning, etc. A common feature shared by all of these disciplines is that modern planning is related to the questions of decision and policy making.

Healey (1997) traces today's culture of planning back to three strands of thought, namely economic planning, physical planning and management of public administration and policy analysis, which have been woven together. Economic planning aims at the management of productive forces of nations and regions. It is this kind of planning, linked to social policies, which forms the framework of a welfare state. On the other hand, planning can also be understood as management of physical development of towns, which promotes healthy, economic, convenient and aesthetically attractive urban settings. The third strand is the management of administration and policy analysis, which aims to achieve both efficacy and efficiency in meeting explicit goals set for public agencies.

Even though we still seem unable to define planning as such, a new and closely related catchword, as bright and promising as a rainbow, is echoing in planners' circles: *European Spatial Planning*.

This term covers at least two different concepts. Ever since the first official draft of the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP) was presented and adopted in Noordwijk (1997), European spatial planning has been mainly connected to the idea of planning for Europe, i.e. strategies and policies for the development of the European territory. At the same time, European spatial planning also describes the variety and diversity of national spatial planning concepts and systems within Europe, i.e. planning in Europe. This is of particular interest, as planning for Europe draws on existing planning traditions in Europe and relies on

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the reaction of various Member States and their regions. Thus planning for Europe is conditioned by planning in Europe.

This part will present European spatial planning on the one side as planning *for* Europe, and on the other side as planning *in* Europe.

Before, however, proceeding to look more closely into the matters of European spatial planning, we should examine the question of what spatial planning is. Afterwards, the discussion will turn to planning for Europe and outline the development of the ESDP. A number of theoretical concepts will be addressed as we go along. Following the section on planning for Europe, we will turn to planning in Europe and focus on different planning traditions in Europe generally before concentrating on the Nordic countries and their planning and policy environments. All this will finally conclude in an attempt to answer the question of whether we are moving towards greater European harmonisation in the field of planning.

This part of the book is intended to provide an informative background and facilitate discussion of spatial planning in the five Nordic countries and reciprocal influences of European and national spatial planning.

Spatial Planning: A new arena?

"Spatial planning" is a Euroenglish[2] term used to refer to a concept of planning that is non-British in origin. The concept and term "spatial planning" was developed in the course of shaping a European position in the field of planning or spatial development. Here it appeared to be important to find a neutral term which was not directly linked to the actual planning system of any EU Member State. Thus, spatial planning appeared as Euroenglish and not a British English term. Linguistically, it is in fact a translation of the German term *Raumplanung* and the Dutch *Ruimtelijk Planning*. (Williams 1996:58) Neither term, however, addresses or describes the actual national planning system, but rather the science or discipline dealing with spatial planning. Furthermore, spatial planning is often approximated to the French *aménagement du territoire*.

Although the term itself is new, the concept of spatial planning is certainly rooted in planning traditions long existent in Europe. According to the *EU Compendium of Spatial Planning Systems and Policies* (EC1997:36-37), four major traditions of spatial planning can be identified in the fifteen EU Member States, namely a regional economic planning approach, a comprehensive integrated approach, land-use management and urbanism. These four approaches will be further discussed in the chapter on spatial planning in Europe; for the moment we need simply to bear in mind that these were important elements involved in creating the term spatial planning.

Leaving aside discussion of the various origins of the term spatial planning, there remains the challenge of finding suitable translations for the Euroenglish term spatial planning in the various European languages[3]. This attempt has understandably been accompanied by accordant discussions about the meaning of the concept. Just as there appears to be no consensus on defining the general term "planning", for the term "spatial planning" as well a broad variety of definitions can be found. In the *EU Compendium of Spatial Planning Systems and Policies*, spatial planning is understood as follows:

> Spatial planning refers to the methods used largely by the public sector to influence the future distribution of activities in space. It is undertaken with the aims of creating a more rational territorial organisation of land uses and the linkages between them, to balance demands for development with the need to protect the environment, and to achieve social and economic objectives.

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[2] Cf. the concept of Euroenglish in Williams (1996).

[3] Translation difficulties in the Nordic Countries are discussed elsewhere in this study.

Spatial planning embraces measures to co-ordinate the spatial impacts of other sectoral policies, to achieve a more even distribution of economic development between regions than would otherwise be created by market forces, and to regulate the conversion of land and property uses. (EC 1997:24)

In order to get a better grasp of the amoeba-like concept of spatial planning, other authors approach it by discussing the difference between spatial planning and related terms. Thus Williams (1996) distinguishes between spatial planning and spatial policy. While he conceives of spatial planning as a method or procedure with which to influence future allocations of activities in space, or set out and implement spatial policy at any geographical scale, he defines spatial policies as comprising all policies aiming at influencing locational and land-use decisions, or the distribution of activities, at any geographical scale. Needham (1988) argues in a similar way when discussing spatial ordering and spatial planning in a Dutch context. In general, he maintains that the object of planning is the disposition of buildings, infrastructure and activities in space. At the same time dispositions take place whether or not there is planning. This we may regard as the result of spatial policies. Following the usage of the terms at European level, Faludi (e.g. 1999) and Eser and Konstadakopulos (2000) formulate spatial policy more concretely as spatial development policy. A slight distinction between spatial policy and spatial development policy can be seen, as spatial development policy is mainly applied at national and European level, and thus not at any geographical scale.

At European level there are at least two cases where the term spatial development was chosen where spatial planning also would have been an option. Firstly, when naming the European committee which became the driving force behind the ESDP process, both the names "Committee on Spatial Planning" and "Committee on Spatial Development" were under discussion. The choice fell on Committee on Spatial Development (CSD) as this wording is less associated with state control. (Faludi 1999:12) In the end, the final document, the ESDP, is referred to as a development perspective and not a plan. In general, the term development often seems to be more future-oriented and interpreted more positively than the term planning, which can easily be associated with restrictions or numerous examples of plans which never materialised. Whether the wording in the above mentioned cases is actually a matter of definition or terminological "aura" and *Zeitgeist* may remain an open question.

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It is interesting to note that 'spatial development' and not 'spatial planning' became the subject of activities at the EU level. This change derives from two considerations. Firstly, spatial development encompasses a broader and perhaps more modern understanding of spatial planning, as well as the coordination of sector policies. Secondly, talking about spatial development allows the delineation of these activities at the EU level from spatial planning in the narrower sense, which is particularly important because in most member states, spatial planning resides with the authorities at the lower level of government. Therefore, it is less onerous to use the term 'spatial development' when discussing spatial planning at EU level. (Eser and Konstadakopulos 2000:790)

In addition to these fine distinctions there is also the question of the relation of spatial planning to a well-established field of policy-making, namely regional policy. Williams (1996) points out that spatial policy and planning are not synonymous with regional policy or regional planning, as they embrace any spatial scale, whereas regional planning and policy is mainly understood as policy applied at the level of a regional authority, e.g. a county. Whereas, this argument is valid as regards spatial and regional planning, it seems to be more open to argument when it comes to regional policy. Firstly, at least two different types of regional policy have to be distinguished and, secondly, it must be admitted that the development of European spatial development policy is highly interrelated with the field of regional policy.

Regional policy focuses on the administrative regional level, which is complicated by the fact that the term region describes different things in different countries[4] and contexts. Without venturing into the debate on what a region is, we can at least identify two types of regional policy. On the one hand we have regional policy, as understood e.g. by Williams (1996), as a policy embracing single regions. On the other hand we have regional policy aiming at overall (national or European) economic and social cohesion, to this end stimulating economic activities in less-favoured regions, e.g. the regional policy promoted by the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF). This form of regional policy shows not only a lot of similarities with spatial development policy, it is also closely related to it. In the very beginning of European co-operation on spatial development policy, France wanted the policy document, which

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[4] "For example, a region can mean an area of territory with a population of five million (as in the German Länder and the countries and standard regions of the UK) or an area with a population of less than 500,000 (as in Denmark, Ireland and Finland). The use of the term region in the European sense may contradict the national interpretation, as in the case of Germany, where the *Länder* are often described as regions but where regional government also exists below this level." (EC 1997:25)

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later became the ESDP, to become a strategy to underpin the delivery of the Structural Funds (Faludi 2000b:244), and thus form a foundation for European regional policies. For several reasons this did not materialise and the influence exercised by the final document became more diverse and subtle. Despite this, spatial development policy and the ESDP lie with DG Regio[5] which is responsible for regional policy. Thus, seen from the point of European policy-making, spatial development policy is part of regional policy.

On the other hand, we have learned above that spatial development policy comprises all policies aiming at influencing locational and land-use decisions, or the distribution of activities, at any geographical scale. Following this broad definition of spatial development policy, European spatial policy also comprises funding programmes such as the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) and the other Structural Funds, the Cohesion Fund and other Community instruments with specific spatial targets, Trans European Networks (TENs) and communication infrastructure, trans-national and cross-border planning initiatives, regulatory measures affecting land-use, such those adopted as part of EU's environmental policy, and networking and lobbying by authorities and interests concerned with spatial matters. (Williams 1996:7) Arguing along these more general terms (following Williams), we can say that spatial development policy takes a broader approach than regional policy.

Given these contrasting views, the relation between these two policy fields will always depend on the actual background of the respective discourse and concerns of the actors.

Leaving aside the matter of definitions, in discussing spatial development policy at European level, it must be borne in mind that this is a task of the EU Member States (as the EU has no explicit competence in spatial planning), whereas there is Community competence in the field of regional policy. In general, the term Community competence refers actually to the French concept of *competence* and is defined as the legal power, right, or authority to hear and determine a cause considered either in general or with reference to a particular matter.[6] This can be affected by subsidiarity and proportionality, either as general political principles open to wider interpretation and application, or as principles of EU

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[5] DG Regio is a contraction for the Regional Policy Directorate-General, the department of the European Commission which is responsible for European measures to assist the economic and social development of the less-favoured regions of the European Union. Before the reform of names for Directorates-General, DG Regio was named DG XVI. In order to keep things simple and consistent, this study always uses the name DG Regio, even when referring to the time when it still was DG XVI.

[6] Cf. EURODICAUTOM, the European Terminology Database (http://europa.eu.int/eurodicautom).

legislation. In terms of EU law, subsidiarity can affect the way Community competence established in the Treaty is exercised, whereas proportionality can affect the intensity of Community action. These principles have been used by the Member State to limit the transfer of national power to European institutions. (DETR 1999)

There has been a steady expansion of Community competence over the years, with the Community gaining new competence through incremental extensions of activities into new policy fields based on general Treaty provisions. In general, incremental extensions meet less opposition than inventing new policies (and thus asking for new competence) because extensions tend to be in line with tried and tested principles and regulatory patterns. (Kohler-Koch 1999) DETR (1999:32) describes this process as one of *creeping competence*, which may begin by simply encouraging intergovernmental action, but is then followed by a demand for more systematic Community involvement.

This trend can also be detected in the field of European spatial planning. However, although there may be voices arguing for Community competence, today there is no formal Community competence in spatial planning. The only exception to be found in the Treaty is Article 175 (ex Article 130s(2)) which allows measures concerning town and country planning insofar as they directly contribute to achieving environmental protection (Article 174 / ex Article 130r). There are in any case competences in a number of sectors related to spatial planning, such as regional, transport, environment, agriculture or urban polices. For instance, in the field of environmental policy, the EU directive on Strategic Environmental Assessment, SEA, (directive 2001/42/EC) directly affects the procedures for physical planning in all Member States.

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Planning for Europe

Having discussed the concepts of spatial planning and spatial policy in more general terms, the focus now narrows, to examine the emergence of spatial planning as a European policy field. We will discuss the ESDP process in the light of European integration, because spatial planning in the long and the short term is an act of European integration. A number of theoretical concepts will be presented in parallel to the discussion of the ESDP process. The theoretical background is set out in a series of boxes. Thus the main body of the text concentrates on the ESDP story and how it can be understood in the light of theory. For the reader interested in the background to these developments, the boxes offer further explanations and theories explaining this story.

To begin with, some theoretical remarks will be made on European integration, after which we turn to the ESDP and the emergence of this European policy field. The discussion starts with a brief historical outline and then looks at the effects of the ESDP. This will lay the ground for a subsequent examination of whether and, if so, how spatial planning for Europe influences planning in the Nordic countries.

European integration

A brief discussion of European integration and integration theory should serve as helpful input for the review of the ESDP process.

European integration, according to Hix and Goetz (2001), is comprised of two inter-related processes. On the one hand, it involves the delegation of policy competence to the supranational level in order to achieve particular policy outcomes. On the other hand, it consists of the establishment of a new set of political institutions with executive, legislative and judicial powers.

Since there is no single theory which can explain the complex politics of policy-making in the European Union, study takes inspiration from several theories.

Initially, international relations theories (IR) of European integration were adapted to study developments in specific sectors, but the focus has subsequently shifted to the question of politics within the new EU system of governance. Following Bache (1998) there are two "grand theories", neofunctionalism and intergovernmentalism. The neofunctionalists focus on spill-over effects which act as engines for integration, arguing that supranational power in one area will lead to an

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Box 1 – The theory behind the practice

In describing the ESDP process we will see that in the field of spatial development policies there is an incremental extension of activities at European level (see the preceding section for a wider treatment of the question of just what the process of European integration in the field of spatial planning implies and how this "two-level game" (Putnam 1993) functions). Concerning international relations in general, Bache (1998) points out that the traditional debate was based on competing theories concerning the nature and pace of integration between nation states. More recently, this debate has been supplanted by the currently competing theories of EU policy-making of multi-level governance and liberal inter-governmentalism. These concepts alone do not, however, sufficiently describe the ESDP process. Thus one may question whether European integration, at least in the field of spatial development policies, goes beyond or outside the above-mentioned bodies of theory which focus on the formal setting. To try and understand the ESDP process as an approach to European integration it may be more elucidating to describe it in terms of a new EU style of governance, i.e. Kohler-Koch's concept of "network governance", and Hajer's concept of "discourse". Therefore we will discuss the ESDP process in terms of different types of policy networks, examining the EU style of network governance and the problem of loose structural coupling, and eventually proceeding to a discussion of multi-level governance. As there are no regulatory policies coming out of the ESDP process, its significance will be discussed in terms of policy discourses.

Figure 1

Apart from the section on European integration, the various theories will be discussed in parallel to the history of the ESDP. Important theoretical concept will be presented in boxes whereas the relation between theory and European spatial planning is discussed in the main text.

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extension of supranational power into other areas.[7] On the other hand, intergovernmentalists focus on nation states as key actors in international affairs, explaining integration with reference to the governments.

Neither theory on its own is sufficient to explain the process of European integration, because the latter is characterised by an asymmetry which is really a dualism between supranational European law and intergovernmental European policy making. (Hix and Goetz 2001) As the European Community functions today, it presents a mix of supranational and intergovernmental elements. The European Commission, the European Parliament and the European Court of Justice represent supranational competence while the Council of Minister, where the ultimate power of decision rests, represents the governments of the Member States and is thus an intergovernmental body. In addition, there are numerous committees which have a partly intergovernmental character and which gave birth to the idea of "Committee governance" (Christiansen and Kirchner 2000).

The asymmetry of European integration is directly related to the question of competence, subsidiarity and proportionality, discussed above. Following this line of argumentation, Faludi (2001:14) refers to Nugent (1999) when underlining that increasing interdependencies and the logic of the EU itself, alongside the inaction that inter-governmentalism generates, continue to encourage the development of supranationalism, i.e. delegation of powers to supranational institutions. This reflects what may be described as "creeping competence" (DETR 1999). Closely linked to this is the question of sovereignty of EU Member States working together and becoming increasingly "intermeshed" (Nugent 1999:505). These issues should be borne in mind when discussing the Commission's role in the ESDP process.

The birth of planning for Europe

Having taken a look at European integration, we can finally turn to the central issue of this section, spatial planning on a European scale and the history of its development.

Spatial development policy or spatial planning for Europe emerged from a group of national actors coming together on a regular base, eventually forming what has been described as a policy network or even an "epistemic community" (Faludi et al. 2000) to establish a European discourse on the issue.

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[7] A popular example of such a spill-over effect is the European Monetary Union (EMU) which according to neofunctional thinking is expected to lead to an economic and in the long-run also a political union.

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Planning for Europe, i.e. for a specific vision or perspective of Europe in the future, is not an especially new development; the earliest attempts were made before the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community (1951).

> ... one could argue that spatial planning has always been present in Europe. Indeed the planned geopolitical unification as outlined in the Treaty of Rome was supported by extensive, far-reaching interventions and a specific spatial planning. This planning was implicit, fragmented, uncoordinated and dispersed in many sectoral policies. The technocratic discourse was/is predominant. (Albrecht 1998)

This present form of spatial planning actually refers to the growth of a set of rather uncoordinated spatial policies and does not really correspond to the approach to spatial planning discussed at the beginning of this study. So, despite a half-century-long history of spatial policies, co-ordinated spatial planning at European level is still in an embryonic state. Although the foundations for a spatial policy had been laid, it was not until the 1980s that the first written reports on spatial co-ordination were prepared. Two bodies took the initiative, the European Parliament and the Council of Europe. The growing size and importance of the body of EU policy of a spatial nature was recognised by the European Parliament in its 1983 Report on a European Regional Planning Scheme, the so called Gendebien Report, which was prepared by the European Parliament's Committee on Regional Policy and Regional Planning.

Work on a European regional or spatial planning framework had meanwhile been proceeding for several years under the auspices of the Council of Europe[8], whose Conference of Ministers responsible for spatial planning (CEMAT) had met at intervals since their first meeting in Bonn in 1970. In a 1970 declaration they noted that European integration could aggravate geographical differences if this were not accompanied by a common approach to regional planning. (Williams 1996:79) A later outcome of the work of CEMAT was the *European Regional/Spatial Planning Charter* (CoE 1984), also known as the Torremolinos Charter, adopted by the spatial planning ministers at their meeting in Torremolinos. Proceeding from that, at their meeting at the occasion of the World Exhibition EXPO 2000 in Hanover, CEMAT presented its pan-

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[8] It must be borne in mind, that the Council of Europe has a wider geographical scope than the European Union. The former is an intergovernmental organisation of which any European state can become a member provided it accepts the principle of the rule of law and guarantees human rights and fundamental freedoms to everyone under its jurisdiction.

European approach, setting out spatial planning guidelines for the entire continent of Europe (CoE 2000).

This pan-European approach to spatial planning, has, however, been surpassed by activities within the European Community beginning in 1989 which led to the approval of the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP) in 1999. The development of the ESDP, often referred to as the ESDP process, has been intensively analysed and described by Andreas Faludi[9]. This section is not intended to give a complete picture of the ESDP process but to highlight a few aspects which will be relevant for the further development of this study, mainly drawing on Faludi's work.

In 1989 the French EU Presidency invited ministers responsible for spatial planning in the EC Member States to an informal meeting in Nantes. Jacques Delors, then President of the European Commission, was also present and in his speech invited delegated to formulate a vision of European space.

Two years later, in 1991, the Committee on Spatial Development (CSD) was founded. It is not formally a part of the Maastricht Treaty, having been agreed upon at a meeting of Ministers responsible for spatial planning in 1991, but had rather an intergovernmental character. Its task was to co-ordinate activities concerning European spatial policy and implement decisions of the Informal Council of Ministers of Spatial Planning. It was, however, a committee that united top planners from European Union Member States, chaired not, as might be expected, by the Commission but in turns by the Member States. The country holding the EU Presidency also served as the chair in the CSD while the Commission, namely DG Regio, acted as a secretariat.

In 1993 the debate among the Member Sates and the Commission took an important step forward with the decision, taken at the informal meeting of ministers in Liège, to elaborate a common document, the *Schéma de dévelopment de l'espace communautaire*, a European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP).

Policy networks and network governance in spatial planning

From the decision in Liège onward the "sixteen mothers", i.e. the 15 EU Member States and the European Commission, were not just keeping track of the ESDP, they were practically giving birth to it. The process,

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[9] His main work on the ESDP is *The Making of the European Spatial Development Perspective - No Masterplan.* (Faludi, A. and Waterhout, B., 2002). Prior to this Faludi published a large number of articles covering various specifics of the ESDP process. A list of his major publications on this issue can be found in the bibliography.

which is often described in rather institutional settings as one of countries bargaining with each other, etc., was actually driven by a handful of individuals, "some of them in surprisingly junior positions" (Faludi 2000a:244). It was this handful of people who put spatial planning or spatial development policy on the agenda in Europe. These sixteen mothers turned out to be more than just a "roving band of planners" (Faludi 1997a). Indeed, the ESDP has been prepared in an intensive exchange between experts which provided a cognitive framework. In the beginning of the ESDP process, there was uncertainty regarding content as well as the positions of the various actors. Over time, however, not only has the ESDP document become established, but also a "core planning community" has been developed, as described by Faludi:

> People have come to know each other, and there is an element of mutual trust. There are no reports of international romances, but interaction is amicable. English is the language most commonly used, and even German officials, who are unaccustomed to using Christian names, are being addressed in this way. Commission officials have learnt to participate as equals. (Faludi 2000b:249-250)

Apart from these personal aspects, which should not be underestimated, there is a substantial advantage in having formed a community around substantive concepts and ideas. In later publications, Faludi et al. (2000) use the term "epistemic community" to describe the European spatial planning policy community. This group, shaping spatial planning for Europe, may certainly be understood as a policy system consisting of "policy sub-systems" (Howlett and Ramesh 1995), defined as fora where actors discuss policy issues and persuade and bargain in pursuit of their interests.

Investigation of such phenomena is the field of public policy research, which is concerned with the need to identify key actors of policy subsystems and to determine what brings them together, how they interact and what effect their interaction has on policy. Here the concept of policy networks relates to the relationship between different actors such as government agencies, politicians, industrial associations and pressure groups (See Box 2).

In general, policy networks emerge because resources have to be exchanged in order to achieve goals. (See Box 2)

When discussing policy networks in relation to the ESDP process, the German school of European policy networks (cf. Box 2) is of major interest. Following its approach allows us to place European spatial development policy in the context of European governance. In particular,

Box 2 - Three Schools of Policy Networks

When discussing policy networks, one has to be aware that, although policy networks are broadly seen as a key feature of modern polities, different schools take different approaches to the issue. Marsh (1998) distinguishes mainly three schools or concepts, namely the US, the British and the German. Whereas a key feature in US literature is the question of whether policy networks affect policy outcomes, the British school deals with the development of network ideal types, and the German focuses on policy networks as a new type of governance appearing mainly at European level.

According to Marsh (1998) the American approach focuses on the micro level, dealing with personal relations between key actors rather than structural relations between institutions.

Characteristic of the British approach is a focus on structural aspects of networks and different types of policy networks, for example, in works by Rhodes (Rhodes 1990 and Marsh and Rhodes 1992).

The German approach to European policy networks sees the growth of networks as having a broad significance, since it marks a new form of governance which is distinct from two other forms, market and hierarchy (Kohler-Koch 1999).

this theory helps to identify important challenges of the policy process and intentions of at least one key actor.

Before discussing policy networks as a new mode of governance, however, this section will briefly touch upon the various types of policy networks (cf. Box 3), as this can serve as an aid to understanding how the European inner circle in spatial planning has developed. For this the typology developed by Marsh and Rhodes (1992) within the British body of literature will be used.

There are different types of policy networks and it has been claimed that each policy network can shift between these types. Marsh and Rhodes (1992) have developed a typology of policy networks within which networks can vary along a continuum according to the closeness of the relationship linking network members. (See Box 3)

If these concepts are investigated with regard to the ESDP process, we can see that, during the last decade of the 20th century, an issue network in the field of spatial development policy (or planning) was established, which developed into a policy community known as the CSD.

Box 3 - Two extreme types of policy networks

Kickert et al. (1997) define policy networks generally as stable patterns of social relations between interdependent actors, which are formed around policy tasks. Apart from this general view of policy networks, different types or states of policy networks can be distinguished (Marsh and Rhodes 1992) There are two extreme types:

Issue networks
In order to form an issue network, the groups involved have to be recognised as having some interest in the particular area, since network membership is quite open. Issue networks are often characterised by a large number of participants, fluctuating interaction and access for various members, the absence of consensus and the presence of conflict, and interaction based on consultation rather than negotiation and bargaining. In general, issue networks develop easily in new policy areas where no groups have yet established dominance or where there are no established institutions to enable exclusion.

Policy communities
Here the number of participants is limited. Access to a policy community is highly restricted and there is a high degree of consensus on policy aims. A policy community may even share a common ideology. There is a set of rules of the game, which actors have to abide by in order to gain entry into the policy community. These rules govern how participants have to behave and in what way they can be trusted. Laffin (1986) maintains that a policy community has a *cognitive order*, which he defines as an agreement on what passes as accepted knowledge in the community, and a *normative order*, which is an agreement on the values underpinning the community. Within most policy communities there are particular institutions which share concerns central to the policy process. Membership in such institutions ensures access to the policy community. Falkner (2001) refers to corporatist[10] policy communities as the most exclusive form of policy communities.

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[10] For a discussion of corporatism as a characteristic of Nordic policy communities see page 57.

The CSD, in fact, fulfils exactly the criteria set for a policy community. Members share a common ideology, namely the aims of spatial planning and especially the ESDP. The common ideology allowed also for informal co-operation procedures relying on unanimity and negotiated consensus. This also reflects trust between the various members of the policy community. Faludi's comment above (2000b) catches the aspects of trust and familiarity nicely with the picture of even the German getting used to using Christian names. Furthermore, there are particular institutions central to the policy process and membership in these, namely the national planning ministries and authorities in EU Member States and DG Regio, guarantees access to the policy community.

While this describes what has happened, it leaves open the question as to whether the development is a sufficient solution for handling European policy making. However, the concept of policy network does not consider whether some policies could be too complex for small circles to handle them adequately.

In this respect Benz (2002) is sceptical as to whether this tight form of networking solves all the challenges of policy-making. He argues that certain policies, such as e.g. European spatial development policy, are too complex, both politically and content-wise, to make overall co-ordination plausible; accordingly they may end up in what he describes as *Verpflechtungsfalle* (joint decision-making trap).

> Since it is impossible to achieve agreement among all relevant actors affected by the program if the ESDP relies merely on persuasion, spatial planning is doomed to become a symbolic policy. At the same time, coordination by negotiation also carries risks. In particular, it raises the transaction costs. It is difficult to detect all interests affected by planning and it is even more difficult to come to an agreement among relevant actors. Transaction costs increase with the number of actors involved, but even more so with the actors' commitment to the government or constituency they represent. To prevent spatial planning from becoming inflexible and from being doomed to deadlock, it is necessary to find ways of reducing the costs of negotiations.
> (Benz 2002:119)

This brings us to a discussion of policy networks as a governance mode, i.e. the German school of policy networks (cf. Box 2).

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Box 4 - Network Governance

The German approach to European policy networks is comprised chiefly of works by a number of German scholars concerned with public policy, notably Kohler-Koch, Falkner, Mayntz, Scharpf and Schneider, most of whom are associated with the Max Planck Institute in Cologne. According to the German school, as well as the emerging Dutch approach (Kickert et al. 1997), modern society is characterised by functional differentiation, where policy networks play a significant role as a new form of governance, as e.g. indicated by Kohler-Koch's (1999) notion of "network governance" or Kickert's et al. (1997) idea of "network management". Accordingly, the notion of policy networks does not so much represent a new analytical perspective but rather signals a change in the structure of the polity. [11]

   Kickert et al. (1997) stress that the concept of policy networks provides an alternative to both the central rule approach and to the multi-actor approach. In consequence policy networks are seen in the context of steering or influencing strategic actions of actors. Therefore, Kickert et al. (1997) coin the term "network management". Similar to this, Kohler-Koch (1999) characterises network governance as co-operation among all interested actors, instead of competition, involving joint learning processes. In her account, hierarchy and subordination give way to interchange on a more equal footing aimed at joint problem solving that will spread throughout the multi-level system, i.e. the various level of governance.

   Whereas Kickert et al. discuss policy networks as a general approach to public policy making, Kohler-Koch focus on the level of European policy-making. Having arrived at the conclusion that networking is a governance style characteristic of European policy-making, Kohler-Koch describes the Commission as "political entrepreneur", creating networks in order to promote European integration. Basically, the Commission has established routines to involve external expertise coming from both the private and the public sector. The routines also aim at ensuring that the actors, i.e. the governed, approve Commission proposals. Following that line, the Commission supports trans-national interest formations and plays an active role in "networking", that is, building up trans-national policy communities around those policy issues which the Commission has an interest in promoting. This turns networking into a mode of governance which builds on self-interested actors and aims at furthering a common interest in the process of negotiation.

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[11] Marsh (1998) also underlines that the German literature discusses policy networks as a governance mode contrasted with hierarchy and markets. In this context, hierarchy is understood as a mode of governance characterised by central co-ordination, whereas markets are seen as a form of governance

As indicated that school focuses more on European policy. Regarding the ESDP process, we have learned that the EU Member States came together for various reasons[12] to prepare the ESDP. Having characterised the CSD as a group formed mainly by representatives of EU Member States, the next step is to look at the Commission's role.

The Commission acted as secretariat and generally supported the ESDP exercise. Delors' previously mentioned request for a spatial vision for Europe is not the least example of this supporting attitude. Considering the Commission's interest in enlarging its competence to include the field of spatial planning, this support seems a good example of European integration by network governance, which fits well with Kohler-Koch's (1999) theory of network governance with the Commission acting as political entrepreneur in order to strengthen its own interests. (See Box 4)

Although, the Commission has not, or at least not yet, been granted competence in spatial planning there are signs pointing that direction. Ongoing discussions on structural aspects, such as the reliance on negotiated consensus, the focus on unanimity and the non-binding character of the ESDP document, which we will discuss later on, actually underline the structural challenges of the ESDP process. Indeed, the absence of formal areas of influence or implementation structures causes special challenges putting the ESDP field into practice.

These challenges are well described by Benz (2002) with the introduction the concept of loose structural coupling. (See Box 5) The picture of loose structural coupling fits rather well, especially if loose structural coupling signifies that decisions in one (e.g. the European) arena do not completely determine decisions in other (e.g. national) areas, althouth they may at least partly influence particular aspects.

The general challenges involved in loose structural coupling and the arguments for a more clearly defined multi-level governance (see Box 6) approach in its wake (Benz 2002) raise interesting points concerning Community competence. Indeed, taking the challenge of loose structural coupling as his point of departure, Benz (2002) eventually combines network governance with hierarchy and suggests there is a clear division of labour between the different tiers in this multi-level governance system, according to the principle of subsidiarity.

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without structural coupling and where outcomes result from market-driven interplay without central co-ordination.

[12] We will touch upon the national intentions behind the preparation of the ESDP when discussing planning in Europe.

Box 5 - Loose Structural Coupling

In general, networking appears as a hybrid concept, involving loose structural coupling, where interaction within networks between autonomous actors produces a negotiated consensus as a basis for co-ordination. According to Benz (2002), loose structural coupling is realised by a shift in the logic of interaction between actors at different levels in different institutional arenas. The emphasis of this interaction is not on control or decision-making but rather on information exchange and persuasion. At the same time, loose structural coupling is jeopardised by a dynamic of multi-level governance tending either towards an increasing fusion of powers of a great number of actors of institutions (coupling) or towards a separation of policies (decoupling). Accordingly, loose structural coupling describes a crucial moment in networking rather than a static situation. The concept of loose structural coupling not only points out the momentum of instability in network governance, it actually shows why network governance may support the formalistic approach to European integration in the long run.

Thus he is combining Kohler-Koch's (1999) EC-style of "network governance" with the European integration tendency (cf. definition by Hix and Goetz, 2001) to establish new sets of political institutions. Kohler-Koch suspects the Commission of having such intentions when creating or supporting policy networks on issues lying at the edge of Community competence.

Looking towards possible future developments, Eser and Konstadakopulos (2000) predict the emergence of a supranational Community competence in spatial development, which would shift the activity towards multi-level governance. As discussed in Box 6, multi-level governance describes generally the development towards an EU system of decision making in which power is shared across multiple levels of government (Bache 1998:22). Even in the present situation elements of multi-level governance can be spotted. Indeed, the Commission participated in the intergovernmental ESDP exercise, provided the secretariat and as Graute (2002) underlines, the Commission interprets the ESDP on its own initiative and with its own interests in mind. An even more concrete case of multi-level governance in the field of European spatial development policies is the Community Initiative Interreg. In the light of discussions about possible future European competence one could even talk about further developments towards a

Box 6 - Multi-Level Governance

In the debate on international relations, traditional competition between various theories attempting to explain the nature and pace of integration between nation states has been overshadowed by the debate on multi-level governance. (Bache 1998) A main argument advanced by proponents of multi-level governance is that collective decision-making and the independent role of supranational institutions are eroding the sovereignty of national governments in Europe. European integration should take the form of policy-making in which authority and influence are shared between actors operating at multiple levels of governance – subnational, national and supranational. Accordingly, multi-level governance focuses on actors and decision-making processes. (Marks et al. 1996:342; Bache 1998:22)

multi-level system of spatial policy making. (Benz 2002, Graute 2002 and Eser and Konstadakopulos 2000)

All this is, however, speculation on the future, and it remains to be seen which course the development will take in the case of the ESDP.

More than just a "Roving Band of Planners"
Summing up what has been said about network governance and loose structural coupling, the central network in the ESDP process, the CSD, can be regarded as a rather tight policy community. As this was an informal co-operation, negotiated consensus and unanimity were the rules of the game. Furthermore, the product of its work, the ESDP, is a non-binding document which is applied mainly by persuasion. Although process management and outcome underpin a loosely coupled structure, the European aspect of the network, the CSD, was more than just a "Roving Band of Planners" (Faludi 1997a). Were this not the case, it could be hard to explain why none of the EU Member States just simply stood up and walked away from the table during the more than 10-year process, which has not been of high political priority.

There are generally two lines of argument which may explain the CSD's development into something more than a loosely linked number of actors in the field of spatial development policy. On the one hand, as British literature discusses the question, there are different types of policy networks and each policy network can shift between these types. Thus in the end the members of the European policy community (CSD), who are by definition representatives of selected national actors, build the structural link between the European and national level. On the other hand, there is Benz's (2002) idea of solidifying the approach of network

governance by linking it to hierarchy. This implies that the identified network approach has a connotation of emerging hierarchical structures.

Although it can be argued that the difficulties of loose structural coupling make approaches to network governance either disappear or develop towards multi-level governance systems, the effectiveness and achievements of network governance have to be taken into consideration. While keeping in mind the difficulties of loose structural coupling, it must be admitted that policy networks can have a major influence through persuasion by discourse.

Achievements of planning for Europe

Let us now turn from the ESDP process to its outcome or rather its effects. First of all, there is certainly the ESDP document (EC 1999a). As already mentioned above, the elaboration of the ESDP document was finally put on track in 1993.

At the informal meeting of ministers in Liège the Member Sates and the Commission decided to elaborate a common document. Rusca describes it as "the Bible and users' guide for the coming European spatial planning policy" (Rusca 1998:37). The actual wording of the proposal put forward by the Belgium Presidency was *Schéma de dévelopment de l'espace communautaire*, European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP). The picture given by Rusca describes, however, more graphically the wide range of associations which the Belgium proposal involved.

> The "strange animal" that was to be created corresponded to the ideals of different individuals, each one being the product of a specific culture characterising each Member State. The risk of creating a sort of mythological monster, with several heads, was never far off. (Rusca 1998:37)

After six years of actual preparation (1993 - 1999) the final version of the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP) was approved at the informal meeting of ministers responsible for spatial planning in Potsdam in May 1999. (See Box 7)

What has actually been achieved through the compilation of these approximately 80 pages?

BOX 7 - Content of the ESDP

"Considering the existing regional disparities of development and the – in some cases – still contradictionary spatial effects of Community policies, all those responsible for spatial development should appreciate the policy guideline for spatial development. The European Spatial Development Perspective is based on the EU aim of achieving a balanced and sustainable development, in particular by strengthening economic and social cohesion. In accordance with the definition laid down in the United Nations Brundtland Report, sustainable development covers not only environmentally sound economic development which preserves present resources for use by future generations but also includes a balanced spatial development. This means, in particular, reconciling the social and economic claims for spatial development with the area's ecological and cultural functions and, hence, contributing to a sustainable, and at larger scale, balanced territorial development. The EU will therefore gradually develop, in line with safeguarding regional diversity, from an Economic Union into an Environmental Union and a Social Union.

This is reflected in the triangle of objectives linking the three following funda-mental goals of European policy:
- economic and social cohesion;
- conservation of natural resources and cultural heritage; and
- more balanced competitiveness of the European territory.

To achieve more spatially balanced development, these goals must be pursued simultaneously in all regions of the EU and their interaction taken into account.

Spatial development policies promote sustainable development of the EU through a balanced spatial structure. As early as 1994, the Ministers responsible for spatial planning agreed on three policy guidelines for the spatial development of the EU:
- development of a balanced and polycentric urban system and a new urban-rural relationship;
- securing parity of access to infrastructure and knowledge; and
- sustainable development, prudent management and protection of nature and cultural heritage."

(EC 1999a:10-11)
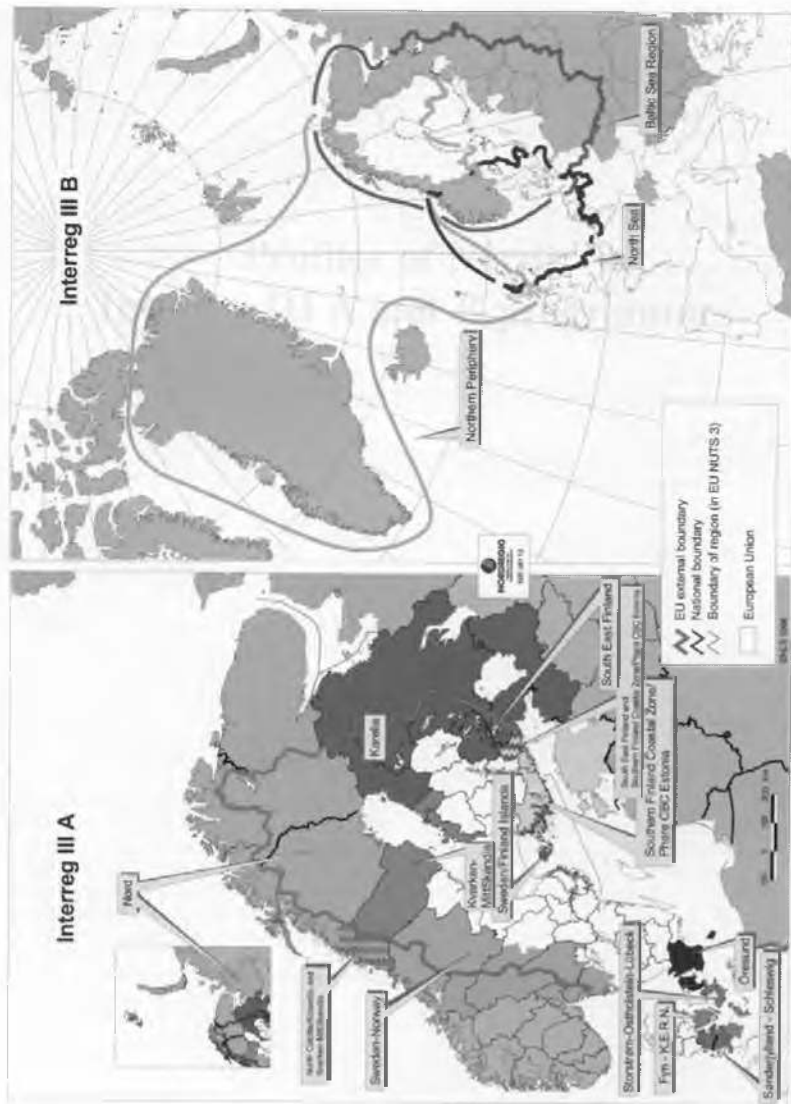
Map 1: Interreg Programmes in the Nordic Countries.

To a large number of observers the prime significance of the ESDP lies in the fact that 15 Member States and the European Commission, namely DG Regio, have been able to produce a common socio-spatial vision (Kunzmann 1997) and thus a common and integrated view on spatial development within the European Union. This means the ESDP document is intended to set out a common understanding among the fifteen EU Member States, as well as between the Commission and the Member States, as to the topics European spatial policy should address. (Williams 1996)

The ESDP document is, however, not supposed to be *the* one and only policy document, answering all questions about European spatial development. Even though the document is not binding, and may be characterised as "planning by persuasion", it is expected to have a considerable impact - persuasion can take a variety of forms. In discussing "planning by persuasion" at European level, the term persuasion should be understood to mean convincing, or focusing on voluntary implementation, and it is not related to Etzioni's (1968) concept of persuasive power, which is discussed elsewhere in this study.

Box 8 – Community Initiative Interreg III

Beside the Structural Funds, EU regional policies comprises also Community Initiatives, such as Interreg, URBAN, LEADER and EQUAL.

The Interreg programmes gave a major boost to trans-national and cross-border co-operation. Interreg III (programming period 2001-2006) is made up of three strands:

- **Strand A: Cross-border co-operation** between adjacent regions aims to develop cross-border social and economic centres through common development strategies (successor of Interreg IIA).
- **Strand B: Trans-national co-operation** between national, regional and local authorities aims to promote better integration within the Union through the formation of large groups of European regions (successor of Interreg IIC).
- **Strand C: Interregional co-operation** aims to improve the effectiveness of regional development policies and instruments through large-scale information exchange and sharing of experience (new strand).

All Nordic regions, except Iceland, are today eligible for participation in Interreg programmes (cf. map). (Hanell et al. 2002)

Placing emphasis on planning by persuasion and voluntary implementation is important. Williams (1996) regards the preparation of the ESDP as an opportunity for strategic development of spatial policy.

The only instrument directly related to the ESDP is the Community Initiative Interreg (see Box 8). During the course of the ESDP process, strand IIC was added to the Community Initiative Interreg, in 1996, in order to promote trans-national co-operation in the field of spatial planning. Interreg IIC is the forerunner of Interreg IIIB for the programming period 2000-2006. In the large co-operation areas, trans-national co-operation in spatial development projects sharing common organisational, administrative and financial structures has been tried out for the first time under Interreg IIC. This exercise is now being continued under Interreg IIIB. The borders of the co-operation areas are the result of a political fine-tuning process between the participating countries. In some areas non-European Member States are involved. With regard to the Nordic countries the relevant Interreg IIIB co-operation areas are the Baltic Sea Region, the North Sea Region and the Northern Periphery, which originally was an Article 10 Programme oriented on ideas for Interreg IIC.

Both the process of elaborating the ESDP and it final product, the actual document as such, contribute to an integrated view on spatial development in the EU and thus to the project of European integration. In this respect the ESDP has much in common with the earlier *Visions and Strategies Around the Baltic Sea, VASAB 2010* (VASAB Secretariat 1994).[13]

Policy discourses in spatial planning

In parallel to what we have done when discussing the ESDP process, we will now leave the description of the effects of the ESDP to step back and take a more theoretical view of it.

Reaching a common understanding between the fifteen EU Member States as well as between the Commission and the Member States-, involved common learning and the establishment of a discourse on spatial development going beyond the network or epistemic community. According to Benz (2002) mutual learning has been a key feature in the ESDP process and has led to the emergence of a common discourse on ESDP issues. The ESDP process has involved planning experts both from the public administrations of the EU Member States and the research community. This discourse can either be understood as

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[13] More on the parallels between VASAB 2010 and the ESDP is to be found in the chapter on Denmark.

one broad discourse on European spatial development policy (Faludi) or viewed as a number of partly overlapping discourses on issues addressed in the ESDP document (Richardson and Jensen), such as polycentricity, accessibility or rural-urban partnership.

> As a rule, such discourses are expert-dominated and take place in committees or in stable policy networks. They influence policy by providing information and by formulating innovative ideas. Such discourses explain the objectives of a policy, they put forward relevant policy concepts, and they codify experiences as regards the effectiveness of policy instruments. (Faludi 2001:23)

Hajer (1989, 1995) emphasises that a discourse is understood as the ideological part of an hegemonic project and that there are three important factors which can create a successful discourse. (See Box 9)

Box 9 – Understanding Discourse

In general, discourse is understood as the ideological part of an hegemonic project which, in turn, is related to the institutional dimension. (Hajer 1989) According to Hajer (1995) discourse is to be understood as a specific ensemble of ideas, concepts and categorisations which are produced and reproduced and transformed. These mental dimensions of discourse are materialised in stable settings of actors, i.e. expert dominated committees or stable policy networks. A discourse can be translated into institutional arrangements by translating its abstract ideas into concrete policies and institutional arrangements. If this happens and, furthermore, the credibility of the actors in the given domain requires them to draw on the ideas etc. of the discourse, then the discourse is hegemonic in a given domain. (Hajer 1995) Thus the discourse offers an interpretative framework attached to a specific strategy reflecting specific interests and accordingly the discourse functions as a frame of reference.

Following Hajer, a discourse works in the end as an overall concept and the awareness of it facilitates understanding more specific decision-making situations. To a certain degree it may be compared to Faludi's concept of planning doctrine (Faludi 1987 and Faludi and Van der Valk 1994), which refers to a definite concept of development underlying a planning policy. However, in contrast to a planning doctrine, discourse focuses on the emergence of the underlying concept and its relations to specific groups (e.g. policy communities) and interests. (Hajer 1989)

The first of these are symbols, concepts and vocabulary, which are attached to the core of the discourse. In the context of the ESDP process the idea of symbols is manifest in the language of spatial policy images or infographics which have been developed for illustrating the policy aims. Much stronger "symbols" are, however, to be found in textual parts marking the sub-discourses partly illustrated by Jensen and Richardson. Such catchwords or symbols with great binding capacity are "polycentric development", "pentagon", "rural-urban" etc.

Hajer emphasises, however, that a discourse is not only the text, as a discourse does not exist independently of specific structural backing. Thus creation of specific practices (the second factor) is an important aspect of a discourse. In this respect, one can mention both the establishment of an ESDP policy community and its way of interaction, as described by Faludi, and the idea of the ESDP method[14], as a new approach to planning which through its non-binding, spatial and cross-sectoral character aims at reconciling the objectives of development, balance and protection.

The third factor characterising a successful discourse is the construction of an ideology around a specific hegemonic principle. In the case of the ESDP, both the belief in the need for a European spatial development perspective and the basic principle of the document (especially the idea that the "objectives of development, balance and protection must be reconciled") and also the ideas of a "spatial approach" and "polycentric and balanced urban system" (EC 1999a), serve as such an ideology.

It is often argued that the ESDP and its aims are not entirely consistent, so it could be questioned whether it actually can serve as an ideology. However, following Hajer (1989) there is no need for the underlying ideology to be consistent. Linking a few issues together can be enough to give people a picture of what the hegemonic project is about. The discourse glues this project together by means of text and by communicating the meaning through symbols, practices and routines. Thus the discourse fulfils the role of an interpretative framework. Hajer (1989:46) underlines that this construction should not be understood as a necessarily coherent ideology. The main emphasis is on the construction of a discourse which appeals to all people which need to be integrated

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[14] The discussion on the ESDP method as an approach to planning is particularly revealing in Sweden. On the European scene one may suggest that the discussion on Territorial Impact Assessment (TIA), which was put forward in the ESDP Action Programme, could also be related to the term ESDP method.

into the hegemonic project. Therefore, ideology will have a somewhat contradictory nature, which Hajer (1998) claims is how ideology works.

Indeed, the ideas put forward in the ESDP are of a somewhat contradictory nature and serve mainly as such as bridging principles gluing the hegemonic project, i.e. European spatial planning together. The most obvious example of this is the widely debated idea of polycentricity (cf. Waterhout 2002 and Richardson and Jensen 2000).

When discussing discourses and their power with regard to the ESDP, it may help to return to Benz (2002), who argues that discourses are not sufficient in themselves and that incentives are also needed when it comes to applying them. Apart from the Community Initiative Interreg and its strands IIC or IIIB, no direct incentives for applying the ESDP have been developed. Thus applying the ESDP is mainly based on the effects of the discourse.

On the other hand, the effects of discourse should not be underestimated either, although given the challenges of loose structural coupling there are certainly limits to what can be achieved by discourse. Policy discourses, in general, can become rather powerful, imposing concepts, ideas and vocabulary through which issues are discussed. Sager[15] (1994) has touched upon this and last but not least Healey (1997) has demonstrated it in her approach to "collaborative planning". Discussing the power of discourse, Healey (1997:278), underlines that once momentum has been achieved, policy discourses spread out and may come to influence a wide sphere of social action, sometimes achieving hegemonic status.

In this context, the review of spatial planning policies in the Nordic countries will show that the ESDP as discourse has already produced a variety of influences. There are also a number of evaluation tasks for reviewing EU programmes on ESDP principles (e.g. Objective 1 and 2 programmes for the Structural Fund Period 2000-2006). Last but not least, the success of the concept of "polycentric development" as a symbol and as an ideology of the ESDP discourse illustrates the effectiveness of the ESDP. The idea of polycentric development has had a terrific career, arriving from virtually nowhere to become a concept

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[15] Sager's (1994) approach to dialogical incrementalism also underlines the power of discursive policy especially with reference to power in a dialogue perspective where he, for instance, refers to Arendt's (1970) understanding of power as the ability not just to act but to act in concert and thus the ability to agree upon a coming course of action in unconstrained communication. Sager points out, however, that Arendt's communicative power is the opposite of structural influences, as "communicative power is a collective capacity that everybody is behind, while structural influences is a systematic capacity that nobody is behind; it is impersonal. Structural influences are built into political institutions: 'unperceived, it blocks this communication in which inconvictions effective for legitimation are formed and passed on" (Sager 1994:66).

debated in academic circles and referred to in numerous policy documents.

Towards a theory of discursive European integration

This brief survey illustrates that there is no single theory which can completely describe the complexity of policy-making in the European Union. As European integration is obviously an issue when discussing newly emerging European policies, such as the ESDP, we started with discussing European integration theories. Here, we learned that apart from the formal aspects of integration stressed by intergovermentalism and supranationalism, informal co-operation also is of importance. To follow up on this thread, the discussion turned to policy networks, the various types of networks and networking as a mode of governance. Compared to the "…-isms" of European integration, network governance, as discussed here, relies neither on formal instruments nor on incentives. On the contrary, the difficulties of loose structural coupling challenge the success of network governance. This may partly explain what appears to be a tendency to turn network governance into a multi-level system of governance.

At the same time, the actual mode of influence which networking has at its disposal, namely the establishment of discourses, should not be underestimated.

Returning to our starting position, the establishment of a new European policy is part of the process of European integration. Furthermore, the creation of policy networks in this new field is a possible alternative to establishing formal European competence.

To promote specific issues, policy networks are often dependent on the successful invoking of a discourse. In conclusion, successful network governance at EU level leads to the phenomenon of discursive European integration.

The concept of discursive European integration links together the various theoretical approaches we have discussed for explaining the ESDP process. Thus the main emphasis is on policy communities (the policy networks of the UK school) forming the crucial link between network governance (German school of European policy networks) and policy discourse (discourse theory).

Putting these bits and pieces together, the concept of discursive European integration illustrates how the Commission influences national policies, without having the formal competence or instruments to do so.

DISCURSIVE EUROPEAN INTEGRATION THROUGH POLICY COMMUNITIES

Network Governance

European Commission → *establishes* → European Policy Community

leads to EU competences

hegemonic project policy discourse

National Policy Communities

European Policy Discourse

Kai Böhme 2002
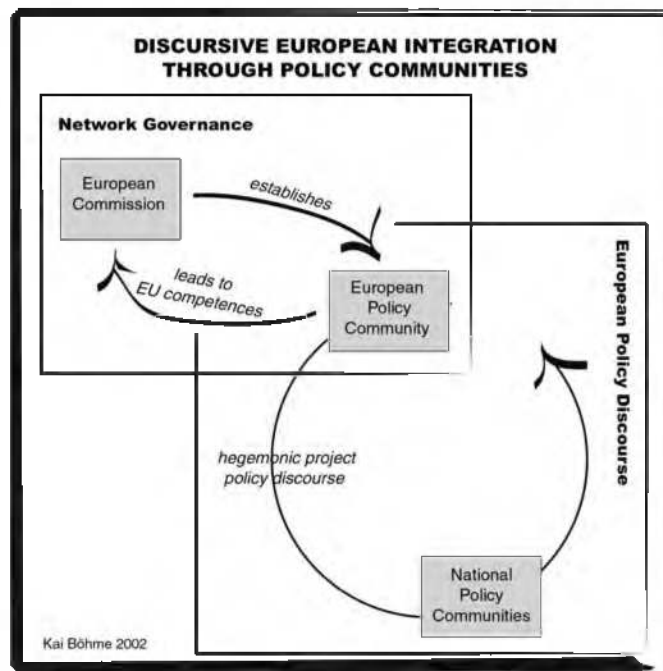
Figure 2: Discursive European Integration

Everything starts with the Commission's interest in establishing a European policy field. According to Kohler-Koch's theory on network governance (Box 4), the Commission can begin to do this by establishing a policy network (Box 3) around the issue in question. If this network proves capable of developing into a policy community, it may also be able to invoke a powerful discourse (Box 9), i.e. to establish what Hajer (1995) calls a "hegemonic project". This will, in turn, influence national policies, at least under certain circumstances. Concurrently, the European policy community also offers an opportunity for national actors to influence the European discourse, which will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

All this illustrates that European integration does not only rely on formal mechanisms (cf. page 16). It must, however be borne in mind that discursive European integration is unlikely to be stable over time, as illustrated by the challenges involved in loose structural coupling (Box 5). The story may end with the establishment of a multi-level system of governance (Box 6). Up to that point, European influence on national

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policy making, in policy areas without European competence can be described by what I call discursive European integration.

The story of the ESDP is one example of this. We may conclude that the ESDP process, understood in a policy networking perspective, has created "powerful" discourses and formed a European policy environment[16] related to the idea of network governance. Keeping in mind potential instabilities of policy networks and the question of EU competence, the ESDP process may turn out to be just a phase in the establishment of a new European policy field, perhaps arising through network governance or, referring to the challenges of loose structural coupling and creeping EU competence, it may even end in a multi-level governance system.

In any case, out of virtually nothing we have witnessed during the last decade of the 20th century the emergence of a policy community in the field of EU spatial planning and the successful creation of a discourse on the issue.

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[16] Not unlike Faludi's (1973) planning environment, the policy environment forms a societal context producing the norms and values determining society's view of the policy in question and how it should be conducted.

Planning in Europe

Having discussed planning for Europe, we will now turn to planning in Europe. Following a brief introduction on how planning in Europe influences planning for Europe and what factors determine the understanding of planning, a review of the various European planning families is given. After that we will concentrate on the Nordic countries and take a closer look at their planning and decision-making environment. Last but not least, we will touch upon the question of harmonisation of planning systems and policies in Europe.

Influences of planning in Europe on planning for Europe
In processes leading to planning *for* Europe EU Member States have played the major role. Accordingly, the discourse discussed above, as well as the outcome, the ESDP document, has been shaped by the national backgrounds of the actors. Their backgrounds are crucial for presenting and promoting the European discourse at national and regional level. Thus planning for Europe draws on the variety of planning styles existing in Europe, and at the same time it depends on the reactions coming from the planning communities in the various Member States, as in the end it is they who decide the fate of planning for Europe. Which is why the next step in this discussion is to have a look at the varieties of spatial planning in Europe.

In this regard it has to be kept in mind that spatial planning is an eclectic field linking numerous aspects, which is highly influenced by e.g. a country's history, geography, cultural traditions, political orientation, prevailing ideology, state of economic and urban development, constitutional government structure or legal constitutional framework. In more concrete terms, arrangements concerning the responsibilities for spatial planning, centralised or decentralised planning, reactive or proactive planning or regulatory or discretionary planning, as well as the planning or decision environment shape the differences between various planning systems.

In consequence, spatial planning *in* Europe, even if the concept of Europe is limited to the territory of the European Union, is very heterogeneous. Within the broad spectrum of conceptions and systems of spatial planning and policy certain groups can be identified. One aim of this chapter is to illustrate in what way the Nordic countries form a planning family which is distinct from other European approaches. We begin this discussion by looking at the variety in European planning and specifying what aspects shape national planning systems. Based on this, we will discuss Newman's and Thornely's (1996) division of the Western

European countries into "Planning Families" where the Nordic countries from a group on their own. Finally, the specifics of the Nordic countries and especially their decision-making culture will be discussed in detail in order to prepare the ground for the subsequent chapters on planning policies and systems in the individual Nordic countries.

European variety

As regards the European variety in planning, the *EU Compendium of Spatial Planning Systems and Policies* (EC 1997:36-37) identifies four major traditions of spatial planning in EU Member States:

- **The regional economic planning approach** follows a very broad understanding of spatial planning which is related to the pursuit of wide social and economic objectives, especially in relation to disparities in wealth, employment and social conditions between a country's different regions. Accordingly, this approach relies on a strong central government having an important role in managing development pressures across the country and in undertaking public sector investments.
- **The comprehensive integrated approach** is characterised by an understanding of spatial planning which is rooted in a systematic and formal hierarchy of plans from national to local level and a co-ordination of public sector activities across different sectors. In contrast to the regional economic planning approach, this arrangement focuses on specifically spatial co-ordination rather than on economic development. Two sub-types have been identified, one related to federal systems and the other characterised by strong local authorities which share responsibility with the central government.[17]
- **The tradition of land-use management** has an understanding of (spatial) planning which is focused on the narrower task of controlling the change of land use at strategic and local levels. Accordingly regulation is the main instrument for ensuring that development and growth are sustainable.
- **The urbanism tradition** is strongly influenced by architectural aspects and concentrates mainly on issues of urban design, townscapes and building control.

Faludi (e.g. 2000b) stresses that the regional economic planning approach and the comprehensive integrated approach are of major interest in relation to European spatial development policies, as they shaped the debate on the ESDP. As a result of the different administrative and

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[17] "The Nordic countries follow this tradition, since in all of these countries considerable reliance has been placed on a rational planning approach and public sector investment." (EC 1997:37)

planning backgrounds, there was a certain contention over the status of both the ESDP process and the ESDP document. As previously mentioned, the initiative for the ESDP exercise came from the French and was thus rooted in the centralistic approach of *aménagement du territoire* which may be described as a problem-oriented, interventionist mode of politics. The opposing voices were soon roused, and they attempted to push the exercise toward non-binding intergovernmental co-operation. Rooted in the federal system of politics and public administration, the German planning system is based on the *Gegenstromprinzip* (counter-current principle) as a basic principle. Following this line, planning at federal level, to the extent it exists, is formulated in a bottom-up approach. Accordingly, Germany put its efforts into moving European spatial planning towards intergovernmental co-operation. This in turn, counteracted the French and Dutch intention to use the exercise, to knock some sense into regional policy by basing it on better appreciation of space and spatial relations (Faludi and Waterhout 2002).

Aspects determining planning
The variety of planning traditions reflects the multitude of aspects influencing planning in practice. Various influencing factors, or the context of planning, take different forms in different territories, i.e. countries. Accordingly, the development of planning depends on the development of its context and planning can only be understood in connection with its context. This context comprises both hard and soft factors. The societal context producing the norms and values determining the society's view on planning and how it should be conducted has been described as the "planning environment" (Faludi 1973). Understanding this context, the planning environment, is especially important for understanding planning in foreign countries, as that context is primarily defined by national characteristics.

In the book *Learning From Other Countries*, edited by Masser and Williams (1986), Masser underlines the importance which must be attached to considering planning in each country in relation to its institutional context before comparing countries. Newman and Thornley (1996) follow the line that contextual understanding of planning systems is needed for trans-national comparisons. In their analysis of European planning systems, the main emphasis is given to the legal and administrative styles of the countries in question.

Other comparative studies, such as the *EU Compendium of Spatial Planning Systems and Policies* (EC 1997:37), take an even more ambitious approach. The EU Compendium identifies three contextual factors which play a major role in determining the characteristics of

spatial planning systems of EU Member States: (1) constitutional law, (2) government structure and how responsibilities for spatial planning are apportioned, and (3) the legal framework. In addition to legal and administrative aspects, there are, as mentioned above, other criteria which may determine the form of national spatial planning systems and practices. The EU report *Europe 2000+* (EC 1994) identified five such determinants: (1) history, geography and cultural traditions; (2) the state of economic and urban development; (3) political orientation and prevailing ideology; (4) the conception of land ownership and development; and (5) constitutional structure. In conclusion, the report points out three interrelated questions which can be posed to bring out the essential features of each: (1) Is the planning system centralised or decentralised? (2) Is it reactive or proactive? (3) Is it mainly regulatory or discretionary? These criteria can be added to those of the administrative and legal style to distinguish groups/families of countries. Also, De Vries and Van den Broeck (1997) stress in their review of *Benelux, a microcosm of planning cultures* that a comparative planning analysis needs to consider the institutional context, the economic development, and political organization, the decision environment and the style of planning which can be adopted by government. Special importance is given to the "decision environment".

> The decision environment refers to the fragmentation and diversity of interests and the equilibrium between private enterprises and collective decision-making in society. The methods government can adopt in implementing planning policy allow for different styles of spatial planning, ranging from fairly selective to widely comprehensive plans. (De Vries and Van den Broeck 1997:58)

Accordingly, a wide range of aspects needs to be taken into account and discussed when comparing national planning policies and systems. Gathering this wide scope of information meets with various obstacles, as already mentioned in the introduction.

"Planning Families" in the European Union

As mentioned above, planning is an eclectic field and covering all relevant aspects would exceed the possibilities of comparative studies and make it difficult to group countries together. Thus in their mapping of the European world of planning, Newman and Thornley (1996) concentrate on two aspects as main determinants for planning systems which indirectly also relate to other indicators mentioned above. Their chosen determinants are the legal and administrative approaches/styles. These two elements involve in turn a number of the aspects mentioned above.
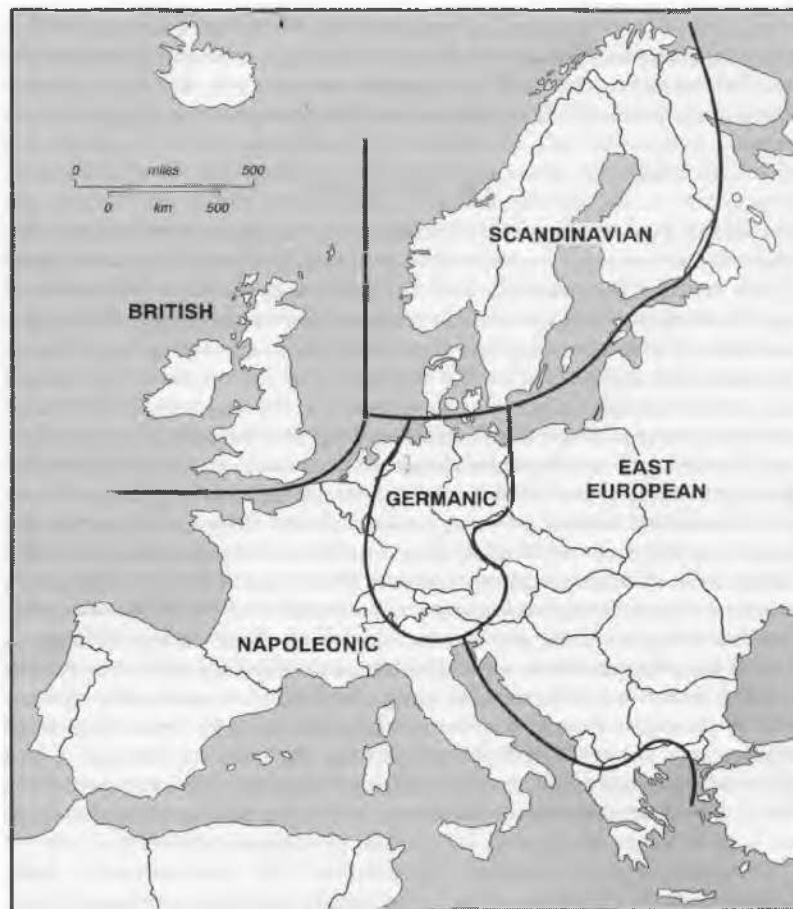
Map 2: European Planning Families
(Source: Newman and Thornley 1996:29)
Following the lead of Zweigert and Kötz (1984), Newman and Thornley divide Europe into five planning families, taking into account both legal and administrative styles: a Nordic, British, Napoleonic and Germanic family, as well as a family formed by the countries of the former Eastern bloc.

The planning families defined by Thornley and Newman provide an appropriate point of departure, as they are abstract enough to enable us to distinguish certain groups and illustrate to what degree the Nordic countries, for example, diverge generally from other European approaches. Further differentiation, based on the other criteria, describing

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differences within each group, is then possible. In order to facilitate distinguishing the Nordic planning systems and the other European planning families, this section will provide brief overviews of each planning family, before going deeper into Nordic specifics.

The legal system of the British family is easily identified, as it stands in isolation from the others. Its Common Law has been gradually developed from decision to decision as case law, showing a considerable empirical slant as compared to enacted continental law. Ireland and Britain are also described as centralised unitary states; although local authorities do play a significant role (EC 1997:39), they are not as strong as those in the Nordic countries, for instance. As far as planning philosophy is concerned, this family, and especially the UK, puts a strong emphasis on the process side restricting the aspect of preparation of an end state plan or document. In general, the UK system is plan-led and not plan-based, i.e. it is not a zoning system as in many other European countries. (Zetter 2001) Tewdwr-Jones and Williams (2001) underline, furthermore, that there is an overriding obligation on the central government to provide national co-ordination and consistency, while the majority of planning functions are implemented at local level.

The Napoleonic Family is named after the legal style which was introduced by the Code Civil (1804) also known as Code Napoleon, which provides the model for all codes of private law within this family. (Zweigert and Kötz 1989:74) As mentioned earlier, it is mainly based on the use of abstract legal principles and theoretical debates and tries to foresee questions of possible dispute in advance in order to prepare a complete system of rules. The administrative structure of these members of the Napoleonic Family is rather centralised, according to Newman and Thornley:

> ...within this system local government is not simply the local agency of central government but contains local representation albeit with strong central controls. This system was extended to Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and Greece. (Newman and Thornley 1996:33)

The administrative organisation of the planning approaches in this family is more difficult to get a grip on, as is documented in the EU Compendium (EC 1997), although there is a strong common approach based on the legal system. Generally speaking, their main distinguishing characteristic, in contrast with the British Family, is that this planning does not accord well with a market-led approach, and that central governments are given considerable importance. This could also explain

the stronger politicising of planning in these countries as compared to the Germanic Family.

The Germanic Family regards its legal traditions as very closely related to the Napoleonic Family, as there are not that many distinctions between Romanic and Germanic legislation. Generally speaking, the Germanic approach developed later and is more abstract and intellectual. The main characteristic of the Germanic Family is the significance of a written constitution which allocates distinct power to various levels of governance with each level fully responsible. The members of the Germanic Family have clearly federal governmental systems, where the federal government level and the "regional" level each have autonomy and legislative power in specific spheres. (EC 1997:39) The federal government structure and administrative responsibility create a need for horizontal negotiations and for discussing subsidiarity. The importance of the federal character distinguishes this family from the previous ones.

The close interrelationship of the Nordic legal systems can be explained by the historical, political and cultural ties between them. Nordic legislation bears clear traces of the lack of an entrenched feudal system with its concomitant administrative system, as well as the lack of major trade towns/commercial centres and their bourgeoisie, all of which characterise Nordic countries. Cultural/historical developments have also affected the relatively recent division of power. This is one reason for the rise of unitary governments (EC 1997) with strong local authorities. Or, as the EU compendium of spatial planning systems and policies puts it:

> The role of local authorities is strongest in Member States with a unitary government structure with a policy of decentralisation. Denmark, Finland and Sweden come into this category. (EC 1997:40)

The Nordic family has probably gone furthest in decentralisation, with spatial planning at the national level reduced to a minimum and regional planning only weakly represented. The emphasis lies very much on the municipalities, even if the precise shaping of this competence differs from country to country. (Böhme 2001) There is, nevertheless, a strong relationship between the central government and the regions. Central government usually has its own agency operating at regional level to implement national policy, staffed by personnel appointed by the centre. At the same time, although local authorities have been reorganised into larger units for reasons of efficiency, local self-government has a long history stemming from the strength of peasant politics and in some cases the far-flung expanses of the Nordic countries. Local self-government is

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seen as one of the cornerstones of Nordic constitutions. (Newman and Thornley 1996)

In attempting to define a planning family the problem naturally arises that the sharper the focus chosen, the more differences appear. From a European point of view, for example, the Nordic countries have an enormous number of similarities, which group them as a Nordic family. Northerners themselves never tire of pointing out how different they are. However, according to the aspects discussed in the chapter on comparing national planning systems and policies and also according to various European observers (Thronley and Newman 1996, Zweigert and Kötz 1989) it is obvious that the Nordic countries share relatively common approaches.

Having sketched the various planning traditions and planning families in Western Europe, we will now turn to the Nordic countries and their wider planning and policy environment.

Nordic characteristics

> In any case, the eccentric can turn the tables on his opposite number by claiming that his own position, far from begin a draw-back, is in fact the superior one, that it is an advantage to live on the periphery and to question the values of the centre, and that instead of playing the game of the Big League Boys in places like New York, Tokyo or Sâo Paulo, one should come to understand that to be small and far away from the rut is not only beautiful, but also an intelligent option. (Enzensberger 1990:30)

In his 1989 speech on the occasion of NordREFO[18] moving from Helsinki to Copenhagen, the German writer and journalist Hans Magnus Enzensberger advised the Nordic countries to be eccentric. To the cautious Nordics at the European periphery, this may have sounded strange. He was not referring to the bells on horse-drawn sleighs or the reindeer boots on sale at airport lounges, but rather to the accumulated historical experience of Northern Europeans, which is both unique and irreplaceable. Arguably, the Nordics have taken Enzensberger's advice and have become more eccentric, at least as regards the use of mobile phones, the pursuit of internet solutions and embracing the new economy; but how about spatial planning? An attempt to answer that question will be part of the objective of this study.

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[18] The Nordic Institute for Regional Policy Research, NordREFO, merged into Nordregio, the Nordic Centre for Spatial Development, in 1997.
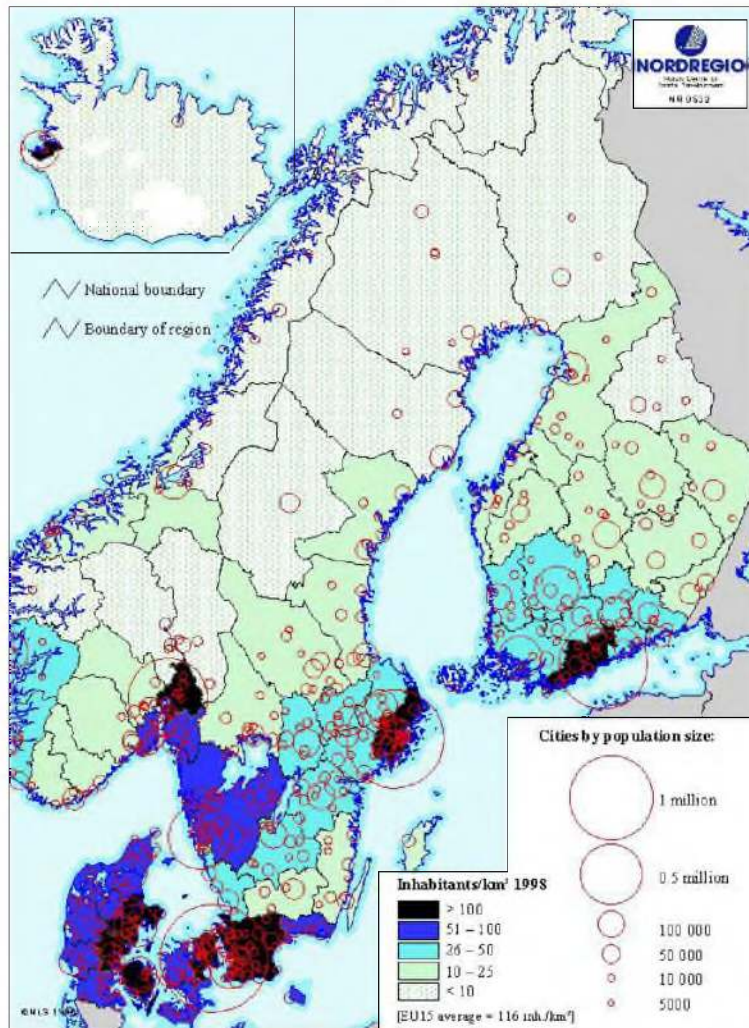
Map 3: Settlement Structure in the Nordic Countries

To be able to discuss Nordic eccentricity in spatial planning in a European perspective, we need more than just knowledge about the planning systems. Already earlier we discussed the importance of the context of planning, and indeed, we need to know the wider environment of planning. Therefore, this section will provide an introduction to the Nordic countries, their similarities and differences and the co-operation between them.

Nordic similarities and differences
In geographic terms, the Nordic countries are generally perceived as an area at the European periphery which is rather sparsely populated, covers vast distances, and has rather monocentric urban patterns, with capital cities obviously dominating. It must, however, be kept in mind that population distribution in the Nordic countries is far from even. Population density is significantly higher in the southern parts and coastal areas than in the northernmost periphery, where distances to the nearest town or urban agglomeration with more than 10,000 inhabitants are on a level unknown in most parts of Europe except the northern Russian tundra. Travelling to "town", for many residents means journey times of up to half a day and more, also involving air travel. (Mønnesland 1995) Even trips to the nearest urban agglomeration often need longer travel times than one would need in more central parts of Europe to go from one capital to the next. Denmark is, however, an exception as here distances are shorter and the population density is closer to a continental European level, while the other Nordic countries show a lower average population density and a population spread over large areas and a settlement structure concentrating on rather few metropolitan nodes. (cf. Hanell et.al 2002)

In regions with low population density (in Nordic terms) further out-migration may threaten the basis of peripheral settlements. A reduction of population can weaken the social structure of local communities, undermine the operating base for social and industrial services and opportunities for industrial activities. Such downward trends are now operating in large parts of the Nordic periphery. Consequently, net out-migration seems to be the major regional problem in a multitude of Nordic regions.

This geographical and demographic structure of the Nordic countries has important effects on how the European integration process will affect internal regional balances. As the population base is not strong enough to support a multitude of metropolitan areas with a variety of service industries, the capital regions are predominant growth poles in each of these countries. This, together with the centralistic government

structure and the lack of an entrenched feudal system, explains the monocentric national urban patterns in the Nordic countries.

In addition to these geographical aspects, the Nordic countries appear to have many other characteristics in common, especially when seen in a European perspective. The dominant languages, in any case, are mutually comprehensible, with Finnish, Saami and Inuit the conspicuous exceptions, as they are not members of the Nordic language family. (Although Icelandic is a Nordic language, its development on the distant fringe has taken a course different from the larger language groups, making it also "foreign" to modern Scandinavians.) Moreover, the Nordic peoples share many values and political principles, such as ideas about welfare, democracy and governance. They also have lifestyles and habits in common. The common cultural base is among others underlined by Inglehart (1997) in the review on cultural, economic and political change in 43 societies.

SECULAR-RATIONAL AUTHORITY
first principal component factor loadings

ex-communist
China
Moscow
East Germany
West Germany
Eastern Europe
Estonia
Japan
Latvia
Russia
Czechoslovakia
Belarus
Bulgaria
Norway
Iceland Denmark
Northern Europe
Sweden
Netherlands
Finland
Lithuania
Slovenia
South Korea
Hungary
Switzerland
Catholic Europe
Belgium
France
Britain
Austria
Italy
Canada
Romania
Portugal
North America
Spain
U.S.A.
South Asia
Turkey
Mexico
Argentina
English-speaking
Ireland
Poland
India
Latin America
Chile
Brazil
Northern Ireland
South Africa
Africa
Nigeria

Confucian
RICH
POOR
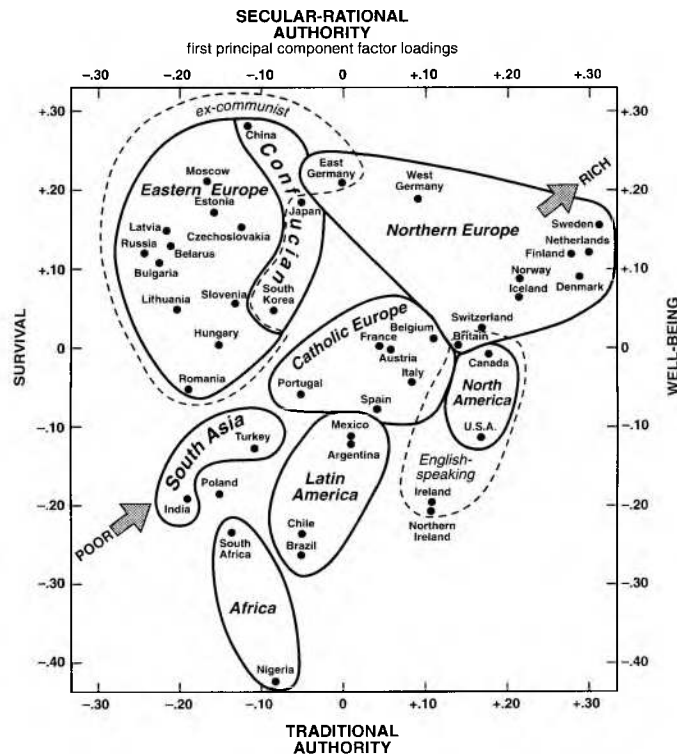
SURVIVAL — WELL-BEING

TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY

Figure 3: A Cultural Geography of the World
(Source: Inglehart 1997:93)

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The location of the 43 countries analysed in the World Value Survey (1990-93) along the two dimensions of (A) survival – well-being and (B) traditional authority – secular-rational authority show that the Nordic countries, together with the Netherlands, form a distinct group.

> Given groups of nations take coherent positions along the two dimensions. For example, Norway, Iceland, Denmark, Finland and Sweden – the five Nordic countries – form a compact cluster located in the upper-right-hand quadrant of the figure: all five have related histories and similar cultures, ranking fairly high on the cultural outlook associated with rational-legal authority, and ranking very high in post-modern values. (Ingelhart 1997: 95)

Ingelhart stresses also that the Netherlands, although they are geographically located next to Belgium, and share a language with half of Belgium, are culturally much closer to the Nordic countries than to Belgium. The location of the Netherlands among the five Nordic countries may be explained by the fact that the Netherlands is also historically a protestant and today a prosperous welfare state. Thus it fits in well with the Nordic group, which is also underlined by the importance of corporatist decision-making in these countries, which will be discussed in a special section.[19]

Generally speaking, Nordic political systems invoke the same approaches to conflict solving, characterised as they are by a dispassionate assessment of the situation, committee discussions and reports and co-operation. Nordic political party systems have clear similarities, and in many respects their political developments have been roughly the same. (Olsen 1998:360)

Political and cultural ties between the Nordic countries are responsible for the interrelationships between Nordic legal and administrative systems. Letto-Vanamo (1998) points out that development in these countries was from the grassroots up. There were no entrenched feudal systems with their concomitant administrative set-ups, and there were no major trading and commercial centres with their bourgeois classes. Between them these factors have left their mark on modern Nordic societies and their legal systems. Cultural and historical developments are, moreover, the reason for the recent emergence of a bipolar system, consisting of unitary governments (EC 1997) combined

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[19] With regard to their spatial planning systems as well, the Netherlands and the Nordic Countries are often seen as very close to each other because of their rational approach to planning, which may be explained by the common importance of corporatist traditions. Despite these similarities in culture and decision-making it should be kept in mind that the actual planning systems and the status of planning differs enormously between the Nordic countries and the Netherlands.

with strong local authorities - with little in between in terms of a regional tier of government. Local self-government and aspects of local democracy are old traditions[20] in the Nordic countries, which proved their importance for implementing the welfare state.

> Although the major changes towards welfare policies were initiated at the national level by national legislation, the Nordic countries, much more than any other Western country, chose to use the local authorities as the agencies for implementing these welfare policies. The expansion phase of the actual welfare state in the Nordic countries thus coincided with a considerable municipalization of spending. (Albæk 1996:8)

In general, states that have a unitary structure and therefore are apparently centralised in practice, may have devolved considerable powers directly at local level. (EC 1997:44) The *EU Compendium of Spatial Planning Systems and Policies* characterises Austria, Denmark, Finland and Germany as a group of EU Member States which appear to have reasonably stable systems which are described as decentralised. As will become obvious from the country chapters, the Nordic non-Member States, Iceland and Norway, also fall into this category.

Despite these strong common bonds, the Nordic countries face widely differing economic and geopolitical situations. Their interests diverge and so in recent decades they have chosen different paths in international co-operation. (Olsen and Sverdrup 1998:17) Thus, Delamaide (1995:43) refers to the precarious post-war position of neutral Finland and the danger of "Finlandisation" as perceived by the US, when Finnish president Uhro Kekkonen first proposed the Helsinki meeting in the 1960s.[21]

The different positions of the various countries vis-à-vis NATO, the EU and not the least EMU (European Monetary Union) demonstrate that their divergences as regards economic and geopolitical interests continue. Thus, Sweden and Finland are not members of NATO, but they have joined the European Union. The reason was basically that

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[20] "The local authority legislation of the last century was partly inspired by centuries of tradition where the local community could make decisions on certain community matters without the intervention of the state, and partly explicitly inspired by the liberal and democratic currents of thought that swept over Europe at the time. Since then an important part of the self-awareness of Scandinavians has originated in the fact that local self-government and local democracy are basic, living features of the order of society – even to the extent that we Northerners believe that our local authorities, by international standards, are unusually strong, alive and vigorous." (Albæk 199:10)

[21] However, we should remember that it was through the Helsinki process that 33 countries officially ended World War II by finally recognising post-war borders in Europe.

> the elites in these countries saw the application as a way to solve
> economic problems or at least correct undesirable developments.
> EC/EU membership was regarded as a means to 'modernize' the
> economies and societies. Although all EFTA countries formally
> had 'open' economies, their corporatist structures, the close
> cooperation between business, trade unions and the state, but also
> the high degree of monopolization and numerous cartels had made
> their economies inflexible and less competitive. (Luif 1995:367)

In contrast, although it was a founding member of NATO, Norway has twice rejected EC/EU membership. In Iceland an increasingly positive attitude towards the EU always comes up against the intractable fisheries issue. The economy of this microstate is almost totally dependent upon its fishing resources and as recently as the late 1970s, Iceland fought several "cod wars" over fisheries limits, if not with the whole EU, then at least with the United Kingdom. And, though an early member of the EC/EU, Denmark, is a decided sceptic as regards European integration and, together with Sweden, one of only three Member States of the European Union which have so far kept their distance from European Monetary Union. In contrast, as indicated, Finland has not only joined with some enthusiasm, it continues to be in the vanguard of Nordic moves towards further European integration.

Apart from the geo-political disparities after World War II we may conclude that the Nordic countries share strong common values and cultural features which are explained by the common history and the long tradition of co-operation.

Nordic co-operation goes European
The large number of common characteristics shared by the Nordic countries is not solely explained by their geographical location in the Northern parts of Europe; their shared history and continuing close co-operation are important factors.

As a result of shifting historical constellations during the last 500 years, the area referred to today as *Norden* was by turns unified, divided and hierarchically organised along different axes. The Nordic countries were unified under a Nordic king during the Kalmar Union[22] (1397 to 1521). Another strong example of Nordic co-operation is the Currency

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[22] The Kalmar Union was a union of three Nordic kingdoms formed in 1389, when Queen Margrete - already regent in Norway and Denmark - was elected regent in Sweden. The entity was referred to as the Kalmar Union because Margrete's grand nephew, Erik of Pomerania, was crowned king of Norway at Kalmar on 17 June 1397. The union treaty stated that the countries were to act as a single kingdom vis-à-vis other countries and states, and assist one another in the event of war. The union functioned in practice up to 1521, when Gustav Vasa was elected king of Sweden.

Union[23] (1873 to 1914) when it was decided to introduce a Nordic currency in Denmark, Sweden and Norway.

In modern times, Nordic countries have never again formed such a close-knit political entity. In the beginning of the 20th century, they were organised as four sovereign nation states, as Norway split from Sweden in 1905, and Finland declared its independence from Russia in 1917. In 1944, the number of nation states became five, when Iceland became a republic fully independent from Denmark.[24] Currently, there are discussions of forming a sixth Nordic nation state if the Faroe Islands secede from Denmark.

In 1946 the Danish, Swedish and Norwegian ministers of justice decided to appoint a committee to draw up proposals for legislation on future co-operation in the Nordic region. In February 1952, the Nordic Council, involving Denmark, Iceland, Norway and Sweden, became a reality. Finland joined the council in 1956. The formation of the council made it possible for Nordic parliamentarians to play a larger role in the legislative co-operation.

In 1971, the Nordic Council of Ministers was formed to serve as the official joint co-operation body for the Nordic governments. The Nordic Council of Ministers is based on mutual understanding; it applies the consensus principle and is not a supranational body. Although this is a slight simplification, Nordic co-operation may be seen as a sort of mini-EU, just like the BENELUX. Both groups are grappling with the question of their future role in the light of growing European integration.

Based on these pillars there are various practical arrangements supporting Nordic integration. Internal Nordic factors were crucial for plans on a Nordic Economic Union (a Nordic alternative to the European Union), but external factors resulted in the breakdown of these plans, which in turn gave rise to Nordic interest in EU Membership. (Mjøset 1998) As a result Demark became a member of the European Community in 1973. Finland and Sweden joined in 1995 and Norway and Iceland are

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[23] Towards the end of the 19th century, trade increased as a result of the developments in railway traffic and shipping. With a view to facilitating trade, it was decided to introduce a Nordic currency in Denmark, Sweden and Norway. The governments decided to use a common unit of currency - the krone – based on the decimal system.

A common currency made it easier for people, because they no longer had to bother about currency exchange procedures, as the krone was valid in all the Nordic countries, although Finland did not join the currency union. Finland, which had introduced gold as the basis for the mark in 1878, now introduced the silver mark. This made it easier to trade with countries in Eastern Europe and with the rest of the Nordic region.

[24] In 1918 Iceland became virtually autonomous in personal union with Denmark.

still non-members although both states are included in the European "anteroom", the European Economic Area (EEA)[25].

Within the framework of Nordic European co-operation, consultations before European meetings and decisions are common. There are even discussions of closer co-ordination between the Nordic countries in their dealings with European institutions. Considering the experiences gained during the Finnish and Swedish EU accession, more co-ordination might indeed advance Nordic interests in the European debate. In the light of the upcoming reform of the Structural Funds (2007 -) the Nordic Committee of Senior Officials for Regional Policy[26] (NERP) has established an informal working group for European affairs. This is only one of various Nordic co-operation fora. A similar committee exists e.g. for senior officials for environmental policy. Furthermore, there are annual meetings of the Nordic ministers responsible for planning. The meetings aim mainly at the exchange of information and the presentation of trends and changes in the five Nordic countries.

A general overview of regional councils and other institutions and policy instruments concerning Nordic regional development has been provided by Mariussen et al. (2000).

Whether or not they operate en bloc, for centuries decisions and events elsewhere in Europe have had major impacts on Nordic countries. In the post-war period, the European Community, later the European Union, became of particular importance for developments in Norden. Whether members or not, as they became increasingly involved in European co-operation, patterns of thought and action in Nordic countries have been changing. According to Olsen and Sverdrup (1998), Nordic co-operation is quite likely to change further, perhaps even leading to its demise, with other alliances taking its place. After all, in day-to-day Brussels politics, functional rather than national interests create ever-changing, short-term alliances, although some pervasive multi-state interests can be observed. According to Dosenrode (1998), the north-south division is one such persistent pattern.

In the face of deepening European integration, the Nordics will themselves determine whether or how to continue their co-operation. In this respect there are clear differences between the most integrationist country, Finland, on the one hand and Denmark and Sweden, much more

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[25] The Agreement on the European Economic Area (EEA) extends the Single Market of the EU to three out of the four EFTA countries, namely Norway, Iceland and Liechtenstein.

[26] NERP is a committee of senior officials from all Nordic countries active in the field of regional policy. The task of the committee is to prepare issues concerning regional policy. Furthermore, the committee is – on behalf of the Nordic Council of Ministers – responsible for Nordic co-operation on regional policy.

sceptical about integration, on the other. This difference could in fact prove more important than the differences between Member States Denmark and Sweden and non-member Norway, which is progressively adjusting to the reality of European integration from the outside. (Olsen and Sverdrup 1998:31) So sometimes differences between Nordic Member States and those on the outside are less pronounced than one might expect.

> Non-members are affected by decisions in the EU, but they have less influence [...], thus non-members experience a higher degree of uncertainty. (Sverdrup 1998b:150)

Sverdrup (1998b) calls Norway "an adaptive non-member", emphasising also that, as with other nations responding to globalisation, the Norwegian political system is undergoing rapid Europeanisation. In fact, Norway in some instances adapts to EU policies before neighbouring EU Member States do. In this respect the Norwegian administration competes with Finland as the Nordic European paragon, while Denmark and Sweden often treat most things coming from Brussels with caution. Both Denmark and Sweden are hesitant Member States. Denmark's membership of the EU, and before that of the EC, has never been unquestioning. There is widespread public concern about the "democratic deficit" and loss of sovereignty, as witnessed by referendum outcomes rejecting the Maastricht Treaty and European Monetary Union. The political elite, too, is sceptical and the same is true for Sweden. Where the organisation of internal EU work is concerned, Finland is generally regarded as leading the league table of Nordic countries.

Despite increasing European co-operation and Olsen's and Sverdrup's (1998) portrayal of Nordic co-operation as declining, Nordic co-operation is still alive and well. Its appeal can be linked to three basic perspectives according to Laursen and Olesen (1998:10):

-   It is perceived as a co-operation among equals, i.e. as co-operation among states of a fairly similar (small) size, and among states and populations that attach importance to the same values[27].
-   Nordic co-operation gained strength by demarcating what was non-Nordic in the classical sociological context of "we-and-they"; "they" being American Capitalism, Soviet Bolshevism or – of special relevance within the present context - European integration.

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[27] In general, Social Democrats tended to stress the similarity of the Nordic welfare state projects, whereas various liberal and conservative groups hailed the participatory dimension of Nordic democracy or the common religious, linguistic and historic bonds.

- Nordic co-operation was thus promoted as an alternative to the dilemma of either being left alone or joining a club of which they did rather not want to be a member. This regards especially the question of European bloc building and integration.

European integration may in the end weaken Nordic co-operation. There is one common Nordic feature, in particular, which will be challenged by this, namely the Nordic decision-making culture.

Nordic decision and policy-making

After the comprehensive introduction of *Norden,* we will now turn to the specifics of Nordic policy making. This section will discuss some of the theoretical underpinnings, firstly of corporatism and then touch upon consensus, persuasion and framework control.

In order to be able to discuss spatial policy-making in the Nordic countries, we need to understand their policy and decision-making environment.

Spatial planners are policy actors and as such neither they nor their networks operate in a vacuum. Policy- and decision-making culture is one of the main concepts contributing to our understanding of the influence of the politico-institutional context. According to Ball and Peters (2000), political culture is composed of the attitudes, beliefs, emotions and values of the society that relate to the political system and to political issues. Whether diverse or homogenous, a political culture is the product of many interrelated factors, for example, historical development, geography and ethnic differences. Socio-economic structure is another determinant of political culture. A similar concept is that of the "planning environment" (Faludi 1973) discussed elsewhere in this study.

The Nordic countries have a common cultural background. With regard to their spatial planning systems as well they are often seen as being very close to each other in decision-making procedures because of their rational approach to planning, which is highly interwoven with a corporatist decision-making culture. As corporatist decision-making is a key feature characterising Nordic decision environments, the following sections will discuss corporatism and its relations to spatial planning in the Nordic countries.

In general, under corporatism, interest groups become allianced with the state; they are no longer simply private interest groups but have taken on public responsibilities. Corporatism is understood as a system of interest intermediation in which the constituent units are organised into a limited number of singular, compulsory, non-competitive, hierarchically ordered and functionally differentiated categories, licensed (if not created) by the state and granted a deliberately representational monopoly

within their respective categories in exchange for observing certain controls on their selection of leaders and articulation of demand and supports. (Schmitter in Howlett and Ramesh 1995:36/7)

Nocken (1981:24) quotes Bowen when stating that corporatist theory serves

> as a philosophic common dominator among two or more groups that saw in some version of the corporatist ideal an alternative to contemporary tendencies that seemed to lead inescapably toward social upheaval, economic instability, political injustice and national dissolution. (Bowen 1947:211)

Thus corporatism can be seen as an ideology, a variant of political culture, a type of state, a form of economy, or even as a kind of society. In general, corporatism is often juxtaposed to pluralism (Howlett and Ramesh 1995)

> The groups here are not free-forming, voluntary, or competitive as in Pluralism. Nor are they autonomous, for they depend on the state for recognition and support in return for a role in policy-making. Corporatism thus explicitly takes into account two problems endemic to Pluralism: its neglect of the role of the state, and of institutionalised patterns of relationships between state and groups. (Howlett and Ramesh 1995:37)

It can be argued also that corporatism occupies an intermediary position between liberal pluralism and Marxism. (Wiarad 1997, Smith 1993) Corporatism's advocates like to say that they represent "the third way". Wiarad (1997) points out three distinguishing characteristics:
- a strong, directing state,
- structured (neither totally controlled nor fully free) interest groups that are usually limited in number and functions, and
- incorporation of interest groups into part of the state system, where they are responsible for representing their member's interest and for helping the state to administer and carry out public policies.

In the case of the Nordic countries all these three characteristics would seem to apply: all of them are highly centralised central states with small populations and a limited number of interest groups, which often are rather influential and integrated into state decision making.

When discussing corporatism at national or macro level it has to be kept in mind that the concept has changed its shape overtime. In a historical classification four different schools can be distinguished,

namely historical or natural corporatism[28], ideological corporatism[29], manifest corporatism[30] and modern neo-corporatism. (Wiarad 1997, Nocken 1981) In the context of this study corporatism is understood as modern neo-corporatism, which is very different from the kind of authoritarian, top-down, and statist corporatism that was characteristic of Europe in the interwar period. Neo-corporatism, which is also called "societal" or "open" corporatism, is characteristically present in modern, industrial, social-welfare-oriented countries. It incorporates interest groups directly into the decision-making machinery of the state. Often the groups involved are economic interest groups, e.g. unions, employers, farmers' groups, etc. Neo-corporatism implies formalised consultation between the central state and its major societal interests. Neo-corporatism is mainly present in European countries where business, labour and the state have often reached a tripartite agreement or "social pact".

> The state benefits form the co-operation and expertise of the groups, such as industrialists and trade unions, in the imple-mentation of political decisions, while the groups gain a share in political power and the recognition of their monopoly as repre-sentatives of certain societal sectors. As a result of this incor-poration of key groups, large areas of the decision-making process are depoliticised; that is, the formal bodies such as cabinets and assemblies appear to make the decisions, but they are in effect only endorsing decisions reached by other means. (Ball and Peters 2000: 43)

For the Nordic countries it can be argued that neo-corporatism is used as a manifestation of an autonomous state desiring to manage social change and ensure social/welfare stability, rather than a system which is desired

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[28] *Historical or "natural" corporatism*
This is the type found in pre-modern societies, especially those founded e.g. in traditions that emphasise solidarity, group identity and community. In Western Europe this kind of corporatism has roots which go back to the Middle Ages when there were concerns about protecting the "intermediate strata" of autonomous associations between the state and the family. These included guilds and other forms of trade associations as well as, most significantly, religious organisations and churches.

[29] *Ideological corporatism*
In the beginning of the mid-nineteenth century, as a reaction to consequences of the French Revolution, intellectuals and religious figures began to formulate a more positive response to the alienation and anomie of the modern, industrial age. They called their new ideology corporatism, and during the remainder of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth their philosophy and recommendations gained many adherents.

[30] *Manifest corporatism*
Corporatism became the "other great ism", alongside liberalism and Marxism, of the first half of the twentieth century. In this type of corporatism the strong state and limited freedom of interest groups were in focus: Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, Vichy France, Franco's Spain, Salzar's Portugal, Metaxa's Greece, Dolfuss's Austria – are examples of the not exactly happy, friendly, admirable corporatist regimes.

by the major corporate actors themselves and simply put into place by the state at their behest. According to Kuhn's analysis the development of corporatist policy-making structure in the Nordic countries has two distinct aspects. (Kuhn 1981:225) Firstly, the development of neo-corporatism was highly influenced by the party system, which means strong Social Democrat Parties, where the special conditions in Finland have to be kept in mind.[31] Secondly, the long political dominance of Social Democrat Parties created the pre-conditions for the involvement and integration of labour-market partners into the process of governance. It is mainly sectoral/functional organisations that are involved in corporatist policymaking structures in the Nordic countries, with Sweden as an exception[32]. Kuhn ends by pointing out that the Nordic corporatist way of problem-solving leads to an expansion of the public sector, which is – as a cumulative phenomenon – both the product and multiplicator of neo-corporatist structures.

It should, however, be kept in mind that the literature uses a wide range of definitions of corporatism, which often are incompatible and that secondly, some changes have occurred in European policy systems since the 1970s. Falkner (2001) argues that macro-corporatism or corporatism at national level, covering the entire range of socio-economic policy making, is a matter of the past, not least because of European integration, the transfer of competence to the European level and thus the diminished national sphere of influence.

> Compared to the 'classic' 1970s corporatism which was indeed often macro-corporatism with demand-side steering of the economy, contemporary corporatist arrangements appear significantly restricted to functional scope, as the policy-making process is broken down and varies across policy subsystems. (Falkner 2001:99)

Accordingly, one may understand corporatism mainly as a type of decision-making practiced in various sectors or policy fields. In that context the version of corporatism developed by Kohler-Koch (1999) is of interest. Her approach is based on two categories, namely the organising principle of political relations (majority rule versus

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[31] The rather weak Finnish party system led to a, at least in a Nordic context, a special consequence: traditionally there is an endeavour to avoid questions which could break party collations. Thus societally important question were left to the labour-market associations. (Kuhn 1981:220)

[32] As the discussion in the country chapter on Sweden will show, there is a debate on the origin of Swedish corporatist policy-making. One line of argumentation is that it stems rather from powerful popular movements than from the state trying to involve organisations; furthermore, the incorporation is cross-sectoral as e.g. the temperance movement traditionally is seen as one of the cornerstones.

consociation), and the constitutive logic of a polity (politics as investment in a common identity versus reconciliation of competing self-interests). Thus her view of corporatist governance captures mainly the pursuit of a common interest and the search for consensus instead of majority voting. Following this line, corporatism can be understood as an approach taken by the central actor composing a policy community around a relevant policy task and thus anchoring the chosen policy in society. Falkner (2001) defines the corporatist policy community as the most exclusive form of policy communities.

> Only in a corporatist policy community do interest groups actually come to share state authority. In this extremely exclusive form of policy network, a typically small number of privileged groups make public policies with the state actors in a co-decisive capacity. (Falkner 2001:103)

As we will see from the chapters on the various Nordic countries, in all of them policy communities exist, in one form or another, around a number of issues in the field of spatial development policies. Taking into account that the Nordic tradition of corporatism stems from the wish of the autonomous state to manage social welfare, corporatism in the sense of extremely exclusive policy communities raises the question as to whether it has been instrumentalised as a form of seeking a policy consensus.

We have seen that at European level policy communities without formal competence can use discourses for preparing the ground for new policy fields aiming at the extension of Community competence. At national level, the situation is a bit different, as here clear competences exist and thus there are predetermined power relations between the actors. Accordingly, the policy community has to be formed around the actor holding the main competence in the field under consideration, in the case of spatial development policies, the state. Thus it can be regarded as incorporation of interest groups into and as part of the state system, which was the third of Wiarad's (1997) characteristics for corporatism. In forming an extremely tight policy community, such as a corporatist policy community, the state may be perceived as a co-decisive actor. As the state still holds the competence, the function of the policy community can be twofold. On the one hand, state actors may see themselves to be on equal footing with the other members of the community and thus share its power. On the other hand, the policy community might be used as an

"implementation instrument", i.e. an arena for persuasive power[33] or influencing the other actors and forming an anchorage for state policy. Thus persuasive power is exercised in order to convince others that they should perform as one wishes because they thereby contribute to a common goal. In so doing the policy community can turn into a resource for conversion into control.[34]

Before turning to the next topic, a brief review of this section wil be useful. Beginning with corporatism and proceeding via policy communities to the question of power and, finally, to the issue of control, the close interaction of a limited number of actors is a common key element. Furthermore, the discussion of corporatism has shown that the Nordic countries have traditionally exhibited a rather strong form of neo-corporatism at macro-level and accordingly a broad societal consensus concerning the overall direction of the societal development. During the last decades the character of corporatism has, however, changed and it should now rather be seen as corporatism in the field of individual policies. This aspect has brought us to discussing the corporatist policy communities. As these communities are active in fields with state competence the question of power naturally arises.

If we take the model one step higher, and hold it up against the situation in the field of spatial planning policies in a European context,

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[33] Persuasive power is of particular interest with regard to corporatist policy communities with state actors in co-decisive capacity. According to Etzioni (1968:358) it is mainly exercised by the manipulation of symbols, such as appeals to the values and sentiments of citizens in order to mobilize support and to penalize those who deviate, e.g. by excommunicating them. The bases of persuasive power are the normative bonds of societal units and are often perceived as either resting on personal attitudes and interpersonal relations or as having no structural and organisational base at all. Building on these foundations the capacity to persuade is not randomly distributed in social systems, but is rather structured and organised, allocated and applied in much the same ways as other kinds of power are. Interestingly, however, persuasive power is not always directly obvious as the application of power, being very similar to influence; both are, after all, symbolic and draw on values and sentiments. "The difference between them rests in the depth of their effects; persuasion suppresses the actor's preferences without changing them; it, hence, resembles influence on the surface, but there is really an exercise of power beneath. [...] Persuasive power works more quickly and is less costly in assets than influence, but is more alienating and less commitment inducing and has an impact that is more superficial and temporary." (Etzioni 1968:360)

[34] Indeed, the question is not only how to formulate polices in rather small circles, but also how to put these policies into practice. So, in addition to the issue of power the issue of control arises. If we understand control here to mean contextuating prescriptive control, then influencing and persuasion are important means for putting forward ideas and concepts. In general, contextuating control, defined as the setting of frameworks within which the object of control is allowed to operate, can also be referred to as framework control. (Faludi 1973; EC 1997) In contrast, prescriptive control means determining every detail of the behaviour of the object to be controlled. With regard to planning, it has generally been observed that prescriptive control does not necessarily lead to better planning; on the contrary considerations of pure effectiveness have led to the introduction of framework control. (Faludi 1987:286) We will return to this in the country chapters, e.g. when discussing framework control within the Danish planning system or the Swedish preference for framework legislation.

the question emerges as to who is formulating the national positions in the European debate. Parallel to this is the question of how issues from the European debate are injected into the national context. (Cf. Figure 2, page 38)

In the course of this study, we will return to this question, keeping in mind the aspects of influence, control and power when discussing the interaction between policy networks and the effects of discourses.

Towards greater European harmonisation in the field of planning?

Discussing spatial planning in Europe often involves assessing whether European countries are converging towards a harmonised planning system.

On the one hand, we can argue that there are no such harmonisation trends, as the ESDP and its related processes are often seen as toothless paper tigers. Or, as Kunzmann (1998) says, the spatial planning industry in Europe has got a new gimmick to occupy itself with. On the other hand the countries of Europe do face similar broad economic imperatives and share common membership of the EU. Thus, joint external challenges may cause a certain degree of harmonisation. Viewed from this perspective, the emergence of the ESDP, and thus the power of the discourses on European spatial development policies, is clearly connected to the debate about increased harmonisation of the European planning systems.

As illustrated in the section on European planning families, national planning systems in Europe are rather diverse and reflect the cultural and political variety in Europe. The ESDP as well as Interreg IIC programmes or the *EU Compendium of Spatial Planning Systems and Policies* (EC 1997) have repeatedly been suspected of deliberately or unintentionally supporting convergence and harmonisation of national planning systems.

Harmonisation is not, however, an overall objective, as diversity is an important strength of Europe. This has been pointed out on numerous occasions, not least in the ESDP document itself. (EC 1999a) With regard to the *EU Compendium of Spatial Planning Systems and Policies* (EC 1997), Williams (1996) underlines also that there is no intention of harmonising planning procedures as such.

Despite its apparently limited intentions, if we understand European spatial planning as a form of network governance, we face the situation that the hegemonic European project or at least the European discourse is influencing national networks. In this respect, Falkner (2001)

argues generally that a development towards more similarity is to be expected even though the European diversity will continue to exist.

> Since all national networks are, however, influenced by the same Euro-level pattern existing in the relevant field, the result should be adaptation towards more similarity. Some divergences will persist, but probably in a more moderate form than before the gained influence on national policy networks. (Falkner 2001:112)

Falkner discusses policy networks in multi-level systems in general. Williams (1996), as against this, concentrates on European spatial planning. He stresses that differences between national systems of spatial planning and of property development may be regarded as non-tariff barriers. If, in fact, these differences prove to be non-tariff barriers, then there may be a need to overcome them, as they represent impediments to, or distortions of, the economic integration of the EU.

> There is no intention of harmonising planning procedures as such, but I would be naïve to rule out single market proposals if there is evidence from the research for the Compendium that there are significant non-tariff barriers arising from the different planning systems. (Williams 1996:256)

If spatial planning is viewed in the broader context of European economic integration, the questions arise as to what degree convergence between planning systems in the different Member States is actually taking place (Healey and Williams 1993) and additionally, whether there is a need to introduce harmonisation measures into planning systems in order to remove impediments to the single market.

Whereas Schmitz et al. (1999) underline that convergence of planning systems in Europe is necessary and Williams (1996) argues for increased harmonisation to support European economic integration, Davies (1994) points out that the future is unlikely to produce a harmonised system throughout Europe. Instead, Davies suggests that greater mutual learning could perhaps result in a convergence of planning policies within different legal and institutional settings. Jensen goes even further by stating:

> At least it is safe to say that the various different national planning models and cultures have led to a situation of no consensus as regards the essence of spatial planning in Europe. (Jensen 1998:19)

The major differences within legal and administrative approaches/styles, which are not likely to disappear overnight, have been illustrated by Newman and Thornley (1996) in their division of Europe into five

planning families, taking into account both legal and administrative styles.

This study will focus on the Nordic family and examine the spatial planning systems and policies in the five Nordic countries. A major focus of the study is the question of European integration and to what degree European policy in the field of spatial planning and development has influenced spatial planning in the Nordic countries and vice versa. The results of this assessment can give important pointers concerning tendencies towards growing convergence of spatial planning in Europe.

Conclusions

This part of the book has laid down the framework which will be applied to analyse the influence of European spatial planning in the Nordic countries.

Firstly, we explored what spatial planning means as compared to spatial development, spatial policy and regional policy. In short, spatial planning is understood as a method or procedure with which to influence future allocations of activities to space, or set out and implement spatial policies at any geographical level, while spatial policy comprises all policies aimed at influencing location and land-use decisions, or the distribution of activities, at any geographical scale.

Thereafter we have formulated the theoretical framework of this study. The focus was mainly on two aspects. Firstly we discussed European policy-making (planning for Europe), and secondly we touched upon different planning traditions in Europe and especially on the specifics of the Nordic policy environment (planning in Europe).

We have learned that European spatial planning is a new policy field under construction, which thus brings the EU Member States together in a new forum for European integration. Accordingly, we started off with European integration theory. On this basis we discussed the emergence of European spatial planning as new policy field. We paid special attention to the CSD as a policy network or rather a tight European policy community playing a significant role in establishing a new field of European policymaking and competence. After considering the challenges of network governance, as especially reflected in the aspect of loose structural coupling, the discussion concluded by addressing the question of policy discourses and the rationality and power of policy discourses. Putting together the various theories used to explain the ESDP process and its outcome, we formed the concept of discursive European integration.

The other part of the theoretical background stressed the variety of planning traditions in Europe and the fact that when it comes to planning the Nordic countries form a group of their own. This has been related to aspects of the planning and policy environment, and especially corporatist policy-making, which characterise Nordic countries. Thus this section will help us subsequently to understand the policy environment of the Nordic countries and how Nordic policy-making adapts to European policies. The general debate on corporatism was followed by a section reflecting on the question of corporatism and power.

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We concluded with the question of the consequences of the ESDP for the various spatial planning systems in the Community. There is no shortage of potential answers. One might be "No effect at all!", as the ESDP and its related processes are often seen as toothless paper tigers. Or, as Kunzmann (1998) expresses it, the spatial planning industry in Europe has got a new gimmick to occupy itself with. Another answer could be that as a hegemonic project the ESDP will become so powerful that we will witness a harmonisation of spatial policy-making in the EU Member States. The next few years will show whether the operational concept of the ESDP is an appropriate avenue for continuing with European spatial planning policies. Although there is no clear answer yet, we have to keep in mind Williams' (1996) words that it would be naïve to believe that non-traffic barriers arising from differences in national planning systems will resist the order of the Single European Market.

PART II – NORDIC SPATIAL PLANNING

In Part I we have discussed European spatial planning both as planning for Europe and planning in Europe. The discussion on planning in Europe centred on the importance of the planning environment. The case of the Nordic countries was used to illustrate the scope of a planning and decision-making environment (cf. page 47 f.). Based on this general introduction into spatial planning and to the Nordic countries, Part II of the book focuses explicitly on spatial planning in the five Nordic countries.

Individual chapters on each country analyse the national planning system and its interaction with European spatial planning. The overall structure of these country chapters is the same for all five Nordic countries. Each chapter starts with an introduction to the country, highlighting some characteristics of relevance for the discussion. After that the decision-making culture and the historic development of the planning system are discussed. This leads to a presentation of trends and on-going questions in the spatial planning debate. Finally, the question is addressed as to what degree planning in the respective country is influenced by European policies, especially the ESDP discourse, and in what way it has endeavoured to customise the European level. The emphasis here differs, however, according to the specifics of the countries, e.g. there is a focus on committees when discussing Iceland, whereas the focus is on consensus traditions in Sweden. Each chapter is brought to a close with a conclusion summing up national specifics and relations to European spatial policies. The country chapters are supported by an extensive annex providing detailed information on the spatial planning actors and instruments in each country.

The country chapters are based on study of academic literature, policy documents, information and insights gained through my daily work, and a number of explicit interviews. Furthermore, each chapter has been read and commented on by at least one person who is an active spatial planner in the country discussed.

Following the discussion of the five Nordic countries, Part III of the book draws together and collates the impressions gained from the Nordic spatial planning discussion (in Part II) and the theories discussed (in Part I). Thus Part III provides a joint conclusion concerning all five countries.

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Denmark – A green room in the European house

Please note, as mentioned in the introduction, this chapter discusses Danish planning up to the change of government, 20th November 2001. The new government changed in many ways the political attitude. This is also true for the field of spatial planning as illustrated in a newspaper article by Michael Rothenborg (2002), titled "Murder in the Ministry". In this article he suspects the new government to abolish the achievements in the fields of environmental protection and planning which the former Minister of the Environment had fought for. So, the near future will tell to what degree Danish planning and planning policy will change.

Denmark – small state and strong society

Denmark is one of the oldest nation states, as it has been around for more than thousand years. Not exactly in its present form, perhaps, but an entity carrying the name Denmark can be identified as far back as the formative years of Europe in the early Middle Ages.

Østergaard (2000) identified a number of aspects of Danish history which he claims are crucial for the Danish national identity and therewith their actions on the European scene as well as their approach to policy making. Among these aspects are Denmark's past as European power, which eventually shrank to a small but sovereign state, as well as its geographical location in the Northern periphery of Europe, where it is also connected to a long tradition of Nordic co-operation and not at least the Nordic welfare state model.

Around 1800 Denmark was a middle-ranking European power, roughly equal to Prussia in military and economic potential, with a fleet second only to the one of Great Britain. In contrast to other old nation states such as France, Spain and England (which later goes up in the United Kingdom), Denmark was defeated in wars with Sweden and Prussia and, consequently, lost most of its territories. So, the country comprising of Denmark proper, Norway and Schleswig-Holstein gradually shrank to a size smaller even than its present borders (1864). It was, however, not swallowed up by stronger neighbours, as the great powers of the day were interested in preserving a small sovereign state at the entrance to the Baltic Sea. Therefore, Denmark belongs to a restricted group of small states, including e.g. Luxembourg and the Netherlands, who by historical accident exercised national independence in the crucial years in the middle of the twentieth century when European co-operation was launched on the basis of sovereign nation-states. Even today, Danish self-perception oscillates between regarding itself as a small state with a moral right to exercise influence because of its strong and coherent

society and a small state with practically no influence in the world. (Østergaard 2000)

In addition to this national identity, and as a result of Nordic integration, the 20th century has witnessed the rise of a trans-national, common Nordic identity constructed on independent national identifications. This supranational identity is of a particular kind as strong national identifications have been the precondition for successful Nordic co-operation at a practical level since the early twentieth century. This presents a contrast to the competing identification which often seems to characterise European-level co-operation. In this context two aspects are of interest (Østergaard 2000):

The belief in the Nordic welfare state model has led many Scandinavians to assume there is a major difference between their small, coherent and peaceful societies and the larger, conflict-ridden and aggressive European (and American) states. In the case of Denmark the small size of the Danish nation state, combined with its rapidly expanding, export-oriented economy, were decisive factors in the development of the Danish liberal social-democratic welfare-state.

The problem for Denmark as a player in international politics is that many Danes mistake formal sovereignty for real power in determining European politics, and so Danish foreign and European policy is often interpreted as a consequence of an age-old tradition of determinism and neutralism. In this light also Denmark's reluctant attitude towards the independence of its overseas territories (the Faeroe Islands and Greenland) can be understood as an attempt to preserve Denmark's international importance (Skaale 2001:9).

However, since the fall of the Iron Curtain, Denmark has embarked on a policy of building a sphere of influence in the Baltic area and thus no longer acts as a small state. On the other hand, the reluctant Danish EU policy has severely undercut its possibilities for effectively using international forums because of the difficulties in building strong alliances with other members of the EU and the EU itself. (Østergaard 2000)

Danish characteristics

Denmark is an island kingdom comprising the peninsula of Jutland and approx. 500 islands, 88 of which are inhabited, the two largest being Zealand (where the capital Copenhagen is located) and Funen (where Denmark's third-largest city, Odense, is located.). Furthermore, the Kingdom of Denmark also includes the partly independent overseas territories of Greenland (the world's largest island) and the Faeroe Islands, and it has jurisdiction over a portion of the continental shelf in

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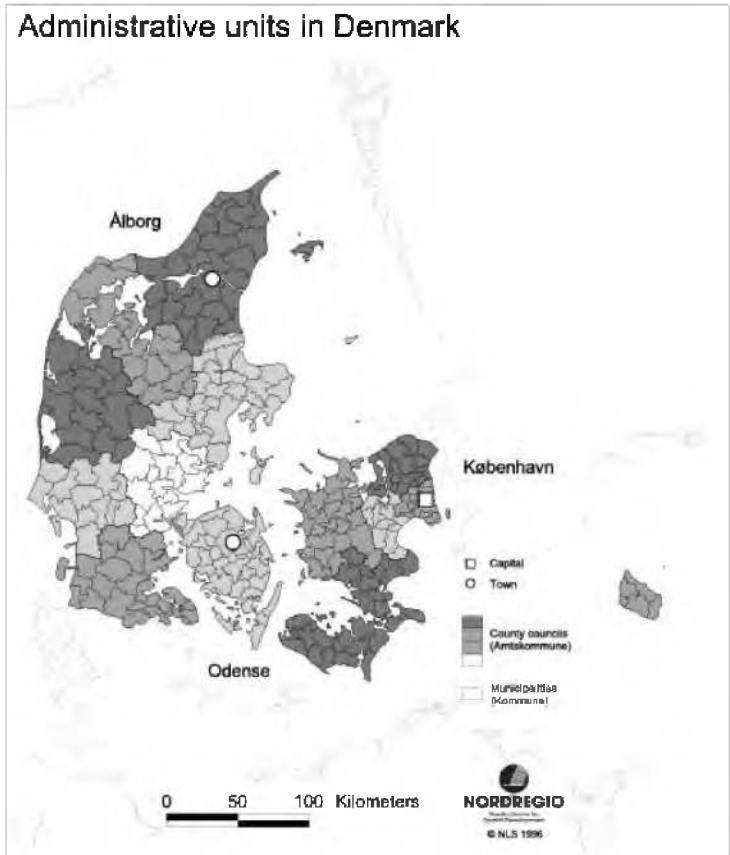
Map 4: Administrative Units in Denmark

the North Sea. Despite all this Denmark itself – and in the discussion the understanding of Denmark does not comprise its overseas territories – is a rather small state, with a land area of approximately 43,000 km² inhabited by approx. 5.3 million people.

Apart from the geographical situation in Denmark, Danish spatial planning is highly influenced by a consensus-oriented political culture and the strong position of local authorities. Denmark has traditionally had a strong welfare orientation, and because of its extensive social welfare system, the country has a relatively large public sector. As far as the planning system is concerned, the consensus and welfare orientation results in a neo-corporatist planning culture combined with a global planning approach which is implemented by the so-called principle of framework control (*rammestyringsprincip*), which will be discussed later on. The basic element of the planning system is the division of the country into three zones, namely, urban, recreational and rural. About 10% of Denmark's territory is designated as an urban or recreational zone. Here development is allowed in accordance with current planning regulations. The other 90% of the country is zoned as rural. Here developments or any other changes of land-use for other purposes than agriculture and forestry are prohibited, each of which are subject to special permission under planning and zoning regulations. (EC 1999b:17) This underlines the importance of agriculture both for industry, society and spatial development in Denmark.

Despite the large areas allocated to rural activities, today Denmark is a highly urbanised country: In 1998, 85% of the Danish population lived in urban settlements and 77% in towns and cities with more than 1,000 inhabitants. In the early 1980s Danish spatial planning defined a hierarchy of urban centres comprised of national centres, regional centres, municipal centres and local centres. The urban structure is monocentric, with Copenhagen, the Danish capital, as the dominant city. Greater Copenhagen is home to more than 26% of the Danish population or ca 1.4 million inhabitants. The four largest provincial cities are Århus (286,000 inhabitants), Odense (183,000 inhabitants), Ålborg (162,000 inhabitants) and Esbjerg (83,000 Inhabitants), all of them designated as national centres.

Because of the geographical shape of Denmark, surrounded by water on three sides and with its major settlements on a number of large islands, spatial integration in Denmark seems often to be closely connected to building bridges. One of the major planning and integration projects in Denmark was the Great Belt (Store Bælt) Bridge which connects the island of Zealand where Copenhagen, and thus more than

26% of the Danish population, is linked via the island of Fynen with the continental part of the country. The existence of this bridge shrank Denmark, as travel-time from East to West was reduced significantly: trips which formerly required an overnight stay became day-trips. Possibly the most famous example of a bridge as a symbol for spatial integration is the Øresund bridge, linking Copenhagen (Denmark) and Malmö (Sweden), formerly divided by the Øresund. The physical connection between these two cities and city regions is a vital element for the so called Øresund region as a potential global integration zone. (EC 1999a) Another bridge project aiming at further spatial integration of Denmark is a fixed link across the Baltic Sea between Lolland and Fehmarn. This bridge would improve Denmark's transportation-links with Germany and make the so called *Vogelfluglinie* (a popular travelling route from Germany via Denmark to Sweden) travelable without using ferries. However, this link and its economic feasibility are still under discussion. Its potential meaning for Denmark's further integration in Europe can only be speculated on as also highway connections on both sides need further development.

At the moment, Denmark is a rather hesitant EU Member, as pointed out for example by Dosenrode (1998). Denmark grew slowly into the increasingly supranational EU and managed to postpone the fundamental decisions on supranationality for almost two decades while preferring intergovernmental co-operation to supranationality. (Dosenrode 1998, Pedersen 1996)

> While many would emphasise the continuity in Danish EU policy evident by the continuing reservation as regards certain features of the EU, it could be argued that the recent departure from traditional Danish policy with its emphasis upon confederalism and welfare-oriented motives is more important than specific opt-outs. It can thus be argued that in fact Denmark did not become fully committed to membership of a supranational community until the late 1990s. Danish EU policy underwent a change in 1989-90 which, though not as dramatic as the Swedish and Finnish, was equally fundamental. (Pedersen 1996:81)

In 1973, Denmark became member of the EC after a referendum, in 1972, in which 63.4% voted in favour of membership. The debate preceding this referendum was very much focused on the EC as intergovernmental co-operation in which Denmark needs to participate in order to find a way out of its economic dependence on the EC and UK,[35] as well as a

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[35] Dosenrode (1998:64) points out that Denmark was economically dependent on the EC and UK, where export licenses, especially for agricultural goods, had to be negotiated on an annual basis.

necessity for sustaining the Danish welfare state. In 1985 as well, during the referendum on the Single European Act (SEA) the debate focused on purely economic matters. So, in the referendum in 1985, 56.2% voted in favour of the SEA. However, Greenland, which had joined the EC together with its motherland, Denmark, left the EC in 1985.

In the 1990s a turning point in the Danish attitude towards the EU was reached, at least as far as the political elite is concerned. This change can be explained by the political changes in Europe, with a number of EFTA and Central and Eastern European countries moving closer to the EU. (Pedersen 1996:91) However, the issue of membership remains a very sensitive one, as e.g. illustrated by the 1992 referendum, where 50.7% voted against the Maastricht Treaty on the European Union (TEU). In consequence, Denmark negotiated a number of opt-outs[36] from the TEU at the Edinburgh summit. In the period from the Danish "no" and up to the Edinburgh summit, the UK and Denmark emphasised the need for more subsidiary in European integration. (Andersen 1997a:281) In the end, the "no" on the Maastricht referendum caused only minor backtrackings in Danish EU polices as compared to the programme changes introduced with the TEU. (Pedersen 1996:93)

One of the crucial issues Denmark had to balance during its first 25 years of EU membership was economic integration into the emerging Single European Market, while maintaining the economic and cultural ties in the Nordic co-operation. Here, the situation became easier when Finland and Sweden joined the EU in 1995, and Denmark tried to extend the traditional co-operation among the Nordic countries into the EU Council of Ministers. Still, Denmark's membership remains a sensitive issue when it comes to supranational aspects of European co-operation. The 1998 referendum on the Amsterdam treaty turned out positive with 55.1% of the votes for the treaty. The referendum on participation in the European Monetary Union (EMU), in year 2000, resulted in a majority (53,1 %) voting for keeping the Danish crown and not joining the EMU.

A more illustrative example of how the Danish attitude towards the EU changed in the 1990s can be found in the field of environmental policy:

> [...] Denmark kept a relatively low profile in EU environmental policy-making in the years from 1987 to 1992, when member states such as Germany and the Netherlands were somewhat more actively involved. Denmark generally supported the use of Article 130 as the legal basis of EU environmental policy because this

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[36] The opt-outs regard the areas of monetary integration, defence, citizenship and co-operation on juridicial and internal affairs. (Pedersen 1996:93)

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article provided for minimum standards that allowed individual
member states to maintain or introduce stricter domestic standards.
(Andersen 1997a:281)

In 1993, when Svend Auken was appointed as new Minister of
Environment, the turning point for the Danish opt-out position in
environmental policy was reached. (Andersen 1997a:282) He gave
international and EU environmental policies a higher priority and flagged
Denmark's green policies at international level. During his period of
office, the ministry elaborated and published two national planning
reports with a clearly European focus, one of which was called *Denmark
and the European Planning Policy* (Miljø- og Energiministeriet 1997). In
this report the policy image of Denmark as a green room in the European
house was developed.[37] This policy image and its position in the
discourse will be discussed later on.

The placement of the European Environmental Agency (EEA) in
Copenhagen and the subsequent appointment of Ritt Bjerregård as
Environmental Commissioner (1994 – 1999) are seen as further evidence
of the new and more active Danish position in the beginning of the 1990s.
(Andersen 1997a:282)

Planning philosophy

Denmark is in a Nordic context a rather "political" country, as it lacks the
dominance or hegemony of one political party and so after each shift of
government efforts are made to establish a new line. The importance of
politics is also reflected in the planning system by a close linkage of
various plans or planning reports to election dates.

> A feature of the Danish planning system is the close link with the
> political electoral processes which helps to give it both legitimacy
> and flexibility. (Newman-Thornley 1996:65)

In practice this means that both national planning reports and regional
and municipal plans have, according to the planning act, set time periods
assigned for presenting proposals, tied to the election dates of the national
parliament or the regional or municipal parliament respectively.

This illustrates not only the political relevance of planning. The
close interrelation of politics and planning at all three tiers of public
planning, indicates also that each planning tier has a certain degree of
freedom regarding its vertical connections to other planning tiers. The
principle of framework control aims at combining this freedom with

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[37] Whether the ambiguity implicit in the metaphor of the "green room", which can be understood
either as environmental oasis or as room in a theatre, provided for the accommodation of actors and
actresses when not required on the stage, was originally intended or not remains an open question.

consistency in planning over the three planning tiers, as well as in sector plans.

Comprehensive planning and framework control

Various sectoral polices at the three levels of spatial planning are brought together in a so-called "global planning approach" (EC 1999b) .

> In general, one may describe the system of public administration in Denmark as a mix of:
> – vertical connections, implementing each sectoral policy by a top-down approach, and
> – horizontal connections, linking the different sectoral policies on the same level through comprehensive spatial planning.
>
> (EC 1999b:85)

This global planning approach is mainly achieved through an important, underlying principle of Danish planning: the principle of framework control. In principle planning is intended to co-ordinate and sum up various forms of sectoral planning as e.g. in the field of environmental planning and protection, which developed together with local and regional planning. Through its summarizing function, planning is to achieve comprehensiveness and entirety in public planning, as well as securing a balanced and appropriate development in all parts of Denmark. In this system of planning, as described by Sehested and Damsgård (2000), the central state has a guiding role which is exerted by the so-called principle of framework control. In fields of national interests, the central state lays down a framework, within which the counties and municipalities can act freely while filling out the given framework with their regional and local land-use planning. More concretely, this principle is defined as follows:

> The planning system is based on the principle of framework control, signifying that the plans at lower level must not contradict planning decisions at higher level. But the contents of planning are different at the three administrative levels. (EC 1999b:17)

The main means the central state has to exert this kind of framework control are the instruments of national planning, the national planning report and the national planning directives, which are described in the section on planning instruments, as well as the guidelines for regional planning. Even though the central state seems to have considerable power through the principle of framework control, the power of the local and regional level should not be underestimated.

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Administrative structure: An early approach to subsidiarity
Public administration in Denmark is a vast field, providing work for 1/3 of the labour force, and it is rather amorphous and difficult to delimit vis-á-vis the rest of society.

> The Danish model emphasise public control and responsibility at local level. (Andersen 1997b:160)

Denmark has 275 municipalities and a long tradition of delegating responsibility and decision-making power to the local and regional councils. In fact, local government contribute more than 30% of the gross national product, as compared with about 10% in countries such as Germany and France. Local authorities administer more than half of the public expenditure and more than half of local government expenditure is financed by local income taxes[38] (EC 1999b:81). Here it should be borne in mind that municipalities to a large extent administer the Danish system of universalised welfare and, as providers of public services according to objective criteria stipulated by the parliament, they are reimbursed by the state. (Jensen and Jørgensen 2000:31-33)

The roots of decentralisation are to be found in the constitutional conflict in the late 19th century between Copenhagen's ruling bourgeoisie and farmers, who were struggling for independence and local self-governance. Andersen (1997b) sees two different roots to this conflict: Firstly, the fact that Copenhagen's bourgeoisie put the Danish parliament out of action in the 1890s, until the farmers gained power in both houses of parliament in 1901. Secondly, the development in Denmark's neighbouring country, Germany, where the preference for local self-governance was institutionalised by the social democrats in the 1930s. (Andersen 1997b:160)

The emphasis on local self-governance involves also the question of division of labour between three administrative levels, namely municipal, county and nation state. Here, the principle of subsidarity has been applied in Denmark before the EU debate shaped this term.

> The concept of decentralisation comprises a precise and finely tuned relationship between a strong national authority and strong county and municipal councils, based on a series of laws that establish which decisions are to be delegated. The purpose is to solve the tasks at the lowest possible level so as to combine responsibility for decision-making with accountability for financial consequences. (EC 1999b:81)

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[38] Municipal income taxes range from 14 to 22% of income. (EC 1999DK:81)

In spatial planning all this means that the principle for framework control is not meant to be an instrument for steering the regional and local level more than absolutely necessary.

Policy-making

Denmark is described as a neo-corporist country, where public policy-making on social and economic programmes brings all the interest groups together under official auspices to try to forge a common consensual policy. (Wiarda 1997, Nielsen 2000) Nielsen (2000) sees the roots for Danish neo-corporatism mainly in the agricultural orientation of the Danish modernization process. The special form of Danish modernization further accentuates long historical continuity of peaceful, compromise-oriented processes combined with a political culture characterized by national harmony and democratic community. Instead of enormous demographic and socio-cultural changes caused by a rapid urbanization in connection with industrialisation in the 19th century, Denmark went through an agriculturally based and more drawn out process of modernization. Furthermore, Nielsen draws the conclusion that Danish political culture is marked by a classical, almost pre-modern, understanding of *Gemeinschaft* in which specific constellations of interest of experiences of societal conflicts became characteristic for Danish modernity and extended their validity to the national level. This community-oriented political culture has led to a rather pragmatic, compromise- and consensus-oriented conflict regulation in which all relevant interests and opinions are taken into consideration. (Nielsen 2000:87)

With regard to spatial planning, Jensen (1999:215) points out that the development of the Danish urban pattern is rather a result of corporatist planning and policy processes than of broad public debate. Gaardmand (1991) sees also corporatism and neo-corporatism as major features in Danish planning. However, he describes corporatism as a rather new phenomenon in Danish planning. He sees the basic principles of the Danish planning system in a hierarchic-rationalistic planning concept where however, the rationalistic ideal is becoming less and less influential. (Gaardmand 1991:21) Rationalism, to his mind, was the dominant school until the 1980s, when planning started to become more democratic. (Gaardmand 1991:24) In his book on the mahogany-table method and corporative planning[39], he claims that planning became during the 1990s increasingly a task carried out and decided upon by

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[39] The full title of the book is *Magt og medløb: Om mahogniborts-metoden og den korporative planlægning* (Power and Fellow Travelling: About the mahogany-table-method and corporative planning). (Gaardmand 1996)

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circles of experts and elites, (closed) committees and their networks. The main aim was to give commercial and sectoral interest groups more influence on the development of the society. (Gaardmand 1996:8) In this book he analyses a number of large planning processes of national interest and criticizes them as being undemocratic because decisions are made in a number of committees staffed by representatives from a rather small "inner-circle" of bureaucrats, politicians, interest organizations and industry, typical for neo-corporatism. To his mind Svend Auken (Minister for the Environment 1993-2001)[40] was one of the first to practice the new corporative style in connection with larger plans. (Gaardmand 1996:56) Main examples for corporatist planning in Denmark are according to Gaardmand (1993 and 1996) the national planning perspective 2018, the Øresund bridge and the municipal plans for Ørestaden and Copenhagen.

In his analysis of rationality and power in Danish planning, Flyvbjerg (1991) underlines that the most consequential activities tend to be located before the formulation of goals, plans and policies, in what is called the genesis of planning and politics, and after hearings, public debates and political referendums, in the implementation phase. Accordingly, the courses are set in small inner circles.

One can argue as to whether corporatism is really such a new phenomenon in Danish planning. Firstly, Denmark has a corporatist tradition in policy making (Andersen 1997a, Kuhn 1981, Laursen 1997, Nielsen 2000) which is closely connected to the development of the welfare state, as is Danish physical and spatial planning. Secondly, the very way Danish national planning policy emerged, as described by Jensen (1999) and Gaardmand (1993), justifies the conclusion drawn by Jensen (1999:215) that spatial development in Denmark is a result of neo-corporatist planning and policy making.

> A key element in Danish policy-making is the corporatist system of decision-making. Major interest organisations are closely involved in negotiations for the drafting of legislation as well as subsequent implementation. (Andersen 1997a:262)

However, the traditional emphasis in the Danish policy style on consensus-seeking and striving to reach an understanding among those regulated, lost some ground during the 1980s, changing towards a more loosely linked system where interest organisations are lobbying rather than negotiating. (Andersen 1997a:254) At the same time, collaborative

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[40] Svend Auken was previously Minister of Labour (1977-82)

planning (Healey 1997) emerged which may explain Gaardmand's (1993 and 1996) view.

Historical development of the planning system

Before we go on discussing the state of Danish spatial planning, we will have a look into its history and emergence.

> The planning system has been developed for a number of years, changing with changing conditions, but it is rooted in the tradition of understanding the necessity for functional cities and the regulation of land use. (EC 1999b:18)

The first town-planning act was passed in 1925. However, it was not used very much, mainly because of its controversial regulations for economic compensation. (Jensen 1999 and EC 1999b)

In 1938 a new planning act was passed, imposing the duty on the municipal councils to adopt a "town planning by-law" for any built-up areas with more than 1,000 inhabitants. However, in this act planning was limited to urban areas, and as it could not be used for fighting urban sprawl, a new act was passed in 1949 (*byreguleringsloven*). This act was the first national intervention regarding planning across municipal borders. It was followed up with an act on rural areas (*landsbygdloven*) in 1960 and an act on land regulation (*jordloven*) in 1963.

In 1970 the local government reform was carried out, the most comprehensive interference in local self-governance hitherto. (Jørgensen 1985:526) The number of local authorities was reduced by replacing 88 boroughs and 979 rural municipalities with 277 municipalities. At county level the number of county authorities was reduced from 22 to 14. The number of inhabitants in most new municipalities varies between 5,000 and 10,000 and in the county areas between 200,000 and 250,000. Exceptions are Copenhagen, Frederiksberg in the capital region and the island of Bornholm. (Albæk 1996:23-22)

A wave of planning reforms were undertaken between 1970 and 1977. They include the urban and rural zones act (1970), the national and regional planning act (1973), which was the first Danish act on comprehensive national planning, as well as the municipal planning act (1974). These acts, plus a number of other issues, were collected in a single planning act adopted in 1992, which introduced a number of innovations without changing the basic principles of Danish planning. Some issues of the acts from the 1970s are, however, still of interest and relevance, e.g. in the national and regional planning act (1973) it is stated that the regional plans shall, in combination, give expression to a national plan. In addition, national planning interests shall be taken care of

through the approval of regional plans by the Ministry of Environment. The national planning policy shall be presented in annual national planning reports. The planning system builds on the idea of framework control. The main innovations of the 1992 planning act are the introduction of further decentralisation, as well as providing the Ministry of Environment with a possibility to support pilot projects and extending the period between the national planning reports. Planning reports are no longer to be delivered every year, but only after each national election. (Miljø og Energiministeriet 1996) Despite those changes the principal aims of planing remain:

> The objectives of *Lov om Planlægning* (the Planning Act 1992) are to ensure that planning synthesizes the interests of society regarding future spatial structure and land use and contributes to the protection of the country's nature and environment, so that sustainable development of society with respect to people's living conditions is secured. (EC 1999b:17)

In practice, the birth of comprehensive and especially of national planning was a long process. Planning above municipal level started with regional plans for the larger Copenhagen area and developed from this to national planning.

First steps towards comprehensive planning: Regional planning and the Copenhagen Region

The first time an overall planning perspective was formulated in Denmark was in the so-called traffic-report which was published as preparatory work for a regional plan for Copenhagen in 1926. (Christoffersen and Topsøe-Jensen 1979:244) Two years later, in 1928, the Danish Town Planning Institute (*dansk byplanlaboratorium*) initiated the first regional planning committee, although it lacked any formal authority, and in 1936 this committee proposed a plan for future green areas in the Copenhagen region. (Gaardmand 1993:35) It was recommended that the new park system in the central municipality should be extended to embrace a regional park and path system. This plan provided a basis for an important move towards active nature conservation policies in the region in the years to come, and many of the paths for walking and cycling were laid out during the Second World War as part of a policy to remedy unemployment.

Finally, the development culminated in the first Danish regional planning project, which became famous as the "Finger Plan" (*fingerplanen*) for Copenhagen, presented in 1947. This plan was not the result of political discussion or inspiration. In a more technocratic approach specialists, both architects and civil engineers, mainly from the

Copenhagen city administration, took the initiative for this plan and carried the planning process out. It was the first attempt to combine traffic planning and distribution of industry and living areas.

Because the "Finger Plan" took, for the first time, a broader approach than classical urban planning, it became a historically important document which set standards for both voluntary regional planning, carried out by large municipalities, and for the law on regional and national planning. (Christoffersen and Topsøe-Jensen 1979:246) The "Finger-Plan" for Copenhagen was far ahead of its time with regard to a number of issues, e.g. it introduced thoughts about the capital's development as part of nation-wide planning, an idea which, however, was rejected. (Jensen 1999:135)

Birth of Danish national planning and national planning policy
The term for national planning *landsplanlægning* was introduced into the Danish language after World War II. However, it only became political reality in the 1950s. (Schmidt 1998a:8) It had already from its inception clearly been an appeal for politicising and vision-shaping actors; and it has been viewed with less enthusiasm by political realists and economic actors. (Jensen 1999:210)

Out-migration from rural areas, declining level of public service and unemployment were in the 1950 consequences of changes in the industrial structure (*erhvervsstruktur*) and led to declining living conditions for a large part of the Danish population. Consciousness of this problem reached political processes as protest against this development and the concept of an "unbalanced Denmark" (*et skævt Danmark*) came-up. (Christoffersen and Topsøe-Jensen 1979:251) Development proceeded rapidly in those years, and to the demands for "endogenous" development and regional planning (*egnsudvekling*) from the late 1950s, a new one, national planning, was soon added. The debate on "unbalanced Denmark" entailed insight into problems caused by enormous economic growth in a number of regions and stagnation in other regions. During this debate Erik Kaufmann published in 1959 an article on a growth plan for Denmark in the form of a national planning hypothesis. He recommended that a national plan should opt for a number of "star towns" (*stjernebyer*), equally distributed over the country. The idea of "urban star systems" became rather influential, and was included in the first national planning report prepared by the Ministry of Environment in 1975; in addition, it became a major pillar of the first regional plans. (Illeris 1998:15) The "urban star system" and the subsequent "large H" (cf. figure) became basic metaphors for ideas about the Danish urban pattern. (Jensen 1999:143)

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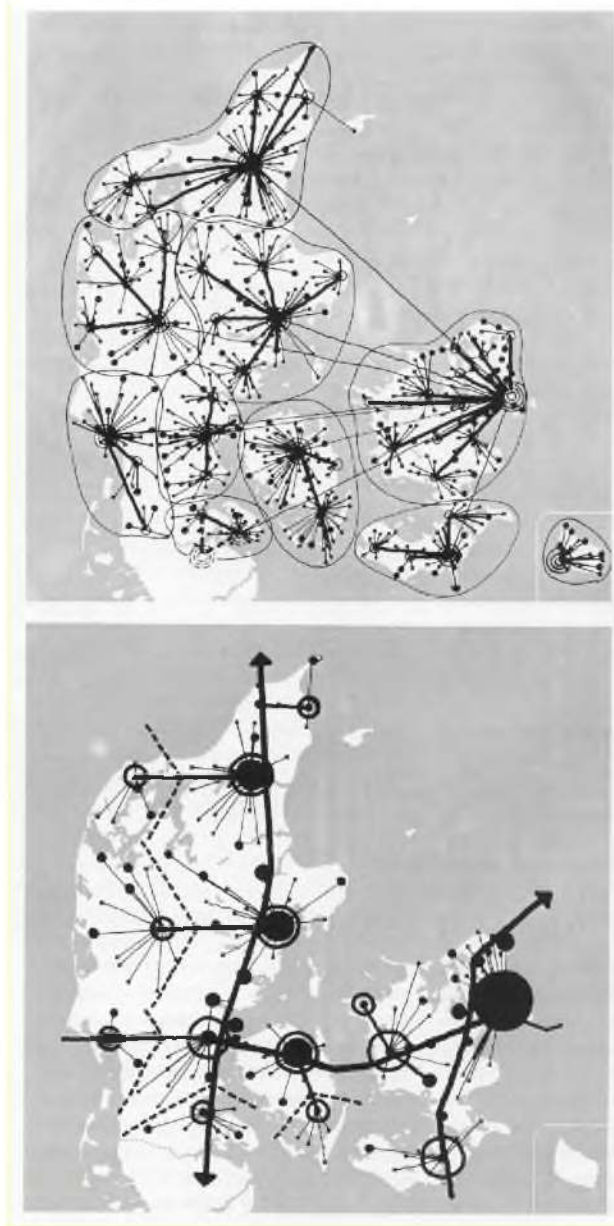
Map 5: The "Urban Star System" and "Large H" of Danish Planning
(Source: Gaardmand 1993:79)

Around the same time as Kaufmann presented his vision of a growth-plan for Denmark, 1959/1960, discussion began about national planning. This discussion took place mainly in and around the Ministry for Housing, probably very much influenced by similar discussions within the Danish Town Planning Laboratory. In 1960, the idea of establishing a national planning committee emerged, and was supported by Prime Minister Viggo Kampmann[41]. In December 1960, a representative of the Ministry for Traffic, the Ministry for Housing, the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Trade and Industry etc. and a number of independent experts, town planners and economists interested in national planning, presented a concrete proposal for a committee on national planning. The government established the Committee on National Planning (*Landsplanudvalget*) on 8 June 1961, to focus on guidelines for localisation of investments of importance for the future urban pattern. A secretariat, the so-called LPLUS, was established with about 30 employees from various disciplines and Erik Kaufmann as its head (1960-64). Already in 1962, a first proposal was presented, the "zoning plan for Denmark" (*Zoneplan for Danmark*), which was later followed up by a more detailed elaboration of the "urban star system" and the "large H". (Schmidt 1998a, Illeris 1998, Jensen 1999, Gaardmand 1993)

At the same time, a committee of the Danish Town Planning Institute and the Jutland Town Planning Council was also working on the question of national planning. In a document issued in 1961, the committee stated that the term national planning was in the mid-1950s still a utopian term, but that exercises in national planning had started already with the establishment of the Ministry of Housing's Committee on town planning issues in 1948. (Jensen 1999:137)

In the 1970s, the idea of national planning became more established. National planning and urban patterns subject to physical planning became both articulated and institutionalised by law and trough professional and political debates. (Jensen 1999:159) Finally, the first national planning report was presented in 1975.

As explained above, the 1970s were marked by a number of changes in Danish planning, including developments in national planning and LPLUS. In 1973 LPLUS and the committee on town planning issues (*byplansager*), which originally were under the Ministry of Housing,

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[41] V. Kampmann was Prime Minister 1960-1962, after having been Minister of Finance in 1950 and between 1953-1960. So his engagement with planning goes back partly to his time as Minister of Finance and partly to his time as Prime Minister. Another Danish PM who later supported the idea of national planning was J.O. Krag. He was PM between 1962 and 1968 and once again 1971-1972.

came under the auspices of the new Ministry of Environment[42]. In 1975 they merged with the newly established National Agency for Physical Planning (*Planstyrelse*), also under the Ministry of Environment. (Jensen 1999:145) In connection with the new planning act of 1992, the National Agency for Physical Planning was set up and the Spatial Planning Department (*landsplanafdeling*) under the Ministry of Environment was established in 1993.[43] This step meant not only a break with tradition, but also that physical planning was placed under stronger political control, in a ministerial department which functions as the Minister's secretariat for planning issues. (Gaardmand 1993:289)

The legal and institutional developments described above are certainly interrelated with different epochs or specific ideas of national planning; each national planning report is a product of its time. As Jensen (1999:210-216 and 2000:92) illustrates, the character of national planning has changed tremendously during the last 40 years. He identifies four "seasons":

- Control of economic growth (1959-71)
- Management of the crises (1972-81)
- Decentralisation / modernisation (1982-88)
- Internationalisation / creating of a distinct image (1989-?)

However, the seasons are not only characterised by contemporary issues and political attitudes, Jensen (1999) has illustrated a number of shifts with respect to language and presentation. Here three main phases are visible. Between 1975 and 1984 the national planning documents are marked by a factual/objective and plain/sober tone. Between 1984 and 1990, they tend to experiment more with illustrations, visions and appeals. Finally, since 1992, national planning works extensively with illustrations, info-graphics, associations, metaphors and ambiguous advertising formulations and marketing visions. Jensen concludes that national planning has changed from co-ordinating and comprehensive planning (ambitions) to more diffuse vision creation. It is said that there is a change from expert-oriented and rational planning towards colourful and dramatic rhetoric marked by ideological and vision-oriented national plans. (Jensen 2000:92) Although it is debatable whether national planning reports became more ideological in the 1990s or just shifted ideology, Jensen's findings that there is a trend shift in planning from

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[42] The ministry changed in 1973 its name from Ministry of Pollution Control to Ministry of Environment and in 1994 to Ministry of Environment and Energy.

[43] According to Gaadmand (1993:289) there were a number of voices that interpreted the elimination/resignation of the Agency for Physical Planning as single of breaking off comprehensive and coherent physical planning.

social and welfare orientation towards a more strategic and economic profile (Jensen 2000:92) are irrefutable.

From physical welfare planning to spatial planning for competitiveness

Globalisation and further progress towards European integration led to changes in Danish spatial planning in the 1980s and 1990s:

> [...] Denmark witnessed a remarkable turn-around from the situation in the 1960s and the 1970s when spatial planning was institutionalised, so to speak, as the spatial expression of the welfare state. [...] Planning strategies now addressed the new socio-spatial context of increased urban competition, and looked towards the European Union and its emerging spatial visions. (Jensen and Jørgensen 2000:34)

As illustrated above, traditionally, Danish planning is both focused on physical planning and strongly influenced by the welfare-state ideology.

> In the 1980s national spatial planning discourse was influence by the neo-liberal climate that swept across most of the West. The Keynesian welfare policy was challenged under the slogans of de-centralization and modernization. (Jensen and Jørgensen 2000:34)

The new planning act of 1992 marks, according to Jensen and Jørgensen, a change towards the approach of a "competition oriented global capitalism" (Jensen 1999:181).[44] The shift in legislation is, however, in line with more general recent developments. Global, European, national and regional competitiveness begin to appear more and more often in various planning documents, e.g. there is the rising number and importance of rankings and studies on competitive advantages of cities and city regions, which are used and prepared in the sphere of strategic spatial planning. (Jensen-Butler and Weesep 1997 and Newman and Thornley 1996) In Denmark the development did not actually begin with the 1992 planning act; even the national planning report of 1989 articulated neo-liberal critiques of planning and the goal of a balanced spatial development was associated with the welfare state. (Jensen and Jørgensen 2000:34)

At the same time as we witness a stronger economic orientation of planning, which in the case of Denmark even influenced planning legislation, environmental issues increasingly become an acknowledged

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[44] The main argument for the ideological shift in Danish planning legislation is seen in the changed formulation of the aims for spatial development mentioned in the first article the focus is "appropriate" (hensigtmæssig) instead of equal or balanced (ligelig) spatial development (Jensen 1999:180 and Jensen-Jørgensen 2000:35).

aspect of planning. Even when the comprehensive system of national, regional and local planning was introduced in the planning act in the 1970s, one of its main purposes was to enable better cross-sectoral policy co-ordination. Environmental protection was among the issues incorporated in the planning system. (Andersen 1997a:262) Regarding the integration of environmental issues, Jensen (1999) points out that environmental tasks became during the 1990s an issue of growing importance in planning. This development illustrated the basic differences of the ideological goals of equality and competition, namely the relation between economic growth and environmental management. He concludes that the ideals of the Brundtland report (WCED 1987) were incorporated in the discourse accordingly, although based on the idea of qualitative growth. (Jensen 1999:207)

Taken together, the integration of economic and environmental issues into planning documents marks a shift from classical physical planning towards spatial planning. At the same time, globalisation of capital and the new international division of labour created in the 1980s and 1990s a context in which national planning was affected to an increasing extent by trans- and supranational phenomena. (Jensen and Jørgensen 2000:34)

> A recent trend is the strengthening of the international dimension of national planning. Since the beginning of the 1990s, more attention has been directed towards analysing international development trends with the spatial impact on the territorial development of Denmark. (EC 1999b:28)

Denmark is prepared for more polycentric and market-oriented spatial planning within a larger European context. (Jensen 1996:14) So, accompanied by the ideological shift away from classical welfare ideas, two different major trends can be identified: firstly, a stronger cross-sectoral approach to planning and, secondly, a wider geographical scope in national planning policies. These will be discussed more in detail in the following two sections.

The European perspective in Danish planning

There has been a European or international perspective to Danish planning, more or less from the very beginning. Already under Kaufmann Denmark's location in Europe was an issue. Maps about the European urban pattern and Denmark as a loop between South and North Europe were elaborated at the beginning of the 1960s. (Andersen and Kaufmann 1988:16-19)

However, with the national planning reports of the 1990s, the concepts of urban patterns and national planning were clearly transformed from a mainly national to a combined national and European perspective. (Jensen 1999:207) As early as the 1989 national planning report the international orientation can be seen. It emphasises that development opportunities in Denmark's regions need to be used optimally for strengthening Denmark's international role. (Miljøministeriet 1989:5) This approach to international spatial positioning is further developed in the national planning reports 1992, 1997 and 2000. According to Jensen and Jørgensen (2000:35), the change towards the trans-national and international level can be explained partly by the growing impact of the Single European Market in the European Community and partly by the further intensification of global socio-spatial changes, as well as by the ideological change in Danish planning at the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s.

During the 1990s Denmark's international planning involvement took place mainly in three different arenas, namely, in Baltic Sea Co-operation, through the ESDP process and the North Sea Co-operation. Certainly, not all three were considered equally important. The North Sea Co-operation entered the arena rather late, as it was initiated by Interreg IIC.[45] VASAB was first out and is widely seen as the inspiration not only for later trans-national spatial visions under Interreg IIC, but also for the ESDP.

VASAB and ESDP setting up a hegemonic project

Generally speaking, there are numerous similarities between VASAB and ESDP. In the ESDP document the VASAB 2010 report, Strategies and Visions around the Baltic Sea, is referred to as good practice for trans-national spatial visions in Europe (1999a:79). The VASAB co-operation started in 1992. (Mehlbye 1995:6) In the same year the elaboration of a European spatial vision was proposed to the Committee on Spatial Development (CSD), and one year later, in 1993, the Committee decided at its meeting in Liége to elaborate a spatial vision for the territory of the European Union. Both processes employed a Committee on Spatial Development, in both cases called CSD, on an intergovernmental base and with high-level political backing. Both visions have been given the

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[45] Being elaborated between 1998 and 2000, NorVision took on board many of the aspects put forward in the discourse initiated through the VASAB and ESDP work. It implemented ca 54 of the ESDP policy options and in contrast to VASAB the regional level took part in the elaboration and as such NorVision is both top-down and bottom-up. It was presented at the North Sea Commission's annual meeting in Bering in 2000. An adopted resolution recommends all countries to take note and to implement the recommendations put forward in the NorVision document.

blessing of the respective ministers responsible for spatial planning. However, VASAB 2010 proceeded a bit faster and received its endorsement as early as 1994, while the ESDP document was finally approved in 1999. The topics discussed in the two reports are also rather similar, and reflect mutual influences during the preparation processes, as illustrated later on. Indeed, as a number of people were involved in the preparation of both documents and because of time overlaps, it was possible to establish a discourse on this issues embedded in a hegemonic position, which firstly was characterised by VASAB and then clearly marked by the ESDP.

For the Danes both projects are of importance and are taken well into account in various national planning reports. As the Danes tried to play an active role in both processes, although possibly more visibly in the Baltic Sea efforts than in the ESDP, a few words are in order on how Denmark took part in the VASAB and the ESDP process. In the VASAB process Denmark was one of the driving forces and VASAB is generally viewed as a forerunner or testing ground for the ESDP. As far as the ESDP process is concerned, Denmark, together with France, Germany and the Netherlands, proposed the preparation of a spatial vision for Europe at the 4th informal meeting of EU ministers responsible for spatial planning in Lisbon, 1992. (Faludi and Waterhout 2002) One year later, Denmark hosted the EU Presidency and had therewith a unique opportunity to take a more pro-active role in the ESDP process. However, no ministerial meeting on spatial planning was organised during the Danish presidency, for a number of reasons. Firstly, during the beginning of the presidency there were national elections which led to a change of government. Although the new Minister for Environment and Energy, Svend Auken, was in favour of European co-operation, there was no chance to change the agenda of the presidency already in progress. Secondly, 1993 was a busy year concerning the VASAB co-operation, as this report was to be finalized in 1994. That meant a lot of the capacity of the spatial planning department was occupied with the Baltic Sea co-operation and not much more could be done by the Danes except to chair a number of CSD meeting and introduce a paper stressing environmental aspects. This paper contributed, for instance, to the image of the environmentally conscious Nordic countries in the ESDP process. (Rusca 1998) So, although having a great opportunity one might say that Denmark took a very pragmatic decision to give priority to the finalisation of the VASAB 2010 document.

Although tracing Danish influences on European planning co-operation is rather difficult, European influences on Danish planning can

easily be illustrated e.g. by analysing national planning reports. The following discussion of the three national planning reports for 1992, 1997 and 2000 shows how the trans-national dimension entered Danish planning.

Denmark heading towards the year 2018

Simultaneous to the kick-off of the VASAB 2010 and ESDP co-operation, Denmark published a national planning report with a clearly European focus. The story goes that the idea for this Danish national planning report was born in The Hague (the Netherlands), after a meeting with participation of both the Dutch and Danish ministers for spatial planning and influenced by the Fourth Dutch National Planning Report. Actually, in its overview of the rationale behind Danish national planning, the report refers to strategic physical planning being on the agenda in the Netherlands, France, the UK and the German *Länder*. (Miljøministieriet 1992a:7)

The national planning report 1992, *Denmark heading towards year 2018* (*Denmark på vej mod år 2018*), is the final starting signal for the trans-national or European orientation of Danish national planning. (Jensen 2000:91) This is already indicated by the title of a number of chapters, e.g. "Denmark in Europe, today" and the vision "Denmark in Europe 2018". Furthermore, the report has a sub-chapter on why a European orientation is needed. Here, references are made to both the *Europe 2000* report and the decision to begin European co-operation and exchange of information by the Committee on Spatial Development. The Baltic Sea Region is also mentioned here, as an area which will develop as an important part of Europe. It is also stated that Danes have to get used to the idea that the development of the Baltic Sea Region will mean that a metropolis such as St Petersburg will be as close to Denmark as Paris is. (Miljøministeriet 1992a:6-7) In the rationale it is furthermore argued that Denmark needs to take a position on Europe's future orientation in order to be able to work for the Danish interests. (Miljøministeriet 1992b:5)

Consequently, this report is not only the first to have a clear-cut European profile, but also the first Danish national planning report to be internationally acknowledged as marketing Denmark in the European context. (Newman and Thornley 1996:64) An indication for the international acknowledgement and Danish pride in this report can be seen from the fact that the head of the department for national spatial planning, Niels Østergård, introduced the ESDP work in 1993 under the title "European 2018" in an information leaflet for Danish Planners. He discusses the CSD decision, taken in Liége (1993), to intensify European

co-operation on spatial planning by developing a common development perspective. Furthermore, he explains that Denmark, the Netherlands, France and Germany already have such development perspectives and that the countries around the Baltic Sea are already working on a comparable/corresponding development perspective. (Østergård 1993:2) Despite the title, which makes it sound like the Danish report is to be exported, Østergård does not mention Denmark's role in the process, e.g. that Denmark together with the Netherlands, France and Germany asked for a European spatial vision at the forth CSD meeting in Lisbon. (Faludi and Waterhout 2002)

Denmark and European Spatial Planning Policy

Both VASAB 2010 and ESDP had developed considerably further when the next national planning report, *Denmark and European Spatial Planning Policy* (*Danmark og europæisk planpolitik*) was presented in March 1997. This time the very title highlights the European dimension of this planning report. The image or metaphor for Denmark, "a green room in the European house", presented in this report underlines the ambition of international spatial positioning, as well as the aim of making this document a central Danish document for further European co-operation. The report makes also extensive references to the ESDP process (Miljø- og Energiministeriet 1997). The goals for spatial development of this Danish report mirror exactly the policy guidelines of the ESDP document that would be presented in the first official draft of the ESDP document three months later, in June 1997, in Noordwijk. Indeed, it was with some pride that the Danish representatives presented and distributed an English version of their national planning report at the informal ministerial meeting in Noorddijk.

Despite the focus on the ESDP document and integration of the ESDP aims into the Danish aims, another source of inspiration for this Danish report cannot be overlooked. The wording and the structure of the 1997 planning report are identical with those of the VASAB 2010 document. As already indicated above the personnel working on the VASAB and the ESDP overlapped. These people were in any case representatives of the national planning level and thus also in contact with national planning. Because of time overlaps in the preparation of VASB 2010, the ESDP document and the Danish national planning report, the question of which influenced which is a chicken-and-egg problem. It illustrates once again the common discourse and the phase of creating a hegemonic project.

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VASAB 2010 (adopted in 1994)	Danish National Planning Report, March 1997	ESDP policy guidelines (presented in the Noordwijk document in June 1997)
Pearls (system of cites and urban settlements)	Points (balances urban pattern)	A more balanced system of cities and a new urban-rural relationship
Strings (inter-linking infrastructure)	Lines (environmentally friendly accessibility)	More parity of access to infrastructure and knowledge
Patches (selected types of non-urban areas of distinct qualities)	Expanses/patches (Natural and cultural heritage through comprehensive landscape planning)	Prudent management and development of Europe's natural and cultural heritage
The system (planning institutions, rules and procedures promoting the pearls, strings and patches)	National Planning Policy	

Figure 4: Danish Planning in the Light of VASAB and ESDP (own presentation)

In general, the 1997 national planning report reflects the fact that Denmark is active in a number of trans-national planning projects, e.g. around the North Sea, Skagerrak, Kattegat and Øresund. The main projects are the Baltic Sea Co-operation and the ESDP process, each of which to a certain extent compete with the other as regards shaping the hegemonic project.

Regarding the Baltic Sea Co-operation the report underlines that Denmark will actively participate in carrying out activities decided upon in the VASAB Action Programme "From Vision to Action", adopted at the fourth conference of ministers responsible for spatial planning and development in Stockholm 1996. Both here, as well as in the VASAB 2010 Plus process and in Interreg IIC, Denmark has been active.

The 1997 national planning report underlines statements in an article on the Baltic Sea Co-operation in a communication to Danish Planners in 1995: It is necessary not only to think nationally, but also to put national planning in a European context. (Mehlbye 1995:6) The author of this article, Peter Mehlbye, was deeply involved in preparing the 1997 national planning report and afterwards became a national

expert with the EU Commission (1997-2000) where he was in charge of ESDP tasks at DG Regio. One may speculate whether the spatial planning symbols and icons to be found in the 1997 Danish report went more or less unconsciously with him and so gave birth to the policy icons of the final ESDP document. Apart from this personal link, the Danish members of the CSD repeatedly emphasised the necessity of maps and illustrations. Maps were, however, politically highly sensitive and in the end the CSD agreed on using icons or vignettes, similar to the Danish national planning report of 1997.

Local identity and new challenges
Whatever the origin of the ESDP policy icons, they found their way into the 2000 Danish national planning report, Local identity and new challenges (*Lokal identitet og nye udfordringer*). A first glance at the report gives the impression that its main focus is on reconciling physical planning and regional economic development. Not only are the major features regional development, local competitiveness and co-operation on business development, but it also states clear aims to make a contribution to a constructive dialogue on regional policy, namely on regional development and physical planning (Miljø- og Energiministeriet 2000d:5). All this does not come as a surprise; this planning report is labelled as:

> Denmark's vision of how environmental, economic and sociocultural factors can be better coordinated within a specific national and local geographical context with optimum interaction between various private and public actors. (Miljø- og Energiministeriet 2000:back cover)

In this national planning report the European dimension seems to be almost forgotten. A deeper look reveals, however, that the European dimension built up in the foregoing two national planning reports (1992 and 1997) has anything but disappeared. "Balanced development throughout Denmark" is the main feature running through this report, which at least mirrors the ESDP aim of balanced spatial development. In the case of Denmark "balanced spatial development" also comprises the designation of two new national centres, namely the Trekant Region and Mid-West Centre, which are given prominence in the Danish urban-system hierarchy. The two new national centres are a contribution towards a more polycentric urban system and a strengthening of the national centres to counterbalance the all-too-dominant capital region, the Øresund region, the only global player in the Danish urban system. In a similar way e.g. the concepts of rural urban relationships, endogenous

development or accessibility are integrated into the report, with more or less reference to the ESDP. This report thus does not copy ESDP features, as was done in the previous report, but to a certain extent a number of ESDP issues are applied and translated into a Danish context. Another aspect put forward by Gertrud Jørgensen at a conference on Nordic planning in a European perspective in Stockholm[46], was that Danish national planning reports do not actually replace each other but rather function in the form of layers. She concluded that after two European layers, the need for a layer focusing on genuine Danish conditions was felt. Indeed, the objective of the 2000 report was to go one step deeper into matter in order to see what selected policy option mean when implemented more concretely at national or regional level.

The orientation of this report toward regional policy may also represent increased influence gained by Danish regional policy, or it may be just another indication of the shifts of planning-ideology identified by Jensen (1999 and 2000 as well as Jensen and Jørgensen 2000). It is, however, related to the co-operation with the Ministry of Trade and Industry.

At local and regional levels the ESDP was acknowledged at an early stage. In December 1997, only a couple of months after the Noordwijk ESDP draft, the municipal plan for Copenhagen 1997 was presented. It contains a separate chapter on developments in Europe, where with reference to the ESDP the urban system, accessibility and natural and cultural heritage in Europe are described as contexts for planning in Copenhagen. This chapter is illustrated with maps presented early on during the ESDP process.

Between planning, environmental and regional policy

> I believe that increasing the co-ordination of regional policy and spatial panning is the way forward in Denmark and for Europe as a whole, to find creative and improved solutions to challenges of the future in regional and local planning. (Miljø- og Energiministeriet 2000e:5)

These are the concluding words of Svend Auken, then Danish Minister for Environment and Energy, in the preface to the English version of the national planning report 2000.

During the last decades in most sectors we can witness an increasing concern for broader cross-sectoral approaches. This tendency

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[46] Gertrud Jørgensen from the Danish Forest and Landscape Research Institute and gave a presentation on *Danish National Spatial Planning: Shifts to a Spatial Policy of Difference* at the conference *Nordic Planning Meets Europe*, held in Stockholm, 21 August 2000.

leads both to a growing convergence of sectors such as physical planning, environmental protection and regional policy, and to an increasing awareness of spatial planning as comprised of elements from all these three sectors.

The following discussion highlights a number of endencies regarding the mutual incorporation of physical planning and regional policy on the one hand physical planning and environmental protection on the other.

Regional policy and national planning

Regional policy in Denmark is a rather difficult issue, as all central government incentive schemes were terminated in the budget negotiations in 1989.[47] Since that time the main components of spatial economic policy have been regional and local initiatives supplemented by EU Structural Funds (Halkier 2000:221), and regional policy was subsumed under the larger heading of business support measures. (Aalbu et al. 1999:26) This picture reflects the still valid high degree of decentralisation in Denmark, but the central government made a new entry in spatial economic policies in 1999. Previously the Ministry of Trade and Industry was solely responsible for regional policy, focusing mainly on business policy, but the Ministry of the Interior made its entrance and presented in the years 2000 and 2001 national regional policy reports (Indenrigsministeriet 2000 and 2001).

In the conclusions of the national regional policy report 2001, knowledge and co-ordination are emphasised as key elements of regional policy. According to the government's understanding numerous sector policies will often accord well with the goals of regional balance and development, although there will be conflicting interests which have to be weighed carefully and co-ordination with regional considerations needs to be taken into account within the individual sectors.

At the same time as the Ministry of the Interior is entering the field of regional policy, the Ministry of Trade and Industry has an interest in the field of national spatial planning, especially because of its

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[47] "Several factor underlie this decisions: unemployment in Copenhagen increased to the same level as the national average; general budgetary problems created a strain on public expenditure; and 'market-based' solutions were generally favoured. The political case of preferential treatment for peripheral regions through highly visible forms of financial support was undermined and regional policy was subsumed under the larger heading of business support measures. Developing the competitiveness of Danish firms became the primary objective of central government policy, implying promotion of growth in both the stronger and weaker regions of the country.
There is still a budget for regional polices with funding for measures directed towards the weakest parts of the country and co-funding from EU Structural Funds and a zone for business aid is defined, but there are no permanent geographically differentiated support schemes for business." (Aalbu et al 1999:25-26)

involvement in various EU programmes, e.g. representatives of the ministry took an active part in the programming of the Interreg IIIB programme for the Baltic Sea Region. Here the Danish national delegation to the trans-national steering committee consisted of representatives of the Ministry of Environment and Energy, the Ministry of Trade and Industry and the regional level. Furthermore, Jensen (1999:208) points out that that the Ministry of Trade and Industry represented Denmark in the first European meetings concerning European Spatial Planning Co-operation, which led to the ESDP document.

Interrelations between regional or business policy and physical or spatial planning have existed in Denmark ever since. The development of national physical planning in Denmark was interestingly enough an offshoot of regional policy questions. As illustrated above, the debate on an unequal, unbalanced Denmark *(et skævt Danmark)* was the kick-off for national physical planning in the 1950s. Even today, a strong orientation towards regional economic polices can also be found in the 2000 national planning report which is focusing on the interaction between spatial planning and business development, as well as transport and the environment. There it states:

> Spatial planning that considers the regional business structure can help to create economically robust regions that are environmentally sustainable. Closer interaction between business development and spatial planning can both strengthen strategies for business development and ensure that spatial planning is more dynamic and oriented towards the future. (Miljø- og Energiministeriet 2000e:6)

Regarding the relationship between national planning and EU Structural Funds, as early as 1989 the national planning report refers to them as a pre-condition for the expected positive effects of the Single European Market. (Miljøministeriet 1989:38) Understandably enough, the Structural Funds have repeatedly made their entrance in various national planning reports. Jensen (1999:212) concludes that national planning, because of its internationalisation, also focuses on topics of relevance for EU institutions and EU financial instruments.

As already mentioned, spatial economic or regional policy is rather weak in Denmark, but both actors within regional policy and spatial economic policy have a more or less explicit involvement in the planning sector and the planning sector is increasingly underlining its interest in the spatial economic development. Perhaps one could suggest, with only slight exaggeration, that the strategic thinking of economic spatial policy

shifted from regional policy to spatial planning in the beginning of the 1990s – from a policy sector equipped with financial means to a policy sector based on visions and persuasion?

Environmental protection and national planning
Both national planning and environmental protection policies lie with the Ministry of Environment and Energy. Although they lie within different departments of the ministry, a certain minimum of mutual influence can hardly be denied.

Regarding the integration of environmental issues in national planning policies, Jensen (1999) points out that during the 1990s environment became more of an issue in planning. Perhaps the clearest example is to be found in the 1997 national planning report, developing the policy image of Denmark as a green room in the European house (Mijlø- og Energiministieriet 1997). However, even in the 1992 national planning report, Denmark is labelled as a clean country in Europe, at the leading edge in environmental issues. This report is actually part of the follow-up of the ministry's report on the environmental situation in Denmark (Mijlø- og Energiministieriet 1992a and 1992b). Both reports illustrate that environmental issues are increasingly becoming an integral part of Denmark's national planning reports. Not only these specific cases, but the planning system in general and also the planning act illustrate an increasing environmental orientation.

> Implementation of environmental priorities is seen as a main, common purpose of the planning system. In fact, the Planning Act, the Nature Protection Act and the Environmental Protection Act have the same common objective of: "... protecting the country's nature and environment so that sustainable development of society with respect to people's living conditions and for the conservation of wild life and vegetation is secured". This means environmental priorities are highly incorporated within the planning system and the system of land-use control. (EC1999b:22)

The environmental sector also casts a watchful eye over developments in other sectors, such as e.g. the planning sector. The Brundtland Report, published by the World Commission on Environment and Development in 1987, was significant in providing an important rationale for policy goals pursued. (Andersen 1997a:268) In the aftermath, policy integration became a topic for environmental policy making in the 1990s. This involved introducing economic instruments into environmental policies, and the Ministries of Energy and Transport were required to draw up plans for sustainable development and CO_2 reduction. (Andersen 1997:a 256-257) The involvement of other ministries illustrates the fact that,

although the Ministry of Environment and Energy is a relatively important ministry, most of the sector policies are in the hands of sector ministries. (Andersen 1997a:258)

Although Danish environmental policy does not primarily focus on spatial planning, integration between both sectors is a fact. Firstly, a wide variety of land-use issues concern both sectors, as e.g. windmills, industry and traffic corridors or environmental protection areas. Secondly, national physical planning focused clearly on environmental issues during the 1990s.

The development of increasingly cross-sectoral approaches in the field of spatial planning and development illustrates how the basic differences of the ideological goals of equality/balance and competition are carried into the planning sector, namely through the relationship between economic growth and environmental management. Jensen (1999:207) concludes that the ideals of the Brundtland report have been incorporated into planning discourse based on the idea of qualitative growth.

Summary and conclusions

This review of the Danish planning system illustrates, on the one hand, the strong position and close links to political electoral processes which planning has in Denmark and, on the other hand, the mutual influences of Danish national and trans-national European spatial planning.

Regarding Denmark's trans-national orientation it should be kept in mind that the Danish reluctance towards EU policy can be explained by a certain scepticism towards supranationalism. This might be one of the reasons why Denmark has, in the 1990s, embarked upon a policy of building a sphere of influence in the Baltic Sea Region and thus may have drawn some attention and resources away from the EU and towards Baltic co-operation.

In general, Denmark is an active planner, active both in the field of planning of its own territory and regarding its involvement in trans-national planning projects. Compared to other Nordic countries, the planning sector has a strong position in the competition between spatial economic or regional policy and spatial or physical planning policy.

A Nordic country bent on planning

Spatial planning in Denmark is embedded in a rich cultural context and shaped. Thus e.g. Denmark's corporatist tradition is closely connected to the development of the welfare state. In a symbiotic way both welfare state ideology and consensus orientation mark Danish planning to such an

extent that today's urban pattern in Denmark can be characterised as a result of corporatist planning and policy making.

The tradition of local self-government leads to a high degree of decentralisation and a finely tuned relationship between strong partners at national, regional and municipal level. The basic idea is to solve tasks at the lowest possible level with decision-making placed as close to the citizen as tasks allow. Regarding spatial planning, this means that national planning only to a limited extent functions in a classical top-down manner. The guiding role of the national level is exercised by a so-called framework control principle which implies that plans at a lower level must not contradict planning decisions at higher level.

In the field of spatial planning, Danish involvement in the Baltic Sea Region is mainly expressed in the high status accorded to the VASAB co-operation by the Ministry of Environment and Energy. It is, however, not valid to infer from this that the ESDP process was not appreciated or desired by Denmark; it was Denmark together with France, Germany and the Netherlands who proposed the preparation of a spatial vision for the EU territory at the meeting of EU ministers responsible for spatial planning in Lisbon 1992. Apart from that Denmark kept a low profile as regards influencing the ESDP debate, but it worked hard on Europeanising Danish planning.

Danish applications – First out in Europe!
As early as 1989 the national planning report got a European touch with its references to EC's regional policy and the recently created Structural Funds. In 1992, the same year as the VASAB and ESDP processes were launched, the Ministry of Environment and Energy presented a national planning report with a clear-cut European profile and ambitions of spatial positioning. The timing of a national planning report with a European focus could hardly have been better for achieving international acknowledgement.

The ambition of spatial positioning actually reached a peak in the next national planning report of 1997, called *Denmark and European Spatial Planning Policy*. This report creates the image or metaphor of "a green room in the European house" for Denmark and thus underlines the aim of making this document a central Danish text for further European co-operation. Although published three months before the first official draft of the ESDP document was presented in Noordwijk, the report mirrors exactly the goals of what was then a still forthcoming ESDP draft.

The national planning report of 2000 presents a rather low ESDP or European profile. However, a number of ESDP features can be

identified as being incorporated in the national aspects. The report actually represents an approach to cross-sectoral thinking and reconciling the ideologies of the development economy, balanced planning and environmental protection advocated in the ESDP document.

From physical planning to cross-sectoral spatial planning
The orientation of planning towards economic spatial development also has to do with the weak position of Danish regional policy, as all government incentive schemes were terminated in the budget negations in 1989. Furthermore, there seems to be no strategic documents giving a comprehensive picture of the spatial economic situation in Denmark with regard to development goals and polices. Only with the regional development policy reports of 2000 and 2001 do such documents begin to emerge. In the meantime, however, national planning reports filled the gap. As a result, the clear-cut, spatial economic development character of the year 2000 national planning report can either be understood as an attempt to defend this situation or it can be seen as welcoming the approach of the Ministry of the Interior and inviting dialogue.

Regarding the relation of physical planning and environmental policy, national planning policy has begun to integrate environmental issues to an increasing extent during the 1990s. There are thus increasing cross-sectoral ambitions working towards a reconciliation of the various sectors into a comprehensive, even holistic, spatial view and with the planning sector clearly the strongest sector and actor.

Planning a room in the European house
Although Denmark is often seen as a hesitant EU Member State, in the field of spatial planning it might rather be called an enthusiastic one – at least in a Nordic context. Denmark both contributes to trans-national planning in the European house and clearly takes messages from the European debate seriously and applies them. The Europeanization of national planning has been effected not the least to use national planning for spatial positioning in Europe, under the key word "a green room in the European house".

These developments are also related to the close interlinkage of planning and politics and the rather strong position of the planning sector in Denmark as compared e.g. to regional policy. It is also a product of a planning system which is used to subsidiarity and a softer application of top-down steering.

Perhaps developments in the field of spatial planning can be understood as a forerunner or as a clear sign of the trend-shift regarding European integration which Pedersen (1996) identified at the beginning

of the 1990s. In that case, although the bridge between Denmark and Germany may never be built, spatial planning and its European approach could serve as an effective bridgehead. Or was it simply the intergovernmental character of the ESDP that made the Danes more than just a hesitant member, and encouraged them instead to be both an active partner and even a European forerunner in applying its policies?

Finland – A Nordic Approach to Spatial Planning

Finland is a young nation state perceiving its membership of the European Union as presenting it with the opportunity of a fresh start. In order to understand why, it is necessary to be aware about Finnish history.

In 1809 Russia seized Finland from Sweden, making it an autonomous grand duchy. Thus the Finns were allowed to manage their economy and to look after education, but only on condition that they were no burden on the Imperial treasury. Finnish civil servants even had direct access to the Emperor.

In 1917 Finland gained its independence. It adopted a democratic constitution, but one that gave the President a strong position, especially in foreign affairs. The situation in Russia, which had been germane to Finland gaining its independence, was threatening, and the fear of intervention suggested a policy of economic self-sufficiency. Responding to the international situation, the dominant economic ideology became economic nationalism with strong elements of agrarian fundamentalism. (Poropudas 1998:43)

The Second World War brought the Finnish dilemma even more sharply into focus, Finland's economic policy after the war was to a large extent responding to pressure from the former Soviet Union. This influence was channelled via the unofficial national progress programme, written by President Kekkonen in 1956. In the face of the threat posed by the Soviet Union, the chief motive was that of creating a national consensus. (Poropudas 1998:44)

The collapse of the Soviet Union had immediate repercussions. Finnish export markets disappeared, sending the economy into a tail spin and pushing unemployment to around 20%. At the same time the end of the Cold War opened the "window of opportunities" (Baldersheim and Ståhlberg 1999:124) for re-establish contacts and markets in the Baltic Countries.

In 1995, after a majority of 57% had voted in favour, Finland became a member of the European Union and subsequently the only Nordic country to join the European Monetary Union. Tiilikainen (1996:130) underlines that the Finnish people have quickly adapted to their new European role and that most concerns regarding membership have disappeared form the political debate. In general, and especially as concerns international relations, Finland has been through a learning process, where new concepts and political thinking entered into domestic politics.

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Finnish characteristics

Finland is, with its 5.2 million inhabitants and 338,145 km^2, a sparsely populated country, with an average population density of 16 inhabitants per km^2. One-quarter of the country is north of the Arctic Circle, about 10 per cent of the total area consists of inland waters, with nearly 190,000 lakes, and about 76 per cent of the land area is covered by forests and woodland.

Indeed, Finland is said to be a country of evergreen forests. Forests have been Finland's most important natural resource for centuries. Pulp, paper and wood product industries represent over one-third of Finland's exports during the last decades. Only 8 per cent of the land area is used for agriculture.

Finland is also a country with thousands of lakes. Lakes and rivers have played an important role in the development of Finnish society. The largest urban centres and industrial settlement have grown up at river mouths, by the side of rapids and hydropower plants or close to waterways. In 1550, permanent settlements did not exist beyond the central Ostrobothnian coast and the southern part of the inland Lake District, and as late as the end of the 16th century, there were only 8 towns in Finland. The oldest town in Finland is Turku, dating from 1309.

Urbanisation, as measured by the proportion of population living in urban settlements started considerably late. Finland was a country of forests and farms with less than 10 per cent of the population residing in towns and commercial municipalities until the 1880s, when industrialisation began, which would continue until at least the 1950s. The manufacturing industry, however, never gained a dominant position in Finland's employment statistics, but there was a direct shift from agriculture's dominance to that of services. (Poropudas 1998:27)

Anyway, the regional distribution of the population has changed dramatically since World War II. In 1940 about half the population still lived in rural areas. The structural change in the Finnish economy and the increase in urbanisation of the 1950s and 1960s were rapid but late by European standard. The urbanisation trend has slowed considerably from the peak years of the 1960s. Today some 81 per cent of Finns are urban dwellers. It is noticeable that all of the 20th century was marked by growing concentration of population in the centres in southern and southwestern Finland, thus moving power of population distribution towards south. (Schulman and Kanninen 2000) The population is currently heavily concentrated in the south and southwest, 25 per cent of the population live in the county Uusimaa surrounding the metropolitan area of Helsinki, where population density is 131 inhabitants per km^2.
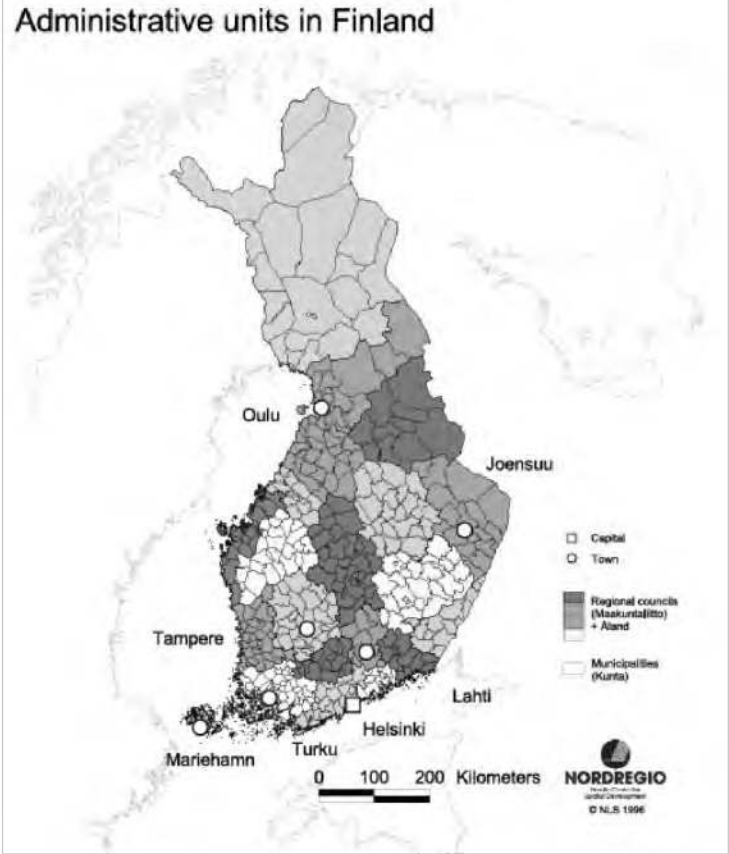
Map 6: Administrative Units in Finland

The Helsinki metropolitan area is home to roughly one-sixth of the country's total population: Helsinki has 555,000 inhabitants, Espoo, 213,000 and Vantaa 178,000. Other important cities are Tampere (pop. 195,000), Turku (pop. 177,000), and in the north Oulu, with 120,000 inhabitants.

Anyway, settlement patterns in Finland have a cultural dimension, too. Finland has been, since gaining independence in 1919, a parliamentary republic with two official languages: Finnish and Swedish. The Swedish-speaking minority constitutes about 6 per cent of the population, and lives mainly along the south and west coasts and on the Åland island. The Sami language is spoken by the 6,500 native people (Sami) in northernmost Finland, where it is an official language.

Nordic similarities strengthen the view that environmental and climatic conditions have had a decisive influence on the historical formation of the various national characteristics. In Finland, traditional cultural views towards nature are still very much alive. The emergence of national Finnish art and independence contributed very much to creating the national-romantic view of Finnish nature at the end of the 19th century, and vice versa. During the 20th century, the national romantic view has developed towards a "we live off the forest" ideology, based on the major role of the forests and the utilisation of forest resources in the Finnish economy and the influence of this sector on the country's politics. (Sairinen 2000)

The traditional views on Finnishness and its relationship with nature are nowadays in contrast to a more modern orientation on Finnish virtues. The Finns have been very eager to adopt modern lifestyles and technologies and to prioritise material and social welfare. This can make it somewhat difficult to define what Finnish culture stands for today:

> [It is] an appeal to the past of the Kalevala mythology, of the sauna, 'sisu' and Sibelius, or the assertion of Finland as modern, democratic, high-tech welfare state, the 'Japan of the North'? (Koivisto 1992:58)[48]

Another dimension of Finnish culture/tradition is a weak distinction between individualism and collectivism, which are not seen as mutually exclusive:

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[48] Kalevala, the Finnish national epic, is a collection of folk poetry. This poetic song tradition, sung in an unusual, archaic trochaic tetrametre, had been part of the oral tradition among speakers of Balto-Finnic languages for two thousand years. In 1835, when the Kalevala appeared in print for the first time, Finland still had not reached independency. The Kalevala marked an important turning-point for Finnish-language culture because it bolstered the Finns' self-confidence and faith in the possibilities of a Finnish language and culture.

> The Finns do not ideologically contrast the state with individual responsibility, instead they believe that they complement each other. There is a widespread support for common responsibility. This attitude is probably intensified by the welfare state ideology that has deep roots in Finnish politics. (Sairinen 2000:101)

This aspect of Finnishness has to been seen in connection with the discussion on consensus-orientation and corporatism which became a fundamental element in Finnish policy-making after World War II. This forms the backdrop to the analysis of Finnish planning.

Ideas of governance and footprints of nation-building

Finnish spatial planning and development policy becomes more understandable when viewed in its context of traditions of administration and decision-making. Therefore, this sections will discuss some overall trends in these fields before we turn to recent developments in Finish planning. Special emphasis is given to aspects of central state administration and traditions of policy- and decision-making.

Central state administration

During the Russian period and throughout the first four decades of national independence, the administrative style of the Finnish state was based on the "ideology of rule of law" (Sairinen 2000:92). Since the 1960s, the ideology of the welfare state began to gain ascendancy as the prevalent administrative ideology in Finland. The role of public administration was gradually redirected from the restriction and control of rights to the distribution of benefits and services. Planning, development, information policy and research became gradually as important as legal regulation.

Planning became the main trend of public governing in the 1970s. However, it was for a long time primarily considered as a tool of administration and control; only as late as in the 1980s has planning gradually incorporated interaction between different actors, participation of citizens and impact assessment.

Following the economic crises of the welfare state ideology, a new dominating ideology of administration developed in the 1990s: managerialism. Generally speaking, it aims at the implementation of policy targets by optimal efficiency. An important concept here is profit responsibility. Managerialism has signified a triumph of rationality. The central questions of public governing became the reformation of management principles, partnership and client ideology regarding the relationship between the business sector and civil society, deregulation and the use of new, flexible policy instruments. In this respect,

managerialism can also be seen as a background factor of the regulatory reforms in spatial planning and development. (Sairinen 2000:93) According to Sairinen (2000) this shift from legalism to managerialism was accompanied by changes in the make-up of the profession. Whereas in the first decades after the Russian period legal experts, often jurists, were the main actors in the administration, administrative discourse seems to consider specialists with broad general education as ideal candidates today.

The importance of Finland's sovereignty can also be viewed in the administrative structure: In Finland, there is a bi-polar administrative structure characterised by a nation-building process combined with considerable local autonomy of municipalities. (Virkkala 1998) Nation and state are bound together by security concerns, a situation which has produced a strong national identity merging civil society and state.

> Civil society lives within the state. (Aalbu et al. 1999:68)

Aalbu et al. (1999) conclude that the nation-building project had determined the overall objectives for regional policy by integrating regions into the national project and by mobilising regional resources for national aims. Thus, Finnish nation building is a crucial factor, not just for policy-making, but also for administrative divisions.

Policy-making - a process of consensus-seeking and corporatism
In discussions of policy-making in Finland after World War II, three aspects have to be taken into account:
- Finland is a very small country, in terms of population, where various informal networks have been quite important. Generally speaking, in a small country the members of the elites know each other well, and the impulses and signals of action are produced by interactive communication.
- Feudal structures were never deeply rooted in Finland. The ownership of the natural resources – the soil and the forests – was distributed quite evenly, which also meant that the income flow generated by industrialisation was evenly spread among a large group of income-earners.
- Finland's neutrality is not only a doctrine of Finnish foreign policy, but had significant spill-over effects in other policy areas. (Sairinen 2000; Rehn 1996) Neutrality and the project of nation-building were of major importance for forming the ideological base on which the broad macro-consensus of post-war Finland was built in order to achieve both economic growth and peace.

Based on these facts, post-war policy-making can be characterised as a kind of social consensus-seeking. (Poropudas 1998; Joas 1997; Sairinen 2000; Rehn 1996) As a result of this, both interest organisations and traditional political parties have always played an important role in shaping public polices. Interest organisations have officially taken part in the policy formulation process on several occasions: 1) interest groups are represented on specific commissions preparing new legislation affecting varied interests; 2) interest groups receive commission reports for comments.

> The origins of Finnish corporatism date back to the corporation of 1939-44, when a social pact between labour and business was concluded. [...] corporatism strengthened from the late 1970s until 1980s, but its failure to deliver in 1988, 1991 and 1994 again eroded its credibility. (Sairinen 2000:95)

In the beginning, the underlying principle was "growth corporation", which could be described as social consensus aimed at boosting Finland's economic growth. An important means of achieving that economic growth was the co-operation between economic, educational and political elites. (Poropudas 1998) Here, reference could be made to the Swedish economist Mancur Ohlsson who strongly influenced corporatism in Sweden by postulating that each party will gain more when all parties co-operate and extend the overall economic volume increase extend their own share by diminishing that of others.

For this kind of policy-making different labels have been found, some of which are consensus-seeking, corporatism, and neocorporatism. According to Rehn (1996) the case of Finland deviates in many ways from neocorporatist small states in Europe, as corporatism in Finland emerged only recently and is quite weak. Rehn argues that the concept of consensus is a more accurate definition of Finnish governance patterns than the comprehensive concept of corporatism. Other authors describe the Finnish situation as neocorporatist governance or an unsettled but gradually strengthening corporatism. (Sairinen 2000:95)

Examples of consensus-oriented policy-making can be found in various sectors. In economic policy, ensuring the price competitiveness of the forest industry and other export industries has been the fundamental doctrine which has prevailed over the macroeconomic concerns of domestic demand-management. (Sairinen 2000:94) The consensus model has also been an important basis of agricultural policy in Finland. From the 1950s to the beginning of EU membership, the prices of agricultural products were negotiated annually between the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry and the Central Union of Agricultural Producers and Forest

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Owners[49]. (Sairinen 2000:96) When implementing environmental laws, negotiations and consensus-seeking is also the central strategy. (Joas 1997:127)

However, during the most recent decades, Finnish politics have not always been consensus-based, there have been a number of serious disputes, disagreements and political crises. Nevertheless, the Finnish pattern of governance can be characterised by the pursuit of a national consensus in certain important areas of policy. (Sairinen 2000:94) In comparison to the Swedish approach to corporatism, one might imagine that Finnish consensus-orientation is not only rather young but also still influenced by the former style of "rule of law".

Development of the planning system

After having outlined some crucial aspects of the overall decision environment of Finnish spatial planning, in this section the focus is on spatial planning.

The 1990s have been full of action as regards the Finnish planning system. A number of reforms and a new building act as well as European influences reshaped the system. Therefore, this section will mainly concentrate on these recent developments and not as in the other country chapters discuss the historical development of the planning system. Concentrating on recent changes in the field, the ground will be prepared for the following discussion of the degree to which Finnish spatial planning is influenced by European developments.

Some general background information to start with: According to the Finnish constitution, adopted in 1919, the country is divided into provinces or counties, and into municipalities or communes. The municipalities are self-governing units whereas the counties are state agencies at the provincial level. Thus, Finland has had no proper self-government at a secondary level. (Ståhlberg and Oulasvirta 1996:88) A kind of functional equivalent to self-governing provinces can, however, be found. There are federations of municipalities which are fairly large. The number of such federations varies from a few to slightly more than 20 within different functional areas, whereas the number of counties has traditionally been 12, but has been reduced to 6 in 1997. In addition to the large federations of municipalities, there are also smaller once, so-called local federations of municipalities, mostly within the public health and social sector. Most of these local federations include only 2-5 municipalities, with a total population of 10,000 to 15,000.

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[49] Maa- ja metsätaloustuottajain Keskusliitto, MTK

However, during the last decade both the administrative structure as well as planning and building legislation have been constantly changing, and the recent structures can only be understood as a result and in the light of these changes. There are also voices claiming that the process of reforming is not yet concluded, thus the Finnish planning system is still in flux.

In the following, the development of the Finnish planning systems will be discussed under three aspects, firstly the understanding of planning as land-use planning, secondly a number of administrative reforms shaping the formal planning system, and thirdly the new land use and building act.

Between architecture and spatial planning – sector-orientation in Finnish policy-making

Finnish planning tradition has its roots in architecture and is indirectly related to the struggle for nationhood. The autonomy of Finland as a Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire from the early eighteenth century and subsequent periods of repression around the turn of the century, paved the way for a nationalist awakening, which emphasised the symbolic role of national culture, in particular the Finnish language, art and architecture.

The predominant role of architecture was further strengthened during and immediately after Word War II, when architects led by Alvar Aalto took an active role in the reconstruction of urban and rural settlements. Thanks to the strong cultural and social tradition, the architectural profession managed to maintain its position in land-use planning during the rapid expansion of the field in the 1960s and 1970s, when Finland experienced an enormous growth of cities and urban and regional infrastructure, necessitating regional policy planning.

Regional planning emerged 1958 in Finland, when the regional land-use plan was finally established as an option for inter-municipal co-operation. This approach to bottom-up regional planning is still today characteristic for Finland. In 1968 the regional land-use plan was made obligatory in the Building Act. Regional planning councils[50] were entrusted with the preparation of the plans, which were subsequently ratified by the Ministry of the Interior. As time passed, various actors and authorities were established dealing with development and planning issues at regional level.

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[50] The regional planning council (seutukaavalitto / regionplaneorgan) exist no longer. Today, regional planning lies with the regional council. However, it is important to keep in mind that the regional council and regional planning council are not identical.

The establishment of the Ministry of the Environment in 1983, as well as the addition of the concept of sustainability to the Building Act in 1990, are important milestones in the rise of the environmental strand of spatial planning. (Eskelinen et al. 2000) With the emergence of the Ministry of the Environment, environmental issues not only became an integral part of planning, the distinction between planning (understood as land-use planning) and development (understood as regional development) also became more clear-cut. Previously, both the functions of planning and development had been entrusted to the Ministry for the Interior, although treated by different departments.

Finally, the reform on the Regional Councils in 1994 (discussed in the next section), gave the start signal to a cross-sectoral approach to planning and development at least at regional level. At national level, however, the three policy fields of land-use planning, regional development and environmental policies are still separated. The Ministry of Environment is responsible for environmental policies and issued e.g. in 1995 the national environmental policy programme and in 1998 the government programme for sustainable development. Furthermore, the ministry is responsible for land-use regulation and got with the new land use and building act the instrument of national land use goals for setting out national interests in land-use. On the other hand the Ministry of Interior is responsible for regional policy which in Finland also comprises urban policies. One has, however, to keep in mind that Finnish urban policies take a regional development approach as they focus engines of regional development. Anyway, according to the Regional Development Act which came into force in 1994, the aim of regional policies is to promote the independent development of regions and a good regional balance. Thus, recent Finnish regional policy concentrates on regional expertise and development of competence in regions. The Centre of Expertise Programme is a clear step in that direction, as it seeks to pool local, regional and national resources to the development of selected internationally competitive fields of expertise. The latest Finnish regional policy instrument, the Regional Centre Development Programme, is heading in the same direction. It aims at balanced development by focusing on urban centres as engines of development, following the philosophy of strong regions requiring strong urban centres and strong centres requiring strong surrounding regions. (Lähteenmäki-Smith 2001)

All this may serve to illustrate that nationally there is a strong sector orientation dividing the various parts of spatial development policy into separated policy fields. However, Finland manages in the European debate to combine these aspects by bringing together the forces of both

Ministries when it comes to European activities such as the ESDP process or Interreg.

Wind of Change – Administrative structure in the 1990s
Local government developments in Finland have paralleled those in other Nordic countries: the implementation of the welfare state has mainly been a matter for the municipalities. This caused a rapid expansion of local government, especially at the level of joint municipal boards. This is due to the fact that these boards effectively serve as, and can be regarded as functional equivalents to, regional self-government in other Nordic countries. (Ståhlberg and Oulasvirta 1996:148) The expansion of local government has been mainly influenced by the state, as local government structure and processes have been heavily regulated by central authorities. Ståhlberg and Oulasvirta (1996:90) talk even about "the turbulent system of local government".

> The lack of a meso level of government has led to the formation of municipalities associations that perform functions for which individual municipalities are too small. (Baldersheim and Ståhlberg 1999:133)

The 1990s brought not only a deep depression but also a comprehensive reform of Finnish administration. The main purpose of the reform was the merging of various regional authorities in order to achieve a simpler and more homogenous regional administration. The main steps of the 1990s reforms were:

- 20 new Regional Councils, which in fact are amalgamated federations of municipalities, were established at regional level in 1994, in anticipation of EU membership. The Regional Councils are joint municipal authorities operating according to principles of local self-governance. They took over responsibility for regional development from the County Administrative Boards. They act as a centre of development for the region while at the same time providing an institutional framework for better integration of regional planning and development, the preparation of regional land-use plans, etc. This is the first time in Finland that spatial planning and development deliberately are grouped together under one regional authority.
- 13 new Regional Environment Centres took over tasks which formerly were treated by various authorities after a reform of the planning and environmental administration in 1995. Now, environmental issues are in the hands of the Regional Environment Centres. Five Regional Environmental Centres have been formed by

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two or more counties, whereas the other counties have each their own.

- 15 new T&E Centres (employment and business development centre) were formed by merging six different authorities in 1997. T&E Centres are responsible for regional labour policies. Their tasks, as far as economic policy is concerned, are to support enterprises, give advice and promote technological development, export and internationalisation. Apart from a few exceptions T&E Centres follow the same regional division as the regional councils. In the Åland Islands there is no T&E Centre; here, the Regional council takes care of economic and environmental policy.

- A reform of the County Administrative Boards in 1997 reduced their number from twelve to six. Nowadays, the involvement of County Administrative Boards in spatial development is rather limited. They are primarily responsible for supporting welfare services at municipal level and for supervising municipalities.

So, the complexity of the administrative structure has been reduced. The reforms have also reduced the need for co-ordination at regional level. Regional divisions follow municipalities and, to a large extent, even the borders of the counties. The public services for health care and vocational education, however, have different regional divisions, which are also based on municipalities, as these responsibilities lie with joint municipal boards or associations of local authorities.

At local level there are ongoing discussions about merging smaller municipalities and city regions. The state offered financial incentives. The results up to now have, however, been poor. During the 1990s, the number of municipalities decreased slightly to a total of 448 in year 2001. In 1998 it were 452. The main obstacle to more extensive local co-operation is seen in the strong tradition of local autonomy.

In general, municipalities take care of most of the public service provision, such as housing, public transport, fresh water, sewage and waste disposal systems etc., including a large part of the administration of welfare services. All this had caused a rapid expansion of local governments. Expansion has been especially rapid at the level of joint municipal boards due to the fact that these boards can be seen as functional equivalents to regional self-government in other Nordic countries. In order to achieve better and more cost-efficient solutions, co-operation of neighbouring municipalities has become more and more frequent.

There are no major conflicts between differing administrative and functional regions. One major challenge, however, is administration and

planning in city regions where co-operation on common problems is needed. On the one hand, conflicts between the centre and neighbouring municipalities are common where the main part of jobs and services is located in the centre but the city loses tax-incomes as employees live in the neighbouring towns where they also pay their taxes[51]. On the other hand, the bigger cities are said to dominate development planning of the Regional Council, as they often have more political influence on decision-making.

Any attempt to describe present Finnish local government faces difficulties because of the numerous recent reforms. The most important of these are:

1. The free commune experiment, effective since 1989, increases local freedom from state supervision. The experiment can actually be seen as a provisional reform.

2. The reform of state grants strengthens the free commune experiment. This reform, effective since 1993, did away with spending-related special-purpose grants. These have been replaced by general grants based on objective calculations. The reforms also contain a number of deregulating measures in the state-local relationship.

3. A new Local Government Act was passed in 1995 and a partial revision of the former act came into force in 1993. The new Act can be characterised as an enabling act. It opens the way for more organisational freedom, including possibilities of delegating power and strengthening political and/or administrative leadership in the communes.

4. As a consequence of the general economic crisis of the 1990s, state and local public authorities have been looking for alternative solutions to publicly produced and publicly financed services. This general reorientation in a more market-oriented direction is starting to produce local experiments.

New Land Use and Building Act – enhancing local decision-making
A proposal for the new Land Use and Building Act was presented to Parliament in August 1998. It contained a total revision of the existing Building Act, which dates originally from 1958, although there have been numerous amendments since. The proposed legislation also included amendments to 23 other acts. The new act came into force on 1 January 2000. The overall goal is to promote sustainable community development and construction. Amendments guiding the *Natura 2000* compensations

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[51] In Finland, income tax is levied by the municipalities as further described in the presentation of Finnish actors.

and the location of commercial premises with more than 2,000 m^2 had already entered into force on 1 March 1999. The control of the location of commercial centres, which generated a lively discussion during the preparation of the new act is a new topic in Finnish building legislation. Under the new building act, new commercial premises greater than 2,000 m^2 in size will receive a building permit only if the site is especially designated for that purpose in the town plan.

In general, a new planning culture is to be established, the idea being to encourage early participation in planning. Every project has to provide opportunities for inhabitants to participate, procedures for participation and assessment will be required in every planning project.

The land-use planning system continues to include the regional and municipal levels. National land-use goals are set by the Council of State. These goals may involve, e.g. main infrastructure networks or natural and built-up areas of national importance.

National and regional goals are expressed in regional plans, which are the only plans which must be submitted for approval. Preparation and approval of regional plans is the responsibility of 19 regional councils. Local decision-making is enhanced, as plans compiled by municipal authorities no longer need approval by higher authorities. Still, it has to be kept in mind that all "three" administrative tiers have a say in land-use, although the local level has been enhanced as regards actual land-use planning.

The Finnish spatial planning system: A product of European ambitions

After the foregoing spotlights on the current state of Finnish planning, we will now discuss European influences on the Finnish spatial planning system.

Following the general Nordic tradition, the Finnish administrative system has been characterised by a bi-polar structure, with its main actors at national and local levels, whereas governance structures at an intermediate level, notwithstanding the rearrangements made in the 1990s, are weak. In addition there is, as in most Nordic countries, a clear distinction between "planning" and "development", planning being understood as land-use planning.

As illustrated, in the 1980s and 1990s the planning system has undergone major transformations, opening the way for an increased doctrinal and institutional integration of spatial and environmental planning with local and regional development. EU membership has been an important factor in this; the establishment of the regional councils, for instance, is a reaction to the "Europe of Regions"-idea. In the light of the

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latest changes and of the land use and building law which came into force in January 2000, Finland can serve as an example of the transformation of the Nordic planning tradition into spatial planning.

Because of the still relatively short period of existence of the new system, the traditional planning culture and tradition is still visible, nor can it be neglected as a force to be reckoned with:

> However, one can still sense cultural barriers between the interests and perspectives of land-use planning, environmental policy, and local and regional development, which are more related to the different professional and scientific backgrounds (architecture, biology/ecology, and economics/geography) of the relevant fields of expertise than to their institutional settings. Moreover, it is only very recently that architectural and environmental concerns, on the one hand, and economic concerns on the other, were seen as inherently inconsistent by many experts and politicians. (Eskelinen et al. 2000:43)

The Finnish eagerness to embrace European policy was evident even in the preparation of EU membership in the field of spatial development and planning including regional policy, environmental and land-use planning. In all three fields European integration has contributed to changes in Finland and to a merging of fields of competence which traditionally were strictly separated. (Eskelinen et al. 2000)

However, as Schmidt-Thomé (2001) points out, the European influence on these changes should not be overemphasised either. The gradual integration of the sectors admittedly has its roots partly in deepening European integration but not necessarily in spatial planning. Any attempt to try and distinguish in detail between changes due to *Zeitgeist* (overall trends) and influences arising from specific EU policies, can easily turn into a chicken-and-egg argument.

For a start, it can be useful to recall some characteristics of Finnish spatial planning, before discussing its Europeanisation:
- It promotes co-operation between municipalities.
- The cabinet has the right to lay down national land use goals when it comes to questions of international or national importance.
- Planning at regional level has two functions: to make national and regional goals more concrete, but also and in particular to mediate between national and local goals and to strengthen local co-operation.

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Finnish Regional Policies meet the European Structural Funds
The most obvious EU influences can be found in the field of regional policy. Here the influence of the EU Structural Funds must be seen as a key factor.

While still only anticipating EU membership, Finland carried out a number of reforms of its administrative system. Harmonisation with the requirements for implementing Structural Fund regulations was regarded as of major importance. Thus, stronger regional institutions were established in the form of 20 Regional Councils, in 1994. (Aalbu et al. 1999, Eskelinen et al. 2000) These are bottom-up organisations with representatives elected by the municipalities. The Finnish regional councils are, in fact, amalgamated federations of municipalities. They act as regional development authorities, providing an institutional framework for better integration of regional development and strategic planning, as well as overseeing the preparation of regional land-use plans, etc.

In at least two respects, the establishment of Regional Councils reflects a major move towards the Europeanisation:
- It represents a step towards stronger regionalisation by creating a new, regional-level institution embedded in the municipal system (Aalbu et al. 1999:69). By means of this restructuring Finland moves closer to the philosophy of a "Europe of regions".
- Furthermore, this is for the first time in Finland that spatial planning and development have been deliberately placed together, in the hands of a single authority. In so doing, a base is provided for putting ESDP concepts into practice.

Another sign of EU influence on regional development policy is the fact that EU structural policy forms the main framework for regional policy in Finland (Aalbu et al. 1999:29).

Certainly, the importance of financial means can hardly be overestimated, as the influence of the EU Structural Funds illustrates clearly. Concerning the importance of sector policies, Ståhlberg and Oulasvirta (1996:114) have pointed out that the major steering instruments for the state vis-à-vis the municipalities are probably the sectoral planning systems. In the two-tier administrative system, the main responsibility for putting measures and plans into practice lies with the municipalities. As a result of EU membership and the "municipal-regional level" this is less obvious regarding regional development than in the field of planning.

Finnish regional planning goes spatial

There is no national spatial plan in Finland. The involvement of the national administrative level, apart from general legislation and policy statements, is restricted to the formulation of national policies and national land use goals. Those policy instruments have the character of advisory guidelines. However, Finland realised the importance of having a clear picture of national development in order to be able to present tenable arguments in the European debate and thus support the spatial positing of Finland. As Finland did not want to risk being without any means of influencing development which will affect Finland, the Ministry of the Environment has prepared strategic principles for national spatial development, *Finland 2017 – Spatial Structure and Land Use*, published in 1995. In preparing its spatial vision Finland looked both towards Europe and the anticipated EU membership, as well as the Baltic Sea Region and the VASAB 2010 ambitions. The report underlines that Finland needs a clear view of its future national trends. Otherwise the fear is one of being marginalized in the international debate, without means to influence development which affect Finland. (Ministry of the Environment 1995)

In this spirit, Finland tried to prepare for the upcoming ESDP debate, a debate centring on the, for Finland practically unknown, concept of spatial planning and development. Even now this concept has no translation into Finnish as it addresses issues which – as shown previously – have been traditionally treated separately in three policy fields: land-use planning, regional development policies and environmental policies.

Anyway, this document is a one-off affair, which is, however, followed up by the national land use goals. The new Land Use and Building Act, which came into force in 2000, specifies that the government shall prepare national land use goals for defining the national interests in terms of land-use. These are e.g. used of translating ESDP policy aims into national interests.

As a consequence of translating the ESDP aspects into national interests, the Finnish response to the ESDP outside the national government level (including the Association of Finnish Local Authorities) has been limited to say the least:

> Although the different EU programmes and Community Initiatives
> have, through a number of years of practice, now become familiar
> to the Finnish planners and (to a limited extent) to the public,
> European spatial planning initiatives, such as ESDP and CEMAT,
> remain rather unknown. Discussion or research on the issues has

been limited. Only a certain interest in raising some Nordic concerns and increasing international awareness of them has been visible. (Schmidt-Thomé 2001:8)

In general, money talks, it would seem; the Structural Funds have influenced Finland much more than the ESDP. At the same time, the handling of Structural Funds Programming and especially the handling of the Community Initiative Interreg, also illustrates several Finnish characteristics in spatial policy making. The negotiations on the Interreg IIIB Baltic Sea co-operation, for example, illustrate the division of labour between the three national actors in spatial planning and development. Apart from the Ministries of the Environment and Interior, which officially are in charge of such issues, the Association of Finnish Local Authorities has a role extending well beyond that of a lobby or pressure group. This co-operation illustrates the statues quo of corporatist decision making and might be considered as a small policy community.

The structural and administrative changes mentioned earlier were certainly a response to substantial needs. As pointed out by several writers during the course of the ESDP discussion, there is a certain misfit between the spatial vision put forward by the ESDP and the geographical/spatial situation existing in the Nordic countries. (Böhme 1998, Schmidt-Thomé 2001)

A number of the basic principles of the ESDP, e.g. overcoming the dualism between town and countryside, are nonetheless reflected in ongoing discussions in Finland, as e.g. indicated by the government report on national land use goals. Under the heading of "Functioning settlement structure" it mentions urban-rural interaction as something to be pursued, but does not give this concept any concrete contents. A separate chapter of the report describes international co-operation in spatial planning and lists the ESDP aims. Here, the role of the national land use goals is seen more as a Finnish message to the European co-operation than introducing European principles in Finnish spatial planning. Nevertheless, being very general in nature, the goals may also work the other way.

The topic of rural-urban interaction and partnership is also of relevance to the Committee for Rural Policy, which serves as an inter-ministerial advisory group. The Committee, together with its counterpart in urban policy, has established a common working group. In the final report, the working group states that there is no reason to combine urban and rural policies, but there are common issues which need to be brought together. Thus the aim is to introduce the principles and practises of urban-rural interaction as essential components of both urban and rural

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policies. (Ministry of the Interior 2001) Despite the weak political understanding of the need for doing so, the conclusions of the working group can mark the beginning of a separate conscious interaction policy in Finnish spatial planning (Schmidt-Thomé 2001).

As rural-urban partnership is, according to the ESDP, among others a regional task, and as the Finnish regional level has been re-organised not least in order to fit the EU pattern better, the implementation of rural-urban partnership at regional level is of interest.

In Finland this concerns mainly the regional councils, the arena where the different strands of spatial planning meet and where both rural and urban authorities and interests are represented. The key task of the regional councils is the creation of a development strategy of the region. The councils take care of planning regional policy, regional planning and general development of planning for the region. The emphasis in planning and other regional development is on visions and strategic issues. The regional plan consists of a general plan for the use of areas for different purposes which steers the planning of local authorities and other land-use planning.

There is as yet precious little evidence of rural-urban interaction policy, as the Regional Councils are still in the process of developing their planning function. Some (e.g. Häme, South Ostrobothnia) have, however, included the principle of interaction in their regional development programmes, just as they have included many other slogans, but this has little to do with interaction policy. (Schmidt-Thomé 2001)

The regional tier is the level in Finland where the ESDP philosophy actually can be implemented, as only here all spatial development and planning tasks lie with the same actor. But there seems to be little concern with and knowledge of the ESDP. So, the ESDP is actually handled at national level, by ministries pro-actively taking part in the international debate. There are certainly top-down processes where ministries influence lower tiers and perhaps promote much more of the EU spatial planning policy than one might guess. The simple fact that the regional councils have been accorded competence and tools for spatial planning according to the ESDP, might help to do more than simply paying lip service to ESDP phrases. There is a lot of top-down steering in the way the lower tier is empowered.

Finnish environmental action – a young policy field pushed forward by
EU membership
Prior to and as a result of EU membership, much of the Finnish environmental legislation has been harmonised with EU legislation. (OECD 1997) The harmonisation with EU regulations has, however, certain limits which were manifest during the membership negations. Finland was granted certain exemptions from EU environmental legislation wherever Finnish regulations are more stringent. The conditions of accession allowed Finland to maintain its own standards for up to four years, on the assumption that the EU would, during that time, come closer to Finnish standards.

> On the other hand, it is evident that the membership in the Union has given rise to severe pressure towards Finnish environmental policy. It is possible that the adoption of the EIA Act, integrated pollution control, and many new activities in the areas of nature protection and agricultural pollution would not have been politically feasible without pressure from the EU. (Sairinen 2000:120)

At the beginning of the 1980s, EIA was still unsuitable for the rather young environmental policy system in Finland. Thus, placing EIA on the policy agenda took an entire decade. The Finnish parliament enacted EIA legislation in 1994, one year before the Finnish EU membership. Finland was one of the last countries in Europe to do so.

Regarding the adoption of Natura 2000, Sairinen points out that this became a never-ending nightmare:

> The first proposal received over 14,000 complaints. After long and thorough treatment in the ministerial working group, the governmental decision concerning the programme was made in August 1998. After that the Finnish Natura proposal was submitted to the EU Commission in December 1998. The Commission complained that the proposal has some shortcomings. [...] In the Natura case, the Finnish environmental administration made some serious mistakes in the preparation and hearing stage. Because of the pressure from EU, the ME [Ministry of the Environment, Finland] precipitated the preparations, and had insufficient time for proper preparation. (Sairinen 2000:134)

In the case of habitat and urban wastewater directives, Finland faced difficulties in meeting the deadlines. (OECD 1997:29) These difficulties have served to weaken the picture of Finland as a forerunner in environmental policy, whereas the relatively recent institutional

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consolidation of domestic environmental policies in Finland has to be taken into consideration.

All this might also explain why Finland did not live up to the expectation that it as new EU Member State would give significant impetus to the environmental policy of the Union (see also the section on Finnish ambitions to customise the EU).

However, despite these struggles in what is a relatively young field of policy, progress has been made in linking environmental policies to spatial planning. Here, it is worth recalling that the Ministry of the Environment is a rather young ministry. In 1983 new environmental policy was firmly entrenched with the fusion of land-use planning and environmental protection into the new Ministry of the Environment. (Eskelinen et al. 2000:46) Previously land-use planning was handled by the Ministry of the Interior. This fact might contribute to the present close co-operation of both ministries regarding spatial planning.

Europeanisation of Finnish planning

The main actors in spatial development and planning are the central state, through its regional offices, and the Regional Councils, which are indirectly elected by the municipalities. Only regarding physical (land-use) planning are the municipalities the main actors.

An attempt to discern the European Union's influences on Finland reveals that alterations in the organisation, competence and empowerment of the regional level are the most obvious changes in Finland, apart from debates on substantive issues.

As already discussed, at regional level (cf. also annex), Finland diverges from its Scandinavian neighbours because of the absence of an autonomous self-governing regional level (with Iceland as an exception). Municipal autonomy is extensive and there is a tradition of municipalities joining together and forming various co-operation regions for different tasks. There are approximately 270 so-called restricted joint municipal boards fulfilling almost the same functions as those of regional self-governance in other Nordic countries. (Mäki-Lohiluoma 1999:72)

The Regional Council is now the main actor in the field of spatial planning and development at regional level. On the basis of a mandate given to it by the state, the Regional Council is active as an authority:
- for regional development, according to the Regional Development Act, and
- for projects financed under the Structural Funds.

The striking fact is that, even though its engagement in this field is statutory, it is based on municipal co-operation. This statutory joint municipal action is, furthermore, directed towards both regional planning

and development. According to the law, the planning authority is to operate as a regional development authority.

Entrusting both spatial development and planning to a single actor, combined with a statutory, bottom-up approach reflects an attempt to mediate between the Nordic strong municipalities and the European demand for stronger regions, while at the same time attempting to combine spatial planning and development.

As has already been argued, the Regional Council is in at least two aspects influenced by Finland's EU membership:
- the establishment of regional self-government
- integration of regional development and land-use planning as an answer to the European idea of spatial planning.

The implementation of EU spatial development and planning policy in Finland has a focus on the regional level, both regarding the state interventions/activities and implementation. Here, the main influences of Europeanisation can be viewed. At the national level, however, there are some interesting insights to be gained from examining the interaction between Helsinki and Brussels.

Finnish ambitions to customise European spatial policies

Having discussed the European influences on Finnish spatial planning, we will now turn to the Finnish influences on European spatial development policy. Talking about Finnish influences on Europe, the term "Finlandisation"[52] comes to ones mind, although it was a concept of more immediate interest during in the 1960s than it is today.

Under the precarious post-war position of neutral Finland, the danger of "Finlandisation" spreading was perceived by the US, when Finnish president Uhro Kekkonen first proposed the Helsinki meeting in 1960.[53] (Delamaide 1995:43) Certainly, Finland's post-war position, located between East and West, as well as having both a lengthy border with Russia and a "Russian history", was a difficult one. However, we should remember that it was through the Helsinki process that 33 countries officially ended World War II by finally recognising post-war borders in Europe.

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[52] Finlandisation is a term of the cold war, marked by the USA's fear of more "Western " European countries looking for contacts with the USSR in attitude comparable to the one of Finland.

[53] Finland was an auxiliary member of the Warsaw Pact and had a special defence agreement with the USSR: Under the leadership of Paasikivi and Kekkonen, relations with the Soviet Union were stabilized by a consistently friendly policy on the part of Finland. A concrete expression of the new foreign policy-designated the Paasikivi-Kekkonen line--was the Agreement of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance concluded between Finland and the Soviet Union in 1948 and extended in 1955, 1970, and 1983. The agreement included a mutual defence provision. (Britannica)

Finland's position, situated between both blocs and staying in contact with both sides without taking clear position in support of either one or the other, has been a prominent question in geopolitics ever since World War II. Not even after the end of the Cold War and Finland's EU membership have speculations about "Finlandisation" stopped. Certainly, Finland is keen on becoming a well-integrated member of the Union, but at the same time has managed to make its being a neighbour to Russia a topic of concern to the EU.

Lindström (2000:21) points out that studies of development within the EU have demonstrated that new members tend to underline their special priorities in such a way as to cause the Union to change its policies in a manner commensurate with that Member State's own need. Regarding Finland, there are authors who claim that "Finlandisation" of the EU has been part of the intention behind the *Northern Dimension*. (Lindström 2000, Ojanen 1999, Joenniemi 1998) Ojanen (1999) labelled the development and adoption of this European Union policy born-in-Finland, a "customising" of the European Union or "making the Union more Finnish".

> Clearly, Finland's political class has seized the historic opportunity of a more democratic Russia combined with Finland's own newly gained position at the political centre of the European Union to pave the way for greater de facto interdependency between Russia and the rest of Europe. (Hedegaard and Lindström 1999:7)

Finland has stressed the idea of a Northern Dimension in the EU from the very beginning of its membership negotiations. The dimension is, firstly, a geographical fact. Secondly, it promotes some specifically Nordic values, such as environmental consciousness, transparency in public administration, and social welfare. Thirdly, it also focuses on the climate with particular emphasis on the specifics of agriculture in Finland. (Ojanen 1999:13)

Regarding the success of this latest "Finlandisation" approach Hedegaard and Lindström write:

> In view of these rather modest results, it may be argued that the success of the Northern Dimension initiative lies elsewhere. The fact that the concept of 'northernness' and a Northern Dimension to EU policies have gained entry to the Union's documents can be interpreted as signalling an end to the sense of isolation, remoteness and exceptionalism that used to permeate the North. The relationship between North and South in Europe is no longer exclusively on the 'the South talking and the North listening' (Joenniemi 1998). On the contrary, over the longer term, the

Map 7: The Northern Dimension

Northern Dimension initative will undoubtedly carry with it the implication demand that Europe pay serious attention to the challenges and aspirations of high North – not because it is northern but because it is European. (Hedegaard and Lindström 1999:12)

The *Northern Dimension* was launched before the Finnish EU presidency began in the second half of 1999. This presidency provided Finland with another opportunity to influence EU policies. Apart from this combination of spatial policies and geo-politics, Finland has also been active in the field of spatial development policies.

The preceding German presidency managed to finalise the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP). The Finns had to look for new challenges and to maintain the ESDP-momentum by formulating an ESDP Action Programme aimed at the application of the ESDP document.[54] In addition there was the Urban Initiative III. Did the Finnish presidency succeed in giving those spatial approaches a Finnish touch?

The ESDP task of the Finnish Presidency was to maintain the momentum of by developing an Action Programme and starting a discussion on forms of future co-operation on spatial development and planning on a European scale. The Action Programme turned out to be a very "ambitious list of wishes", where every country put down what it would like to do. Only time will tell what the actual results of all this will be.

As far as Finnish touches are concerned, the Finns also emphasised launching a discussion on future co-operation and the Urban Exchange Initiative III. At the informal meeting of the ministers responsible for spatial planning and urban/regional policy of the European Union, held in Tampere in October 1999, Finland presented the third document of the Urban Exchange Initiative. The Initiative aims at the exchange of experience between EU Member States in the field of urban development. The themes of the preceding two reports and topics for exchanges of experiences were chosen by the Presidency. In line with this tradition, Finland chose two topics, which are important to Finnish urban policy. The first theme, "An expertise-based approach towards the economic development of urban regions", had been selected in order to introduce the idea of development based on local strengths and expertise into the European debate on urban policy. As strategies often tend to focus on existing problems, the opportunities provided by building upon strengths

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[54] Under the French presidency (second half of year 2000) discussions on dissolving/setting aside the CSD became more intense. In these discussions Finland proposed transferring the ESDP Action Programme to the Committee on Regional Development in order to keep the idea alive.

can often be overlooked. The second theme " Urban research and information systems" had been selected in order to promote interaction between urban research and urban policymaking. (Ministry of the Interior 1999) At the meeting in Tampere it was decided that the EU Member States would begin new co-operation in the field of urban policy, as a continuation of the Urban Exchange Initiative which was an informal exchange of experiences. Hitherto European co-operation in the field of urban policy focused mainly on tasks directed towards socially oriented metropolitan policy. The new co-operation is to deal with the question of how best to promote an integrated urban development approach in national policies and Structural Funds programming. Finland thus clearly tried to initiate a trend change in European urban policy co-operation by leaving the field of social policies and heading towards the Finnish areas of interest, especially promoting "expertise-based urban development" (Schulman 2000), i.e. urban development related to innovation, and thus viewing urban policy in the context of regional development.

As a Nordic country, Finland also has the image of a country with a high degree of environmental concerns, and has often been described as an active agent in the field of international environmental policy. According to the OECD review (1997), Finland has actively supported the development of international environmental laws and agreements. It has also developed an elaborate network of co-operative regional activities to promote sustainable development and combat trans-border pollution.

In consequence, a significant boost to the environmental policy of the Union was widely expected when Finland and Sweden joint the EU. (Andersen and Liefferink 1997) Especially the front runners in EU environmental matters, i.e. Germany, the Netherlands and Denmark, expected the new members to support a higher level of environmental protection in the Union. However, even though Rusca (1998) points out that Finland was promoting environmental aspects in the ESDP, there was no "Finlandisation" of its environmental policies:

> Although Finland has nearly always been on the same lines with the other Nordic countries in matters of international environmental policy, specifically Finnish initiatives or proposals that would have set the agenda for international policy making have been hard to identify. (Sairinen 2000)

The lack of a distinct Finnish profile in European environmental policy might be explained by a number of factors as
- the relatively recent institutional consolidation of domestic environmental policies,

- the short time Finland had been member of the Union when e.g. the study of Andersen and Liefferink (1997) was carried out, and
- the high priority of policy topics related to the border with Russia, such as the Northern Dimension.

When it comes to influencing EU polices, Andersen and Liefferink (1997:24) might be right that Finland has had a rather modest record and there might be several reasons for this, but Finland has had a strong function as an innovator in its neighbouring areas. Here, an example is the Helsinki Commission (HELCOM)[55] which according to Joas (1997:144) is the pride and joy of the Finnish government in environmental co-operation. HELCOM is an intergovernmental body which monitors the development of the marine environment in the Baltic Sea Region and unanimously adopts recommendations for protection and preservation which the governments of the Contracting Parties shall reflect in their national systems. Furthermore it works on the implementation of the Baltic Sea Joint Comprehensive Environmental Action Programme (JCP) approved in 1992 and updated in 1998. It focuses on investment activities for point- and non-point pollution sources and on planning and investment activities related to management programmes for coastal lagoons and wetlands.

However, considering the size of the country, Finland has influenced EU policies quite successfully, especially through the Northern Dimension. So Lindström (2000:21) is right in stating that new Member States tend to underline their special priorities in such a way as to cause the Union to change its policies in a manner commensurate with that Member State's own need.

An alternative interpretation would be to say that the Finns simply followed Hans Magnus Enzensberger's advice to be more eccentric, and turned the tables on their opposite numbers by claiming that the country's position, far from being a drawback, is in fact an enviable one. It can be an advantage to live on the periphery and to question the values of the centre, so that instead of playing the game according to the rules of the Big League Boys one could come to understand that to be small and far

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[55] HELCOM is an intergovernmental body bringing together the contracting parties of the Convention on the Protection of the Marine Environment of the Baltic Sea Area are. These partners are Ministries of Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Russia and Sweden and the DG ENV from the European Commission. Though the Contracting Parties are normally represented by their ministries for the environment as the aims and tasks of HELCOM lie within their responsibility we do not only need their good will and endeavours, but the commitment of the Governments of the Contracting Parties as a whole. That becomes very obvious by the fact that many aspects concerning the protection of the marine environment are dealt with by other ministries, such as transport, agriculture, energy, chemical policies, spatial planning and development.

away from the mainstream is not only beautiful, but also an intelligent option. (Enzensberger 1990)

Summary and conclusions

Finland is perhaps the only Nordic country which could be described by Enzensberger's (1990) idea of Nordic eccentricity. Evidence for this can be found not at least in the concept of "Finlandisation". As has been pointed out, Finland has endeavoured to give Europe a Finnish or perhaps rather a Nordic touch.

From nation building to European ambitions

An outstanding example of recent "Finlandisation" is this rare combination of spatial development policies and geo-politics which is mainly directed at the superior and less to the subordinate levels: the Northern Dimension, prepared by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Today, the Northern Dimension is a European Union Policy, born in Finland.

Anyway, when discussing Finnish spatial development policies it has to be kept in mind that the 1917 gained independence, neutrality and the project of nation building were of major importance for forming the ideological base of Finnish policy-making tradition. A tradition characterised by the importance of informal networks and consensus oriented decision making. In addition, the considerable autonomy of municipalities characterises the bi-polar administrative structure. The lack of an intermediate level of government led to the formation of municipal associations performing functions for which individual municipalities are too small. To these functions belong e.g. regional planning and regional development.

All this forms part of the Finnish spatial policy environment which still is characterised by a sector orientation, where planning is clearly rooted in the field of architecture and separated from environmental and regional development policies. Interestingly, urban policies are understood as a part of regional policies and strongly related to innovation policies.

The idea of an expertise-based urban policies approach, aiming towards economic development in urban regions, was a cornerstone in the Finnish contribution to the European debate on urban policies, namely the Urban Exchange Initative III, presented during the Finnish EU Presidency in 1999. Another milestone reached during this presidency was the ESDP Action Programme. As the preceding German Presidency had had the honour of presenting the final ESDP document, the Finns were eager to maintain momentum in the ESDP process, which they

managed to do with help of the Action Programme. Thus Finns made an attempt to customise European spatial policy during their EU Presidency.

To what degree Finland influenced Europe in those two fields is hard to estimate. The geopolitical effect of a Northern Dimension is, however, hardly likely to be repeated in the field of spatial planning.

A Nordic approach to spatial planning

Finns are, however, not only working on giving Europe a more Finnish or Northern touch, they are at the same time heavily concerned about adopting European policies and making Finland more European. Adopting the euro is one example. Coming to terms with and even promoting the EU approach to spatial planning is another.

In the field of spatial development policies two major aspects of Europeanisation can be viewed in Finland, one concerning the regional level and the other one concerning spatial planning in general.

One sign of EU influence on Finnish regional development policy is the fact that EU structural policy forms the main framework for regional policy in Finland. Thus national regional policy measures are today only a small part of regional policy in Finland. Furthmore, even at the time when they were only anticipating EU membership, stronger regional institutions were established, with a view to the need to adapt to EU Structural Funds regulations. Thus 20 new Regional Councils were established in 1994. These amalgamated federations of municipalities took over the responsibility for regional development from the County Administrative Boards.

In addition to regional development, the Regional Councils are also responsible for regional planning. This step towards overcoming the traditional division between the planning and the development sector is the first clear indication of the emergence of spatial planning in Finland.

The development at regional level is, however, not mirrored at national level. Here spatial development policies or spatial planning tasks lie partly with the Ministry of Interior and partly with the Ministry of the Environment. As regards the ESDP process and Finnish national participation in Interreg, especially IIC, IIIB and IIIC, the ministries co-operate extensively. The participation of the Association of Finnish Local Authorities, illustrates the bi-polar administrative structure and the corporatist tradition. The latter-named is especially important where the association, in the case of conflicts, acts as mediator between the ministries.

Despite this broad national participation in the ESDP process and the fact the Finnish planners have now become familiar with EU programmes, European spatial planning initiatives, such as the ESDP and

especially its content are relatively little known. One reason for this may be the fact that the ESDP is handled at national level and aspects considered as being of relevance for Finland as a whole are integrated or translated into Finnish national policies.

For instance, in 2000, the new land use and building act introduced national land-use goals, which has e.g. been used for applying the ESDP.

Prior to this instrument, and anticipating the ESDP process as well as the VASAB 2010 work, the national vision "Finland 2017" had been prepared. The Ministry of the Environment (1995) presented this document as a foundation on which Finland could put forward tenable arguments in the international debate, regarding both Finnish needs and future national trends. The kind of reasoning advanced when arguing for the need of a Finnish spatial vision is not merel rhetoric. Fear of being left in the margins of international debates makes Finland take an active role.

Finland – Eager for European integration

In general, Finland has a pro-active attitude towards European integration and is – at least in a Nordic perspective – eager to influence the European agenda. The Northern Dimension is probably the most striking example, but not the only one. Regarding spatial planning Finland also tried to influence the European agenda by preparing e.g. the ESDP Action Programme and the Urban Exchange Initiative III. In the journal on Nordic co-operation, *POLITIK I NORDEN*, published by the Nordic Council and the Nordic Council of Ministers, Norrbom (1999) stated that Finland's EU work has been the best in Norden.

Working in both directions at the same time, the Finns are trying to facilitate a meeting of their system and the European one. The Finnish eagerness for European integration can undoubtedly be partly explained by the country's geo-political history. Even today the Finnish perspective is not limited to Western Europe and the EU. The Northern Dimension policy illustrates well Finland's consciousness of its geographical position.

Iceland – An Archetype of Nordic Planning

Iceland, located on both the American and Eurasian continental plates, is the second largest island in Europe and the third largest in the Atlantic Ocean. Because of Iceland's geographical location on two continental plates some sites are in fact in constant motion, e.g. the *Þingvellir*, former site of the nation's parliament. It is located on the Mid-Atlantic Ridge, at a rift valley formed by the drifting apart of the American and Eurasian continental plates. From this dynamic location, the country characterised by unique nature, smallness, small communities and fishery, was led from 930 AD until 1262, when Iceland acknowledged the sovereignty of the Norwegian monarch. Today, the significance of this place lies only in its historical dimension and its function as national park and tourist site. Centuries later under Danish rule, the parliament followed a trend which would gradually grow much stronger - and moved to Reykjavik.

Because of Iceland's unusual spatial conditions and structure, spatial planning is in Iceland not only a relatively new task, but also a task facing enormous challenges. As a consequence of highly unsettling migration trends, spatial planning and development in Iceland is mainly about regional development.

Land-use planning was first introduced in 1921. The first Icelandic Planning Act dealt only with planning of "urban areas" (Theodórsdóttir 2000:52). Here, however, it is worth knowing that an urban area is defined as

> a settlement with at least 50 inhabitants where the distance
> between houses does not generally exceed 200 m.
> (Icelandic Planning and Building Act, Article 2)

Still, in Iceland, planning is mainly understood as physical planning, which is to a large extent an issue for urban areas. Regional planning is an only recently emerging task.

Because of the local focus of planning, main spatial issues – having a wider geographical focus – are taken care of by regional development policies. This concerns the increasingly unbalanced settlement structure and development, providing survival strategies for areas which are not part of the Reykjavik region. Out-migration from rural areas and provincial towns to the capital areas is a serious problem.

> The highest outmigration numbers are seen in the Vestfjords,
> about 20% of the population in the period 1987-1997. Next in line
> is north-western Iceland and the south-eastern fjords with between
> 12 and 20%. The only areas that show increased population are the
> capital area and the areas south of it.

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If we then look at which age groups are the greatest migrators, we see that it is the age groups in their twenties, i.e. those most needed to carry on economic activity, and this makes the situation even worse.

If we only look at migration from the rural areas, we see that it approaches a total ruin. When we look at the figures from provincial towns and villages, i.e. with a population over 200 inhabitants, we see somewhat lower figures.

Reduction in economic activity has followed the same pattern. Most reduction is seen in north-western Iceland, the Vestfjords and south-eastern Iceland, between 20 and 30%, and in some other areas between 10 and 20%.

(Jóhannesson 2000 - http://www.bygg.is/english/main/regdev.htm)

Hartthaler (1999:57-58) describes two reasons for Icelandic migration problems:
- **Iceland is too big**. The population is distributed unevenly over the country. In consequence, large areas of the country are unpopulated and distances to infrastructure and services can be so long that the quality of life decreases. This results in migration tendencies towards the urbanised centres. On the other hand:
- **Iceland is too small**. Distances are not long enough to enable/support endogenous regional development. The rural population visits the urban centre(s) regularly in order to buy certain things or to use special services. This weakens the rural areas. This aspect is also illustrated by Einarsson's (2001) statement that Iceland could to with a population between 3 and 30 million inhabitants.

As a result of these migration trends, the city of Reykjavik has 111,345 inhabitants and the region of Reykjavik has actually 174,991 inhabitants. This is 62% of Iceland's total population of 282,849 inhabitants (1 December 2000). This has not always been the case, at the turn of the 20th century Reykjavik had 6,000 inhabitants or 8% of the total population of Iceland. (Reynarsson 1999:51)

Icelandic characteristics

Population density and distribution, the natural environment, as well as Iceland's history and geo-political position mark the context of spatial planning and development in Iceland.

Sparsely Populated

In Iceland 282,849 inhabitants live on an island of 103,000 km^2 which gives an average population density of 2.7 inhabitants per km^2. This low average does not give a realistic picture of the settlement structure. About 74% of the country, namely all of the interior of Iceland, is uninhabited

not least because it includes 11,922 km^2 of glaciers and 64,538 km^2 of wasteland. The population is mainly distributed along the coastline, but even the coastline is not evenly populated. As previously mentioned, 62% of the population lives in Reykjavik and there are major continuing migration tendencies from the rest of the country to the capital region. This affects the settlement structure, which is indeed a relatively new structure. The towns are mainly from the 20th century. As people moved to seek work, urbanisation mainly followed the location patterns of the fishing industry and even migration patterns of the fish. Today, knowledge-based work is becoming more and more important while at the same time employment in agriculture has been reduced by improved farming techniques. Even fisheries are no longer necessarily based close to the catching areas. Fish processing can either be done on board the trawlers or elsewhere, as trawlers can sail long distances. For many settlements or rural centres the loss of the harbour-related activities means the loss of their economic livelihood.

A parliamentary resolution concerning government regional policy 1999-2000 (adopted 3 April 1999) aims at strengthening settlements in provincial areas. It states, for instance, that measures will be taken to enable people, who live in sparsely populated areas, to seek work. Better and safer transport will be promoted in order to strengthen population centres outside of Reykjavik and to promote regional development. In a move parallel to earlier policy approaches in other Nordic countries, employment in the public sector is to be increased in the regions as compared with the capital area. This is to be achieved by locating new public activities outside of the capital area. Furthermore, new large-scale industrial projects are proposed outside of the capital area in order to stimulate population increase there and to promote a more diverse supply of job opportunities. In carrying out these projects, development planning and environmental impact assessments have caused heated debates. In order to ensure the success of the above-mentioned plan, and to stimulate foreign investment, capital will be provided for feasibility studies.

In addition to these exogenous approaches, the local potential of regional areas is to be investigated and analysed. Various activities shall be considered, such as industry and commerce, fishery and fish processing, transport and services, and use of natural resources. Public measures will be designed to exploit the strength of each region for job creation. New solutions in information technology should be utilised to create high-tech jobs in provincial areas and education in the regions will be enhanced, especially in the realm of vocational training and computer science. Furthermore, conditions are to be improved for students who

attend school outside of their home regions. Possibilities for distance learning should also be exploited.

The disparities between rural and urban areas in Iceland, namely Reykjavik and the rest of the country, have strong effects on Icelandic policymaking. In modern Iceland, the political and administrative centre in Reykjavik has always been relatively weak vis-à-vis the rest of the country. Rural areas are over-represented in the Icelandic parliament, and generally expect their representatives to engage in pork-barrel politics on their behalf. The weakness of the administrative centre and the strength of the rural representatives have undermined to some degree attempts at co-ordinated, long-term, policymaking. (Kristinsson 2000:150) Another example of the disparities between Reykjavik and rural Iceland is the committee for the Central Highlands which is responsible for planning over 40% of the country's area without participation of Reykjavik. The reason for this is that the committee consists of municipalities with land adjacent to the central highlands and this is not the case for Reykjavik. "Rural-urban" relationships in Iceland are a controversial issue. At a conference titled "ÍSLENSK STÓRBORG" (Icelandic Metropolis) in March 2000, the discussion included three pictures of possible rural-urban development; the first was a scenario of concentration on Reykjavik, another proposed using regional policies to keep the entire country populated and alive, and the third was a polycentric model with four smaller nodes (Akureyri, 15,396, Ísafjörður, 4,225, Hornafjörður, 2,370 and Egilsstaðir, 2,024 inhabitants) in addition to Reykjavik in an Icelandic urban system. So, both rural-urban relationships and attempts towards polycentricity are topics discussed in Iceland as well as in the European ESDP debate. However, the two debates are not interlinked and spatial conditions appear to be more extreme in Iceland than anywhere else in Europe.

Natural and cultural environment
The geographical environment plays an important role in shaping living conditions in Iceland. As pointed out above, about four-fifths of the country is uninhabitable and only 25% has continuous plant cover. The central highlands of Iceland are the largest continuous unsettled natural area in Europe. Outside of Reykjavik and a few very limited cultivated "forests", there are hardly any trees. Much of the country is volcanically active and very rich in geothermal sources with potential for hydroelectric energy production. The further development of energy production is a challenging task, as users interests other than those concerned solely with energy need to be taken into account.

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ÍSLENSK STÓRBORG

VÖXTUR HÖFUÐBORGARSVÆÐISINS
OG ÞÝÐING ÞESS FYRIR ÍSLAND

Ráðstefna á vegum
Skipulagsfræðingafélags Íslands
í Norræna húsinu, fimmtudaginn 1. mars n.k.

Map 8: Polycentrism in Iceland
(Source: Conference Report on the Capital Region and its development in
a national perspective)

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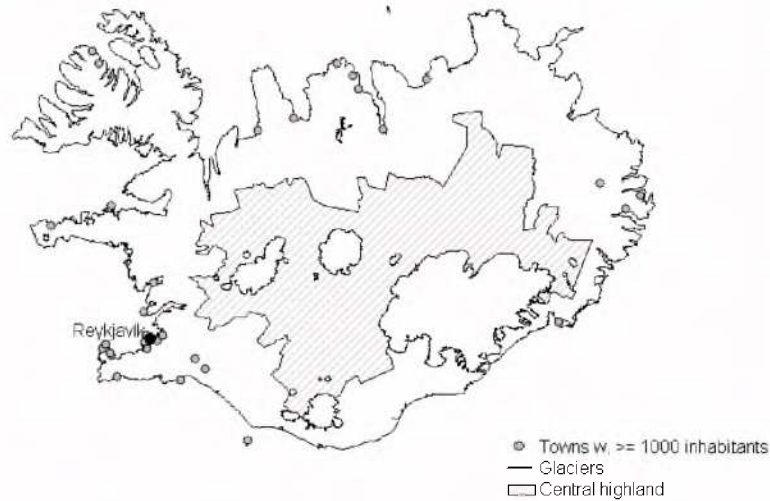
Map 9: Icelandic Settlement Structure
(Source: Skipulagsstofnun 1999; Statistics Iceland 1999)

Therefore, the Ministry of Industry, in co-operation with the Ministry of the Environment has set up a committee for developing proposals for a Master Plan for Hydro and Geothermal Energy Resources, which will be discussed later on.

Anyway, the importance of nature is not limited to determining land-use and providing heat, the maritime environment is another vital aspect. Iceland's exclusive economic zone extends to a maximum of 200 nautical miles. Situated at the meeting place of hot and cold currents, the fishing waters are among the most productive in the world.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs points out the value of nature for the Icelandic economy:

> The Icelandic economy is to a large extent based on the exploitation of renewable natural resources, the most important of which are the fish stocks in Icelandic waters, hydroelectric and geothermal power and the grasslands which support animal husbandry. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1996:16)

It has, however, to be born in mind that the importance of fishery has declined over the last decade.

Not only the natural environment but also cultural activities are of importance for Iceland. The government aims at protecting the regional cultural heritage where possible and at making it visible to domestic and international tourists that are expected to become a major factor in the national economy. Special emphasis will be placed on the reconstruction and protection of older historic buildings in provincial areas.

Also important for local recreation is fast and easy access to "untouched" nature, the so-called Accessible Wilderness (Sigurður Guðmundsson) providing various kinds of recreation. Even in the urban centre of Iceland, Reykjavik, everyone can reach the accessible wilderness in no more than a 20-minute car drive. (Hartthaler 1999:59)

History and international relations
Before finally turning to the Icelandic decision-making traditions and planning system, a few words on the country's history and its relation to the European Union are needed.

People of Nordic and Celtic origin settled in Iceland in the ninth century, making it the last country in Europe to be settled. In 1262 Iceland came under the Norwegian crown and in 1381 under the Danish monarchy. Iceland received its own constitution from the Danish king in 1874, along with a minister of internal affairs, residing in Iceland, in 1904. Iceland was granted sovereignty in 1918 and declared republican status in 1944.

Industrialisation came late to Iceland and proceeded very slowly until the second half of the 19th century, partly because of laws which restricted the freedom of people to move from farms to the new fishing villages. (Reynarsson 1999:51) At the beginning of the 19th century Iceland was still a stable agricultural society. However, during the 20th century there have been extensive changes in social structure and settlement patterns.

World War II had a great impact on Iceland and put an end to the isolation of the country, e.g. opening up more cultural and economic connections with Britain and the USA, as the British and later American armed forces occupied Iceland. Marshall Plan aid as well as the presence of the NATO base stimulated the Icelandic economy after the war.

Anyway, in economic terms, access to the European market has always been crucial for Iceland, even though the export share of the United States and the former Soviet Union has at times been considerable. This is also underlined by the fact that Iceland today has strong business connections with America, but is a member of the European Economic Area (EEA).

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Especially when it comes to ideology, culture and values, Iceland's bonds with the other Nordic countries are crucial. This is illustrated by the fact that a considerable proportion of the Icelandic constitution is still to a substantial part based on translations and adaptation of Danish and Norwegian laws or practices. None the less, the Icelandic language and national culture are considered important and the constitution has been a very significant factor in the development of Icelandic society. (Kristinsson 2000:152)

The policy statement of the Icelandic government summarizes Iceland's global integration as follows:

> In addition to these central issues, the main objectives of the Government of the Independence Party and Progressive Party during the term are: [...] That Iceland will continue to be an active participant in international cooperation in the fora of NATO, the CSCE and the UN. Defence cooperation with the United States will continue to be the focal point of security policy. As before, Nordic cooperation will be fostered in the forum of the Nordic Council. Relations with the European Union will continue to be secured on the basis of the European Economic Area Agreement and other agreements to which Iceland is a signatory. Iceland will continue to monitor closely the evolution of the EU, guided by the nation's interests in the future. In foreign policy, particular priorities will be Iceland's trade interests, the law of the sea, increased participation in development projects and the campaign for recognition of universal human rights. (POLICY STATEMENT by the Government of the Independence Party and the Progressive Party, Reykjavik, May 28, 1999)

However, Iceland tends to be careful when it comes to formal participation in European integration. It emphasises favourable trade relations rather than close political ties, mainly in order to avoid putting exclusive control of its main economic interests at risk: fishing resources.[56]

> Reluctance to open up the fisheries, for example, has been the principal reason for the refusal of Icelandic politicians to consider membership in the European Union. (Kristinsson 2000:149)

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[56] EU-Membership would involve that other EU countries be allowed to fish within the Icelandic 200-mile zone. As Kristinsson (1996) points out, the Common Fishery Policy has several aspects which make it unattractive to Iceland. Having the EU formally take over control of the resources does not necessarily lead to greater access for foreign fishermen in Iceland's 200-mile zone, but it transfers the important decisions on total allowable catches (TACs) to Brussels. In addition EU-Membership would mean changes in the restrictive immigration polices and other policy fields which are vital for the Icelandic economy. Furthermore, substantial changes in the field of regional policy would become necessary in order to adapt to Structural Funds regulations.

However, Kristinsson (1996) argues that the vulnerability thesis saying that membership is unacceptable on account of the fishery issues, does not fully account for the handling of the issue in Iceland. He sees the main reason for the reluctance in Iceland's domestic politics. Despite this reluctance, as member of the Nordic Passport Union, Iceland joined the Schengen[57] Co-operation together with the other Nordic countries.

Also, participation in the Interreg IIIB programme Northern Periphery has been under discussion. The reasons why Iceland rejected participation in Interreg III in the last moment and later on started the debate again, however, can neither be explained by fishery polices nor by its general position towards European co-operation, but mainly by domestic political tensions.

Participation in Interreg III had been considered as an opportunity for closer involvement in European co-operation. The Institute for Regional Development prepared Iceland's participation. The crucial point however, was the funding aspect. The Institute for Regional Development, which previously was under the Prime Minister's office, had been transferred to the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, when a final decision on Iceland's participation and funding was to be made. To make a long story short, the proposal was to channel the funding through the Institute for Regional Development. This was in line with the aim of the Institute and had the approval of the Minister, who was generally positive to Iceland's Interreg participation. The proposal was presented to the Board of Directors of the institute, as their approval was needed for carrying out the participation as planned. It came as a surprise to most people involved that the Board of Directors did not give its approval. There are several theories about why this happened, none of which suggests that the reason lay with the Interreg Programme or European policies. Rather it was the internal Icelandic power-struggles that were responsible. None the less, there are still ambitions to take Iceland into the Northern Periphery Interreg Programme. (Sverridsdóttir 2001) Indeed, in the recent debate (spring 2002) on the strategic regional development plan at national level, Interreg is on the agenda again.

Thus, Iceland might finally overcome the present situation where it is in European contexts only rarely on both mental and printed maps.

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[57] The Schengen Convention lays down the arrangements and guarantees for implementing freedom of movement and is legally incorporated into the European Union. It amends the relevant national laws and is subject to parliamentary ratification. Belgium, France, Germany, Luxembourg and the Netherlands (1985), Italy (1990), Spain and Portugal (1991), Greece (1992), Austria (1995), Sweden, Finland and Denmark (1996) have since joined the list of signatories, while Iceland and Norway are also parties to the Convention.

Policy-making in a small country

Generally speaking, Iceland's political system is in a number of ways constrained by its smallness, but as Kristinsson (2000) points out, are there other characteristics as well:

> The problem of smallness, especially as regards domestic policy making, should, however, not be overstated. The strain on the intellectual capacity of the system is in some respects compensated for by its relative simplicity. Co-ordination and communication in such a small system is, in some respects, simpler than in larger ones. To the extent that simplicity is not enough, Iceland politicians and administrators have always been adept at selectively borrowing policy solutions from Scandinavia and elsewhere. Moreover, it is far from clear that smallness is always to blame for the shortcomings of the system, rather than the political relations in the country. (Kristinsson 2000:150)

According to Kristinsson the political system sometime appears slightly chaotic, and the decisions often rely less on research and long-term policy considerations than might be considered desirable. Hartthaler (1999) describes Icelandic decision-making mentality in slightly more prejudiced terms as *Fishermen's Mentality* or *Networking Society – Everyone knows Everyone*. By the term Fishermen's Mentality, she refers to a tendency to focus on quick and spontaneous action, as when a fish school passes by and you have to act quickly and spontaneously as nobody knows where the fish schools go. Networking Society – Everyone knows Everyone refers to the small and homogenous population, and the importance of personal contacts and how individual preferences easily can influence society and policy-making. Hartthaler's populist view on Icelandic decision-making culture does, however, give some explanations for Kristinsson's analysis.

Decision making in the field of spatial planning is characterized by two additional aspects. Firstly, committees in various forms and shapes have an important role at all levels. Secondly, planning is still mainly understood as a technical task of identifying suitable building sites.

> Planning in Iceland has been described as being characterized by data collection and map-making, rather than effective coordination, and that land-use planning has to some extent been performed in a comprehensive rational manner. (Theodórsdóttir 2000:53)

This is also reflected in the various committees, as these are comprised mainly of officials and only to a limited degree of politicians. Only when the committee handles a politically sensitive topic, do members tend to be

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replaced by political representatives. Today, the central government has recognised the need for co-ordination of land-use planning and regional economic planning. Some modest attempts have been carried out in the work on two regional plans, one for the central highlands and one for the capital region. (Theodórsdóttir 2000:56)

Regarding the overall planning philosophy, two aspects are of interest. Firstly, since Iceland has only two administrative tiers – central state and municipality – the division of power between these tiers is crucial. Secondly, there is the fact that Icelandic planning involves a large number of committees.

Two level power-struggle

The bi-polar government structure and the low population size, the large number of small municipalities and the great variance in size of municipalities affect public administration in Iceland. 74% of Iceland's 124 municipalities have less than 1000 inhabitants. In consequence, there is a mixture of centralisation and decentralisation. However, the municipalities are rather weak and depend on the state. (Theodórsdóttir 2000:56) This complex power game influences the practice of spatial planning. Land-use planning has in many ways the character of small community planning with a potential for getting a large percentage of the inhabitants involved in public participation and democratic anchorage of the plan.

> However this can, at the same time, have drawbacks 'if the dominant shareholders are concerned with present-day economic benefits, it may become difficult to make land use decisions that include social and inter-generational equity considerations' (Jónsdóttir, 1998:47 quoted after Theodórsdóttir 2000:56)

The complications of the division of labour are even more visible in the field of regional development, where the municipalities clearly depend on the state and its regional aid and decentralisation policies. All areas outside the capital region are eligible for assistance from the Institute for Regional Development.

As a consequence of the bi-polar government structure, consisting of the central state and the municipalities, actors at regional level need to be constructed by the other two tiers. In consequence, at regional much more than at national level, committees are major actors in the field of spatial planning. Unlike the committees at municipal level, at regional level committees are often more politicised, e.g. the Committee for Planning of the Central Highlands or the one for planning in the region of Reykjavik. At regional level, there is, however, one actor which

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is not organized as a committee: the representative for the economic regional development sector.

The land of committees

Many central actors in Icelandic spatial planning and development are actually committees. As illustrated in the annex, these committees vary greatly in their composition, functions and tasks. However, there are committees at all levels of spatial planning, including the following:

- National level:
    - Planning and Building Tribunal
    - Planning and Building Committee on national level
- Regional level:
    - Joint Committee for planning of the central highlands
    - Joint Committee for regional plans
- Local level:
    - Building Committee / Building and Planning Committee
    - Planning Committee

Before continuing, it should be mentioned that this is also in part a language problem as a number of Icelandic terms, such as *nefnd, ráð, samstarfshópur* are often translated into English simply as committee.

In any case, as the review of actors illustrated (cf. annex), some of the committees found in Icelandic planning are substitutes for missing actors. This can either be understood administratively, when a committee fills in for a missing office, or it can be understood politically, when a committee substitutes for a body of politicians having the legitimacy for decision-making. Both forms can be seen at the regional level; depending on the political importance of the committee it will either be dominated by politicians and tend to be a decision-making body, or it will be dominated by civil servants and function as a working committee.

Committees at local and regional level can also function as working committees. Here, organising the work in committees is an attempt to effectively utilise local knowledge. It also means making a virtue out of necessity, as there are neither the resources nor the need to employ a civil servant for these issues at local level. As a consequence of the lack of special competences, the committees often commission private consultants to provide input or to carry out the practical tasks. In this context Bjarnadóttir pointed out that consultants often hold an influential position in plan preparations, as they often are the only persons on a committee with the needed expertise – in small municipalities the variety of expert competence is naturally limited.

The other side of the coin is, however, that committees based on consensus or majority decisions tend to avoid controversial issues and

agree often on the lowest common denominator. In consequence certain topics are not addressed, or strategic decisions not made. Another disadvantage of the committee work is discontinuity. Here two different forms are to be distinguished. Firstly, ad-hoc committees result in discontinuity simply because of the structure of their task. Secondly, even standing committees face discontinuities because, even though the committee itself continues, there is often a high turnover of members, also related to the current debates. Last but not least, committee members may feel more committed to their original position than to the interests of the committee or its tasks.

An assumption of the consequences of all this is that decision-making has a consensus-orientated and incrementalistic character. The picture of incrementalistic decision-making is in line with Kristinsson's (2000) observation discussed above, namely that Iceland's political system produces decisions which often rely less on long-term considerations.

Historical development of the planning system

> No towns were built in Iceland from the time of settlement in the ninth century until the second half of the nineteenth century. (Reynarsson 1999:49)

This late "urbanisation" and the distinct Icelandic definition of urban areas, explain why planning only became an issue in the beginning of the 20th century and the first Planning Act came into force as late as 1921.

The first Icelandic Planning Act can be viewed from various perspectives. Reynarsson (1999) emphasises the fact that Iceland actually had a Planning Act before the "mother country", Denmark, did and that Icelandic planning became in its earlier years an issue of international interest. Both Guðmundur Hannessson, father of this first Icelandic Planning Act, and National Architect Guðjón Samúelsson, originator of the first land-use plans in Iceland, were invited to give lectures on planning in Iceland abroad, as the Planning Act was one of the most progressive at that time and the first in the Nordic countries. (Reynarsson 1999:56) The act required all towns with more than 500 inhabitants to have a master plan. The advanced state of planning in Iceland caught the attention of the European planning profession. On the other hand, Theodórsdóttir (2000:52) points out that the Act was not put into practice immediately, as the first plan was approved six years after its enactment. So, the first town plan for Reykjavik was completed in 1927.

Today all urban areas have approved land-use plans, even though some of them date back to the 1980s, and even 1970s, without having

been revised. (Theodórsdóttir 2000:53) Possibly as a result of delays in implementation, the idea that master plans would be reviewed every five years was built into the 1964 planning legislation. The Planning and Building Act which came into force in 1998, states in the interim provisions that local authorities shall have ten years from the enactment of the law to complete municipal plans. All this illustrates the lack of urgency and low status of physical planning in Iceland.

Apart from these formal aspects, international debates and trends have influenced planning in Iceland as well as the three versions of the Planning and Building Act which have been adopted during the past century. Reynarsson (1999) outlines three waves of planning ideology in the field of urban planning which had an impact on Iceland:

- *Garden city*
  Ebenezer Howard's garden city concept (1902) was introduced in Iceland in the 1910s and thus influenced both the first Planning Act (1921) and the first town plan for Reykjavik (1927).
- *Systematic transportation*
  In the 1960 Danish experts brought transportation ideology to Iceland which influenced the first master plan for Reykjavik (1966) and the revision of the Planning and Building Act (1964).
- *Environmental conservation*
  The Agenda 21 discussion strengthened in the 1990s the environmental aspects in Icelandic planning, as reflected in Reykjavik's master plan of 1996, the proposal for the first regional preservation plan for the "interior" of Iceland and the new Planning and Building Act which came into force in 1998. Even the establishment of the Ministry for the Environment in 1990 may be seen as part of this trend.

> Although Iceland was isolated for centuries from the rest of the world, new ideas and methods in urban planning reached Iceland relatively early. Planning and building mandates were established for Reykjavik in 1839, but not until 1854 for Copenhagen, the capital of Iceland at that time, and Planning Law in 1921 compared to 1938 in Denmark. (Reynarsson 1999:64)

New Planning and Building Act

Following the first Planning Act of 1921 and the revision from 1964, in 1998 a totally renewed Planning and Building Act entered into force. This Act introduced two main changes:

- The whole country became subject to planning control. For the first time agricultural land became subject to planning legislation;

previously only a small part of the rural environment was covered by approved land-use plans.

- The responsibility for planning issues was formally moved from central authorities to the local authorities. However, the Act includes also regulations on plans on land use at the national level (Article 11), about which more below.

Furthermore, it is the first Planning and Building Act which states the objectives of planning legislation and land-use planning. In Article 1 the aims of this Act are described as follows:

- to ensure that the development of settlement and land use in the country as a whole will be in accordance with development plans which are based on the economic, social and cultural needs of the population, and also their health and safety;
- to encourage the rational and efficient utilization of land and natural resources, to ensure the preservation of natural and cultural values and to prevent environmental damage and over-exploitation, based on the principles of sustainable development;
- to ensure security under the law in the handling of planning and building issues so that the rights of individuals and legal persons will not be neglected even though the common interest is the guiding principle;
- to ensure the professional preparation of development and active monitoring to ensure that the requirements regarding safety, durability, appearance and suitability of buildings and other structures are fulfilled.

(Planning and Building Act 1998, Article 1)

Recent Icelandic planning

The brief review of Iceland planning history has shown that, as far as physical planning is concerned, the planning system is based on land-use plans, primarily the municipal plan, where all land is allocated to different land classes. Planning activities at regional and national level are, however, emerging. The main emphasis regarding regional development lies with national policies and programmes.

At national level not very much is done by means of issuing formal policy documents. Most of the national activities are to be found in the field of programmes and projects. According to Sigurður Guðmundsson of the National Economic Institute, policy-making in Iceland is a kind of a silent process. As a result of this e.g. regional policies have only a limited number of official objectives, such as communication, education

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and industrial development outside the capital region. As the review (cf. also annex) will show, spatial or planning policy is even more silent and less equipped with formal instruments.

The attempt to establish national planning was not successful, but did result in an Article 11 on plans for land use at the national level being included in the Planning and Building Act. According to this Article, the Planning Agency shall gather information and have access to and preserve plans produced by other public entities on land use which apply to the country as a whole, e.g. regarding transportation, telecommunications, power structures and nature conservation. Should inconsistencies or other conflicts of interest be revealed in land use proposals as set forth in individual plans, the Minister for the Environment may (after consulting the Prime Minister and the Union of Local Authorities in Iceland) decide to appoint a special committee to make proposals on the co-ordination of the relevant plans. On receipt of the proposals of the committee, the Minister for the Environment may require the local authorities to incorporate the proposals in the development plans.

This article only found its way into the Act after a number of debates and re-draftings. It was originally intended to form a base for a national plan, comparable to the Danish National Plan, prepared by the Ministry of Environment. In order to prevent the Ministry of Environment from becoming "too strong", the approach was limited to the Article as phrased above. However, with this Article, Icelandic legislation acknowledges that national planning and co-ordination is of importance. According to the Planning Agency, the professional and political debate made the need for regional and national planning and development evident. Here the EU directive on Strategic Environmental Assessment, SEA, (directive 2001/42/EC) is regarded as a valuable contribution to the debate on the necessity of policy analysis.

Whereas national planning intentions coming from the physical planning sector have not been successful, ambitions rooted in the economic sector are about to become a key aspect. Indeed, the (strategic) regional development plan at national level can be considered a rather powerful tool. This plan, which takes the form of a policy document, describes the regional objectives and policy of the government, its plans for action and the connections between regional policy and general economic and industrial policy and plans concerning public services. The Institute of Regional Development in Iceland, which also handled the Interreg-business discussed above, carries out the actual preparation of the plans. So, it may not come as a surprise that Icelandic participation in

Interreg is among the proposals made. Other issues point ahead are the aim to develop Akureyri as growth centre for North and East Iceland. Furthermore, it is proposed to develop university centres in Ísafjörður and Egilsstaðir. Thus the debate points towards the development of a more polycentric settlement pattern, as discussed above. At least, there are ambitions to spatially concentrate efforts for counterbalancing the increasing dominance of Reykjavik.[58]

The aspect of hydro and geothermal energy resources is, however, not very much discussed in the (strategic) regional development plan. On the one hand this is a surprise as these issues highly relevant for the development of Iceland and under political debate. On the other hand one might argue that these issues do not need to be addressed by this plan, as the are topics for an intended master plan focusing on hydro and geothermal energy resources. Even though this master plan is a typical sector plan, it follows a cross sectoral approach and involves about 50 experts coming from various fields of public administration and partly also the private sector. In the preparatory process of this master plan, a large number of proposed power projects will be evaluated and categorised on the bases of efficiency and economic profitability as well as how they will benefit the economy as the whole. First results are expected in 2002.[59]

Anyway, the developments at national level, illustrate that planning understood, as spatial planning is not a major issue, whereas regional development policies and handling energy resources are of importance. The debates show, however, not major attempt to cross-sectoral solutions.

As regards the regional level, too, the main emphasis is on regional economic development. Anyway, regional plans originally came into use as instrument to deal with the unplanned and uncoordinated building of summer cottages in the rural areas. Here it should be borne in mind that Iceland was not entirely divided into municipalities, and wide ranges of the country were not covered by municipal planning. Furthermore, the rural areas were not subject to municipal planning until the new Planning and Building Act came into force in 1998.

Regional plans are prepared by two or more local authorities and are to deal with land use in the whole of their respective municipalities. Regional planning is voluntary and no corresponding administrative level exists. As a result, regional plans are often much more like joint municipal plans. As such, they often avoid dealing with difficult issues or conflicts of interest. According to the Planning Agency, regional planning

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[58] For a more detailed description of regional development plan at national level, see page 297.

[59] For a more detailed description of regional development plan at national level, see page 299.

is necessary from a national perspective, as there is no national planning. The importance is e.g. illustrated by the regional plan for the central highlands. This describes a shift from regional planning as co-ordinating local needs to a forum for debate on national challenges.[60]

Regional and municipal plans are subject to approval by the Minister for the Environment, whereas local plans are adopted by local authorities. All development and construction must proceed in accordance with a municipal and a local plan.

Because of the importance of the municipal level and local self-governance, municipal planning has a strong position when it comes to land-use planning. Municipal land-use planning is, according to the Planning and Building Act, the only compulsory physical planning activity. All local authorities are to have completed their municipal plans no later than July 2008.

At none of the existing planning levels, European issues are considered being of importance. Iceland's participation in Interreg would have been the only opening for the European planning debate.

Summary and conclusions

This review of the Icelandic planning system illustrates the weak position of planning and cross-sectoral co-ordination.

Regarding Icelandic interaction with European spatial planning and development, Iceland is only peripherally affected by European policies and debates. Its own attempts to active participation are rather limited and there is certainly no attempt to make European planning more Icelandic.

Planning as a family affair – The incrementalistic committee approach
Both physical planning and regional development have been subject to political re-arrangements in recent years. Firstly, the ambitions of the Ministry for the Environment in the field of national planning have been curtailed by the Prime Minister's Office, and secondly, the status of regional development has been affected by relocating the main actor in this field.

The Institute for Regional Development and therewith the responsibility for the national plan for regional development have been moved from the Prime Minister to the Minister of Industry and Commerce, which results in a weakening of regional policy, and especially of sector co-ordination.

Previously, the proposal for Article 11 of the Planning and Building Act had been weakened. Therewith, the ambition of and

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[60] For a more detailed description of the regional plan for the central highlands, see page 270.

opportunity for the Ministry of Environment to obtain a cross-sectoral co-ordination instrument were prevented by the Prime Minister's Office.

Both, the relocation of the Institute for Regional Development and the obstacles met by attempts to co-ordinated planning under the Ministry of Environment, indicate that things are moving apart and co-ordination of various sectors becomes more difficult. Indeed, support for regional development consists mainly of uncoordinated financial support for single projects which are not seen as part of, or integrated into, a broader framework.

Even professionals who agree that more co-ordination and planning is needed have different opinions on whether a cross-secotral plan at national level or a series of regional plans covering the entire country would be the most appropriate solution. The question remains as to what degree this apparent weakening of co-ordinated spatial planning and development is the result of an unspoken agenda or of decision-making structures described by Kristinsson (2000) as slightly chaotic and short-term oriented.

Different types of committees and decision-making
As pointed out, an outsider reviewing spatial planning and development in Iceland is struck by the number of committees. This puts Icelandic decision-making very much on the incrementalistic side. As Kristinsson (2000) points out, the complaint is frequently made that policy suffers from lack of professionalism and proper planning, as a result of Iceland's smallness. At the same time, the committee structure may also illustrate that planning and related policy-making is subject to a rather small policy network, almost a family businessHowever, the controversies about the regional plan for the central highlands and especially the composition of the responsible committee, illustrated that planning is not exclusively a one-big-happy-family business.

Regional Plan for the Central Highlands – Rural-Urban Relationships
In general, rural-urban relationships are crucial for Reykjavik. Iceland's population is increasingly concentrated in the capital region. At the same time parliament is dominated by representatives of rural areas. This may be a proper political balance, which prevents national decisions from focusing exclusively on the interests of the capital region, but the distribution makes it difficult to find solutions and formulate future plans. A hypothetical assumption here is that this imbalance of political power and actual population concentration may be one reason for the weakening of spatial planning and development. As a consequence of this imbalance, taking a clear decision on more or less tabooed topic is forestalled.

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However, existing spatial perspectives reach from continuing efforts to safeguard rural areas, through concentrating on Reykjavik and three additional sub-centres in a polycentric manner, to focusing exclusively on Reykjavik. The (strategic) regional development plan at national level might give some more co-ordinated guidance on such issues in future. Perhaps a more powerful regional or a national plan policy would help to define a suitable development perspective for Iceland, but both have been weakened during recent years. Nor is Iceland involved in major international exchanges of experiences on these topics.

Small steps towards European integration
As Iceland is not a member of the European Union, it did not participate in the ESDP process. Furthermore, Iceland is located so far away from the European continent that no major interest in the ESDP process or document has been shown. Even though the issues of rural-urban partnership and polycentric development may partly be of interest, in the discussions it is mostly stressed that no other European country has the same extreme conditions as Iceland, which is certainly true.

However, it would be wrong to picture Iceland as an uninformed and isolated country. Iceland's engagement in Nordic co-operation, its participation in the European Economic Area and the Schengen co-operation, and involvement in the field of spatial planning and development through the Interreg III debate illustrate that Iceland is moving more and more towards Europe.

Furthermore, the emergence of regions and regional planning and the ambitions for national planning illustrate tendencies which would harmonise Icelandic planning with other European planning systems. These tendencies are certainly not direct influenced by the European Union, but more general trends in the spirit of the time.

In many regards Icelandic spatial planning and development presents the Nordic system in a nutshell, both regarding the spatial imbalances and the tabooing of radical solutions, as well as the weak but emerging regional level and decision-making structures.

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Norway – Reluctant but Curious

In 1130 the Norwegian crown and church brought district after district of Norway under their rule so that Norway could be termed one realm. Since that time, however, Norway has spent most of its time in more or less involuntary unions under the crowns of Denmark (1380 – 1814) and Sweden (1814 – 1905). After a series of clashes between Norway and Sweden in the late nineteenth century, which almost resulted in military action, an agreement on a peaceful dissolution of the Union was finally reached in 1905 and Norway became again a sovereign state.

The issue of Norway's form of government was hotly disputed. A referendum ended with a large majority in favour of a monarchy rather than a republic. Accordingly, the *Storting* (national assembly) chose a King of Norway and the choice fell on the Danish prince Carl, who acceded to the Norwegian throne as Håkon VII. As Norway is a monarchy where executive power is vested in the king, he is not just a ceremonial representative of his country.[61]

As a consequence of the fateful occupation by the Germans during World War II, Norway joined NATO, alongside Denmark, in 1949. The Norwegian industry soon recovered from the consequences of German occupation. Thus the years after World War II have been marked by steady progress of the Norwegian economy, with plentiful resources spent on building up a welfare state which has created a more egalitarian society than those of in many other Western countries. (Enzensberger 1989)

In the 1960s the oil era began. Exploration in the North Sea revealed rich finds, eventually resulting in considerable oil and gas production. Later finds have also been registered in the Norwegian Sea and the Barents Sea. Currently the major production takes place in the Norwegian Sea, off the coast of central Norway. The petroleum age has led to a considerable restructuring of the country's trade and industry. Norwegian oil has, however, brought not only positive consequences, as the oil wealth seems to delay the structural change towards a knowledge and information-based economy. (Selstad 1999a:15)

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[61] The role of the king is laid down in the constitution. Articles 1 & 3 are of particular interest: Article 1: The Kingdom of Norway is a free, independent, indivisible and inalienable Realm. Its form of government is a limited and hereditary monarchy. Article 3: The Executive Power is vested in the King, or in the Queen if she has succeeded to the Crown pursuant to the provisions of Article 6 or Article 7 or Article 48 of this Constitution. When the Executive Power is thus vested in the Queen, she has all the rights and obligations which pursuant to this Constitution and the Law of the Land are possessed by the King.

The biggest policy issue in post-war Norway has been whether or not to join the European Common Market, or the European Union, as it is now known. In 1962, Norway submitted its first application after Great Britain and Denmark had applied in 1961. This came to nought with De Gaulle's veto on British membership in 1963. (Sogner and Archer 1995:391) When Great Britain again applied for membership in 1967, the issue of Norwegian membership gained more urgency. Accordingly, the *Storting* decided to renew the application from 1962, which was followed by a second veto in 1967. Only after the 1969 summit in The Hague did the EC again open negotiations with the earlier applications. This led to a Norwegian referendum in 1972, in which 53 percent voted against a Norwegian EC membership. This reflected a broad popular protest against the exclusive competence of governments to handle questions of foreign policy and national economy and against EU membership specifically. The debate was probably the hardest-fought political battle in Norway since the dissolution of its union with Sweden in 1905. (Sæter 1996:135)

Only a couple of years later, a trade agreement with the EC was signed which regulated the relationship between Norway and the Common Market up to the beginning of the 1990s. In 1992 the Agreement on the European Economic Area (EEA) was signed by the EU and the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) countries, apart from Switzerland. This ensures Norwegian participation in the development of the EEA and gives the country access to the EU Single Market, as well as opening the door to co-operation in a number of adjacent areas. When Sweden and Finland, as well as Austria, joined the EU, Norway stayed together with Iceland and Liechtenstein in EFTA in 1995.

In the beginning of the 1990s Norway, however, anticipated EU membership together with Finland and Sweden. So, a second referendum was held in autumn 1994, and once again membership war rejected, with 52.5 percent of the votes against it. However, unlike the referendum in 1972, the second 'No' to EU membership did not produce anything like a crisis in Norwegian politics. (Sæter 1996:133)

> The rejections of EU membership by a majority of Norwegian population, while the Norwegian government already participated in the EU meeting in Brussels as a potential member, indicates how deep the gap has been between the politico-administrative establishment and the rest of the society. (Soetendorp and Hanf 1998:191)

Despite the two public rejections of EU membership Sverdrup (1998b) calls Norway "An Adaptive Non-Member" and argues that the

Norwegian political system is in a process of Europeanisation. This illustrates what may be described as the Norwegian elite being a secret member, while the population remains outside. In 1994 a more pragmatic way to deal with the choice made by the Norwegian population was found, and Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland[62] suggested a short time after the referendum that Norway must act more or less as if it were an EU Member State. (Sverdrup 1998b:150) On several occasions the Norwegian government has underlined the need to as far as possible adapt Norwegian policy to the EU, with just one limitation: formal Norwegian membership. Accordingly, the Norwegian government has – since that time – made major efforts to adapt the organization and orientation of the Norwegian political system to increased European integration. New organisations have been established and new procedures for securing sufficient co-ordination and control have been developed. (Trondal 2000, Sverdrup 1998b and Sæter 1996)

> European contacts and regulation are considered as important within most national policy fields, even in the fields traditionally totally dominated by domestic considerations. Furthermore, increased attention, time and energy have been devoted to European issues, and Norway has developed shared decision-making institutions with the EU. (Sverdrup 1998b:149)

A new debate on EU membership will, however, only be initiated after careful considerations.

> To the Norwegian government, a renewed application would seem worthwhile only if it is regarded as having a fair chance of success. At the domestic level, one can expect a growing recognition of the fact that Norway, even without membership, is becoming increasingly dependent on EU policy-making, and that there is really no feasible alternative to this other than membership. (Sæter 1996:147)

Despite the fact that Norway remains outside the European Union, it is economically (EEA) interwoven with the EU.

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[62] Gro Harlem Brundtland was Norwegian Prime Minister under the periods February to October 1981, May 1986 – October 1989 and March 1990 to October 1996.

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Administrative units in Norway
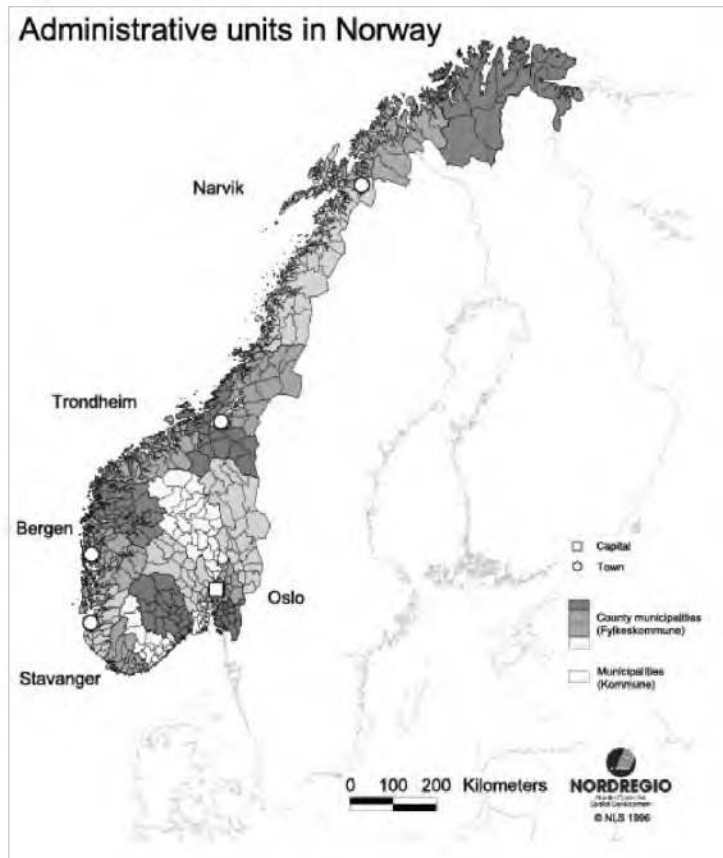
Map 10: Administrative Units in Norway

Norwegian characteristics

With an area of 385,155 km^2 (including the islands of Svalbard and Jan Mayen) Norway is larger than Italy and almost the size of Germany in terms of total land area. With only 4.5 million in habitants it is, however, a small state and sparsely populated. Norway has a lower population density than many other European countries: 14 inhabitants per km^2, as compared to the European Union's 114 inhabitants per km^2. Just over one percent of the country has been built on, but it is important to remember that only four percent of the land can be cultivated at all, and that settlements are mainly concentrated around these areas. (St.meld. nr 29, 1996-97e) The country's unique topography and geography has influenced its political and economic development. Norway's continental coast line is 21,192 km, including the fjords, whereas the shortest north-south distance is 1,752 km. The shape of the country and the fact that the inland is mainly covered by mountain areas, account for the fact that transport traditionally means sea transport and only in modern times has the mode changed from sea to land and later also to air transport. As late as during the late 1950s and early 1960s, a number of municipalities were amalgamated by various acts of Parliament, because of changes in the patterns of communication (from sea to land) and the institutionalisation of the welfare state. (Larsen and Offerdal 2000:188)

The modes of transportation have also influenced the development of settlement patterns and all major settlement areas are still located along the coast. The largest population centres are the capital Oslo (508,000 inhabitants), Bergen (230,000 inhabitants), Trondheim (150,000 inhabitants), Stavanger (109,000 inhabitants) and Bærum (101,000 inhabitants); the remaining 430 municipalities have less than 100,000 inhabitants. This illustrates that Norway has not developed a balanced or even polycentric settlement pattern and that the capital city shows a clear dominance in the national urban system. Developments of recent years have shown that the regional centres are relatively stable in terms of population, whereas settlements in the more peripheral municipalities show a long-term decrease. The government's overall strategy, which forms the basis for its activity in regional policy, is to develop prolonged and profitable employment and to stimulate value adding based on the specific conditions in each region. This overall strategy consists of several sub-strategies, one of which aims for the development of more functional regions. For pursuing these strategies and achieving their goals, there are several instruments at the national level. Regular reports to the *Storting* (national assembly) regarding spatial planning and

development are of major importance for shaping national policies and strategies pursuing the overall aim mentioned above.

Aalbu et al. (1999) underline that regional problems in Norway mainly stem from the vulnerability of communities and local economies to population loss, the lack of diverse economic activities and the small size of local markets. Whereas unemployment and low per capita income levels have been less critical in their effects, owing to the extensive support for public services traditionally provided by the government, they remain serious concerns for regional policy. The key to growth and development has been the efficient exploration and exploitation of natural resources. Especially important are the resources of the sea, utilised by the shipping, fishing and, more recently, oil and gas industries. Norway is, therefore, probably more dependent upon the resources of its territory and thereby upon its territorial boundaries than are most continental European countries. In order to prevent too strong dependency on world-market prices for oil and to keep the domestic economy stable by decreasing the risk of inflation, Norway follows a restrictive fiscal policy. Thus, considerable earnings from the oil sector are directed into various savings funds and not spent on running the country's everyday business.

Philosophy of policy-making

Traditionally Norway has had neither a strong landed gentry nor a solid urban bourgeoisie, and the majority of Norwegians were self-sufficient farmers or fishermen right up to the beginning of the 20th century. Norwegian egalitarianism and dislike of centralisation is said to have been an important factor in the Norwegian opposition to EU membership, and to be unique in Europe. (website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs)

The German writer Hans Magnus Enzensberger (1989) describes Norway as an anachronistic and paradoxical society, in many ways still a rural community on the European periphery. It is, however, also one of the world's most modern and advanced societies with regard to state administration and the development of technology. He pictures Norway as a country where the clocks show time differently from that on the continent, a country of un-synchronisation (*Ungleichzeitigkeit*):

> Heute ist Norwegen Europas größtes Heimatmuseum, aber auch ein riesiges Zukunftslabor. (Enzensberger 1989:311)

Although many Norwegians dislike Enzensberger's friendly but ironic picture of Norway, for outsiders his view of the country as one of anachronisms and paradoxes strikes a familiar chord. Some of these anachronisms are also reflected in Norwegian policy and decision making.

As in the other Nordic countries consensus seeking plays an important role in Norway. In this context Eduardo Archetti (1984) underscores the need for consensus and an ideology demanding a degree of equality and fairness that is almost mathematically calibrated. The importance of collaborative decision-making is also underlined in the 1997 national report on regional planning and land-use policy:

> In the Long-term Programme 1998-2001, the Government holds up equality, liberty and solidarity as the fundamental values on which it constructs its policy. The realization of these values requires mobilization and participation by the general public. The Government emphasizes that the right of consultation must be fundamental to political administration and human activity. This means that all citizens must take their share of the responsibility, and commit themselves to cooperating with each other to create a secure society in a secure world. In our modern and complex society, people are all dependent on each other. We achieve more by collaborating on making decisions. (St.meld. nr. 29 1996-97e:11)

Actually throughout the entire post-war period, the public have played a major role in the development of the Norwegian welfare state. (St.meld. nr 29 1996-97:11) At the same time, the process of European integration has shown that there is also a strong Norwegian elite with a certain freedom to interpret public opinion. This is, for instance, illustrated by the reactions to the EU referendum in 1994 mentioned above.

Apart from the broad societal consensus, also a neo-corporatist approach to decision making, as discussed in the chapter on Nordic characteristics, is evident in Norway. (Rokkan 1966, Rose 1996) At municipal level e.g. decision-making in various standing committees has traditionally been a very important aspect of the functioning of Norwegian local government. Committee members may or may not be recruited from amongst the elected councillors. (Larsen and Offerdal 2000:190)

Historical development of the planning system

The development of the Norwegian spatial planning system is strongly interwoven with economic and political developments in the country, especially as the term and idea of planning is largely used not only to cover physical or spatial planning, but also economic development. 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 political agendas of the territorial authorities are an important element.

As early as 1845, Norway acquired general planning regulations, which were rather basic. As a result of a period of rapid growth in settlement areas, a modern town-planning act was adopted in 1924. According to this act, municipalities with compact settlement areas have to draw up regulation plans. Norway started creating its own planning tradition. In the beginning of the 20th century, the physical planning tradition was stronger than economic planning, and the term "planning" was associated primarily with town planning. (Selstad 1999a)

The consequences of World War II, such as the German bombers following the escape route of the Norwegian king and parliament as well as the Germany scorched-earth policy (*Politik der verbrannten Erde*) during their retreat through Northern Norway, opened the way for a new dimension of planning in Norway. The post-war situation in Northern Norway, especially in the regions of Troms and Finnmark, led to a new regional dimension in planning. Here, planners found a "dream case", a *tabula rasa*, which they were keen to take advantage of. In addition to architects, economists and geographers were involved. The message of the plan (*brente jords regulering*) was clear: the regions of Troms and Finnmark were not supposed to be built up as they had been before the German *tabula rasa*. A more concentrated settlement pattern was envisaged, comprised of a number villages with modern harbours and fish-processing industry instead of the previously existing structure of small settlement areas and numerous small fishing villages. However, the planners forgot one important factor, the inhabitants. As soon as possible, people moved back to their burned-down houses and settlements and started to build them up again, with scant consideration for the on-going planning of the area or ideas about new settlement patterns.

In the post-war period until 1960, government economic planning had its time of glory. This was also the Keynesian era in western Europe: the state was supposed to regulate the economy. Teigen (1999:64) points out that in Norway a special form of Keyensianism was applied. State interventions went further, extending even to the level of individual enterprises (*bransje- og bedriftsnivå*), than in Keynes' macro-economic approach. Teigen sees the reasons mainly in the tradition of a state run by officials in public administration, as well as inspiration from the Soviet Union. In the years after 1947, the Norwegian "plan-state" was institutionalised and Norway a sort of Keynesian plan-regime, which was not only about to regulate the numerous governmental sectors, but the entire country. The planning mechanisms were constructed top-down and given regional branches in the form of offices for regional planning. These regional branches were responsible for analysis and development

of programmes for the counties. The really large regional plan covered entire Northern Norway and was a development plan aiming at modernizing old industry and supporting new industry in order to vitalise the economy.

The Northern Norway Plan was regarded as a success and the government wished to institutionalise this system for supporting industrialisation in all parts of the country. The emerging support structure did not differ very much from developments in other countries, such as the UK. The difference, however, was that Norway developed radical regional policies which aimed at maintaining settlement patterns. Industrialisation was seen as the means to accomplish this. Furthermore, it was a central aim of the national government to redistribute the advantages to the periphery by developing a modern welfare state at local level. (Selstad 1999a:11)

Whereas the period up until 1960 was one of central state planning, the following decades, from 1960 to the end of the 1980s, were the heyday of regional policy: The Northern Norway plan was wound up, and its remaining funds went into a fund for developing peripheral areas in all parts of Norway. (Teigen 1999:64)

With the Building Act of 1965, a new planning system was introduced. This system was very much inspired by the British planning system or the Swedish one, the latter more or less a copy of the British system. (Selstad 1999a:11) Great Britain and Sweden, however, had both introduced their Planning Acts in 1947, almost 20 years before Norway. The planning system consisted of master plans following a more comprehensive approach and serving also as a point of reference for economic planning, as well as concrete land-use plans for municipalities. Regional plans were meant to have a similar function at the level of functional urban regions.

The Building Act was well co-ordinated with the parallel reform of municipal structure and regional policy, as municipalities became larger in size and assumed new duties, such as planning. (Selstad 1999a:12) During the late 1950s and early 1960s, a number of municipalities were amalgamated by various acts of Parliament, because of changes in the communication patterns (from sea to land) and the institutionalisation of the welfare state. (Larsen and Offerdal 2000:188) With regard to regional policy, the main focus was on the development of a number of vigorous regional centres. So, the period from 1966 – 1976 was characterized by comprehensive spatial planning, involving both physical and economic planning. This integration was reached by a sectoral integration at institutional level, as for the first time integrated planning and

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development departments (*PUBA – Plan- og Utbyggingsavdelingene*), with both architects and economists, were established at regional level. (Selstad 1999a:12) In the following decade, the 1980s, public planning was, not only in Norway, reduced to a marginal phenomenon. (Aarsæther 1992:80)

In 1985, this system was reformed by the introduction of the Planning and Building Act, which made planning mandatory and at the same time put more emphasis on the local level and public participation:

> The main importance of the new Act as compared to the old legislation is the greater emphasis put on local participation in planning and wider powers given to the municipalities concerning their responsibility for planning and local development. (Naustdalslid and Tombre 1997:3)

At this time interests in more comprehensive planning were played down, with reference to expected quick economic changes which traditional public planning would not have the means to adjust to. (Aarsæther 1992:80)

In 1989 impact assessment was introduced, inspired by the US example. Environmental Impact Assessment thus began to shape planning and force planning to consider and integrate environmental aspects and values.

Economic planning, also including social service provision, developed in parallel, but in a far more top-down manner. State economic planning collapsed, but the reasons why regional economic planning survived are not clear. At least Selstad states that it was not because of its success, but rather because of the rhetoric claiming that regions competed with each other; therefore strategic planning was needed as an instrument for competition. (Selstad 1999a:15)

The current Norwegian Planning and Building Act gives a framework for comprehensive planning of national, regional and local activities which relates the use of land or other natural resources also to sectoral planning and economic pre-conditions. One of the main features of this planning system is that elected bodies/organs at local and regional level are responsible for the adoption of plans: Planning is an instrument for popularly elected bodies to shape and implement political goals. (NOU 20001:50) As mentioned in the chapter on Nordic characteristics, it is an overall aim or principle that planning be carried out in a decentralised manner and as closely to those affected as possible.

Among the tasks of today's planning system are (St.meld. nr 29 1996-97:11):
- contributing to an improved distribution of society's resources;
- securing common interests in society;
- improving knowledge about the long-term consequences of human activities and intentions;
- managing land use.

The focus on the regional and local level is underlined in the 1997 national report on regional planning and land-use policy:

> The planning system has been designed to coordinate public policy at the local and regional level through efficient assessment procedures that allow broad participation. (St.meld. nr 29 1996-97e:1)

> The Government wishes to emphasize the importance of coordination between the different sectors and their commitment to realizing the objectives of an approved county plan. The sectors that are to contribute through an action programme of the county plan must therefore have a sense of owning the plan, derived from active interaction throughout the entire planning process. This requires that the sectors have a common knowledge base, good dialogue and a satisfactory division of labour in the planning process, where all those concerned understand their roles and are aware of their responsibility. (St.meld. nr 29 1996-97e:12)

The role of the central state is to define national objectives, while the municipalities and county authorities develop overall solutions on the basis of local conditions and potentials. Thus, national policy can be supplied with local added value to increase the accuracy of central state instruments. Recent debate, however, illustrates that this arrangement does not function the way it was meant to do. Accordingly, three different debates characterised the spatial development and planning sectors at the turn of the millennium. There is the question of which tasks are to be solved at what administrative level and by whom. This debate is accompanied by a heated discussion about regions in Norway, their size, shape and, not least, their function. On another plane there is a debate on the Planning Act and necessary revisions. In addition to these three major debates, there was the preparation of new reports to the *Storting*, which in one case also involved spatial planning activities at central state level, in a small committee and under an unpretentious title.

An important policy instrument of the central state government is the *Government's Long-Term Programme*. Every fourth year the Ministry of Finance prepares a report to the *Storting* presenting the government's

policies in more than a dozen policy areas. This report to the *Storting* discusses recent and prevailing trends, threats and opportunities, as well as it comments on different strategies as bases for outlining policies for future action. (Naustdalslid and Tombre 1997:61)

Box 10 – Three basic concepts of Norwegian planning:
regional planning, regional policy and land-use policy

There are a number of definitions which are useful for understanding spatial planning and policy making in Norway:

Regional planning (*regionale planleggingen*) describes comprehensive planning according to the Planning and Building Act. This refers to municipal planning as well as county planning. Planning concerns physical, economic, social and cultural development within a demarcated geographical area or region. (St.meld. nr 31, 1992-93)

Land-use policy (*arealpolitiken*) describes all public activities by the central state, the county municipalities and the municipalities which aim at implementing the desired land use in all parts of the country. (St.meld. nr 31, 1992-93)

Broad Regional policy (*breie districts- og regionalpolitikken*), often also referred to as wide or large regional policy, comprises all public activities by the central state, the county municipalities and the municipalities, which aim at achieving the desired societal development in all parts of the country. These activities aim mainly at industry and employment policies. Regional planning as well as regional policy, in the narrow sense of the term (see below), are part of regional policy. (St.meld. nr 31, 1992-93 and St.meld. nr 31, 1996-1997)

Regional policy in the narrow sense of the term (*smale districts- og regionalpolitikken*), often also referred to as restricted or small regional policy, describes the efforts and instruments of the Ministry for Local Government and Regional Development[63]. (St.meld. nr 31, 1996-1997)

For the non-Norwegian reader regional planning seems roughly to correspond to spatial planning at local and regional level, while broad regional policy, corresponds more or less to spatial policy and not exclusively to spatial economic policies which in most other countries are referred to as regional policy. On the other hand, regional policy in the narrow sense of the term is rather comparable to business and economic development measures associated with regional policy in other Western European countries.

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63   In 1993 the Ministry for Local Government and Regional Development was still called the Ministry for Local Government and Labour.

In its long-term programme for 1998 to 2001, the Norwegian government sets the course for the development of Norwegian society. In it the government holds up values such as equality, liberty and solidarity as fundamental for formulating policies. The programme used the metaphor of "The House of Norway", which has foundations consisting of the collective value added of an ecological sustainable society. The four walls of the house are industrial and employment policy, education, research and culture policy, welfare policy and foreign and security policy. The intention of "The House of Norway" is to define objectives for social developments designed to stimulate public involvement and dialogue. Thus, the guidelines are intended to form a platform for shaping policy in different areass.

Recent trends in Norwegian planning

In former times the Ministry for Local Government and Regional Development (and its predecessors) was responsible for all kinds of spatial development and planning. When the Ministry of Environment was set up in 1972, physical planning was transferred to the new Ministry. The key policy document in the field of spatial development policies and spatial planning, a report to the *Storting* on spatial development and planning prepared every four years, was, however, not split into two reports to begin with. Until 1989, the report to the *Storting* on policy for regional development[64] was prepared with the co-operation of both Ministries. Disputes during the preparation of the 1989 report led to a decision to split the report in future. In the following period, the Ministry for Local Government and Regional Development presented a report on regional development and the Ministry of Environment a report on regional planning and land-use policy. In the years 1993 and 1997 the two reports were presented on the same day in order to underline that the topics of both reports are related to each other. In 2001 the Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development presented its report on regional policy, but the Ministry of Environment did not present any report on regional planning and land-use policy. The reasons for this are not entirely clear to outsiders, however, a number of reasons are possible. Firstly, the report on regional policy prepared by the Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development is a regular report which automatically has to be submitted every fourth year. There is no similar rule regarding the report on regional planning and land-use policy. As far as the year 2001 is concerned, for some reason the government did not decide to elaborate a report on regional planning and land-use policy.

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[64] St.meld. nr 29 (1988-89) Politikk for regional utvikling

Secondly, two NOUs (reports of Government Commissions) have been presented which to a high degree concern the planning sector, namely NOU 2001:7 on improved municipal and regional planning according to the Planning and Building Act and NOU 2000:22 on division of labour between central state, regions and municipalities, which was followed up by a report to the *Storting* in 2001 (St.meld. nr 31, 2000-2001). Thus a report on regional planning and land-use policy to the *Storting* may only have repeated what was said in the documents mentioned above. Thirdly, in the year 2000 the government decided to annually submit a report on environmentally policy to the *Storting*, prepared by the same Ministry as the previous reports on regional planning and land-use policy, the Ministry of Environment. Thus it can be argued that the aspects of regional planning and land-use are partly incorporated in the 2001 environmental policy report and possibly also the report on outdoor life submitted in 2001. This is, however, only to a minor degree the case. What seem more likely that the Ministry had reached its capacity with regards to preparation of reports to the *Storting*, or that the expected report was not prepared for political reasons.

Be that as it may, below we will discuss the above mentioned NOUs and then proceed to the field of regional policy and European influences.

Revisions of the Planning Act

A Planning Act Committee (*Planlovsutvalget*) was set up in October 1998. The main task is to review the Planning and Building Act and planning system especially with regard to cross-sectoral planning and planning instrument at the three administrative levels. In January 2001, the Committee presented a first report under the title "Improved municipal and regional planning under to the Planning and Building Act" (*Bedre kommunal or regional planlegging etter plan- og bygningsloven – Planlovutvalgets første delutredning*). This first report deals mainly with the question of how the planning systems function and indicates needs for its reform. Key words in this context are aims of the planning system, co-ordination, relevant and flexile planning, effects of plans, planning processes, quality and competence, structure of the legal system.

The Committee came to the conclusion that future requirements may lead to increasing demands for planning, while at the same time trust in planning and legitimacy of planning will decrease (NOU 2001:7:28). Accordingly, good planning needs to be future oriented, innovative and pro-active, as a market-oriented society is sceptical about central government steering and pressure on land use and natural resources call for social emphases and comprehensive long-term perspectives. Keeping

this in mind the committee argues for planning not being a goal in itself but an instrument for solving societal tasks (NOU 2001:7:23). In other words, planning is to help public authorities to fulfil their tasks in a far-sighted manner.

As the Committee wanted to wait for recent changes to be effected concerning the existence of the regional level and the division of labour between the tiers of public administration, no more concrete proposals on a future planning system have yet been presented.

Towards a new division of labour between the three tiers of public administration

In 1998 a committee on the division of labour and responsibilities within the Norwegian administrative system was established. The committee's original mandate was to assess whether two or three administrative tiers are suitable for Norway. In 2000 it presented its findings in a committee report on a new division of labour between central state, regions and municipalities (NOU 2000:22). This is discussed in more detail in the annex. This NOU was followed up by a report to the *Storting* (St.meld. nr 31, 2000-2001) prepared by the Ministry for Local Government and Regional Development outlining policy concerning the division of responsibilities between administrative tiers. Whereas the Committee report (NOU 2000:22) developed four different models, the report to the *Storting* follows one specific idea, which is close to the "Development Model without Hospitals" developed in the Committee report.

The government wants to make the division of labour and roles between the three administrative tiers clearer. This involves basically three aspects:

- *Stronger municipalities (kommuner):* Tasks and authorities are to be decentralised to the municipalities which will get broadened responsibility for maintaining the welfare state. Thus the municipalities and the central state will become key service providers.
- *County municipalities (fylkeskommuner) with a focus on regional development and planning:* The county municipalities will become the most important actor in the field of regional development. Accordingly regional development tasks which, at the moment, lie with the county governor will be transferred to them. Thus sectors which are of importance for regional development will come under the jurisdiction of a publicly elected body, whereas the state representative at regional level, the county governor, will mainly be responsibly for law and order and regulation of the municipal sector. In this approach to clearly specify the profile of the county

municipalities, the responsibility for hospitals will be transferred to the central state.

- *Central state with framework control and responsibility for hospitals:* The central state wants to change its way of controlling/steering the municipal level from detailed control to framework control. Thus the position of local administration may be strengthened. The hospital issue was widely debated as they form a substantial part of the recent regional responsibilities and expenses.

These anticipated changes mean increasing responsibility will be assumed by the municipalities, a limitation and refining of the tasks of the county municipalities and the takeover by the state of more tasks and promises, while at the same time it limits itself to framework control of the municipal level. This means that the municipal and central state level become stronger whereas the regional level becomes more regional. With this new, clear-cut profile, the county municipalities will be mainly responsible for the development and planning of their region, which seems to be a simple but maybe also impossible task, with regard to the development difficulties of large rural regions and especially Northern Norway. In this respect Aalbu (2000) points out that the trend of the Norwegian discussion differs markedly from that in Denmark, Finland or Sweden: The Norwegian debate is questioning the need for regions, and is thus heading in a different direction.

Whereas the more detailed aspects of this intended reform are integrated into the annex (cf. page 311), I would like to proceed here with a geographical description of this reform.

Division into regions

In the Committee report (NOU 2000:22) the division of labour was discussed in close connection with the division of Norway into regions. The number of counties, 19, which Norway has at present was basically considered as too large, as the rather small counties do not reach the size of functional regions for the purpose of performing their tasks.

> The Commission concludes that efforts should be made to obtain an optimal correspondence between regional divisions and the geography of their responsibilities, and that it is necessary to view the regions as a whole, cutting across the boundaries of the various realms of the public sectors. County Councils with a comprehensive responsibility for regional development tasks would have a better potential for contributing to national economic development. (Aalbu 2000:7)
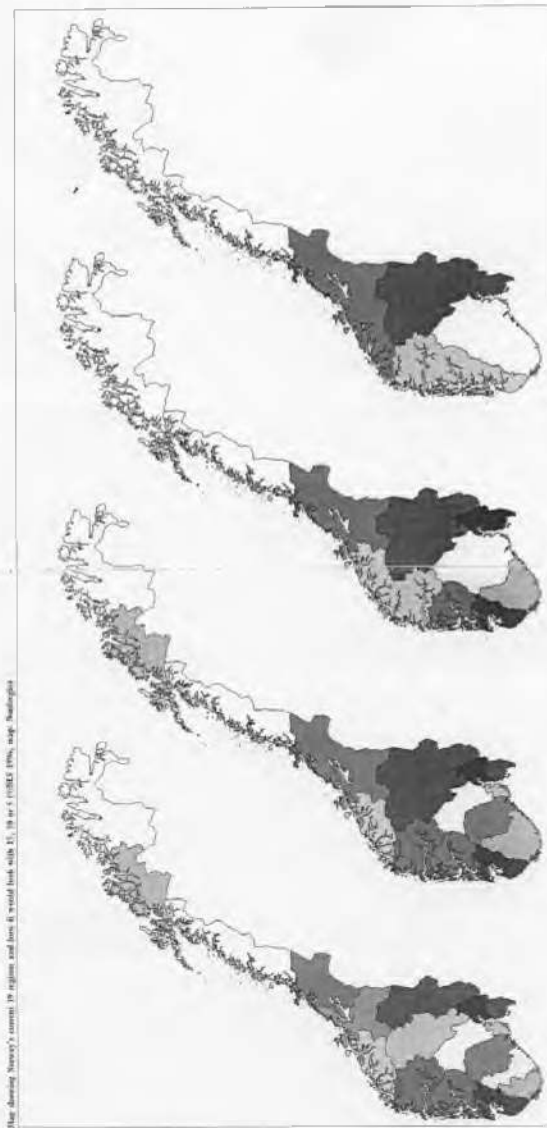
Map 11: New Regional Structure in Norway?
(Source: Nordregio)
The map shows Norway's current 19 regions and how it would look with 15, 10 or 5.

The models examined included alternatives with 5-7, 10-15 or no counties at all.

The government White Paper (St.meld. nr 31, 2000-2001) does not, however, propose a new division of Norway into counties. Instead, it supports voluntary mergers of both counties and municipalities. The government proposes that counties which want to merge should receive full coverage of the necessary once-and-for-all costs and expenditures for possible investigations, committees and referenda, and that they may keep profits resulting from increased efficiency. It is furthermore suggested that an advisory committee be established to support the county municipalities through the process.

Regional policy

As already indicated, a distinction is made in Norway between regional policy in a broad and a narrow sense (see also Box 10). Just to recall the difference: Narrow regional policy is synonymous with the business and economic development measures associated with regional policy in other Western European countries, whereas the broad regional policy has been critical for regional development, as government actions in transport, communications, education and health have all had important implications for the continuing viability of communities in sparsely populated areas. (Aalbu et al. 1999:39)

In the following discussion, the main focus will be on the broad regional policy.

> The overriding aim of the policy is to stimulate a balanced regional development and to secure job opportunities in all parts of the country. (Naustdalslid and Tombre 1997:20)

The principal objective of this regional development policy is to maintain demographic distribution patterns and to ensure robust and sustainable development in all regions of the country. Accordingly, the emphasis is on maintaining the main features of current settlement patterns and on developing robust regions in all parts of the country.[65] Given this goal, it is important to strengthen trade and industry, and develop competitiveness in all parts of the country. Thus the aim of regional policy is to encourage the development of competitive enterprises in outlying districts, both through the restructuring and strengthening of existing firms and through the creation of new jobs. Direct assistance, in the form of subsidies, loans and start-up grants, is available to support these policy aims. Areas which have a narrowly based, local economy,

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[65] Kommunal- og arbeidsepartementet 1997: 7 "Målet for distrikts- og regionalpolitikken er å halde oppe hovuddraga i busettingsmønsteret og å utvikle robuste regionar i alle delar av landet."

and which thus face particular problems where restructuring is concerned, are eligible for additional support in the form of restructuring subsidies. Other measures available to support the aims of regional policy include assistance with basic investments, labour market measures, programmes to promote new technology and new skills and the provision of a communal fund to help local business and industry.

Given this comprehensive approach it does not come as a surprise that Aalbu et al. (1999:39) point out that regional considerations shape most aspects of central government policy in Norway. Although the Ministry for Local Government and Regional Development is explicitly responsible for regional policy, several other ministries also pursue policies with strong regional elements. The work of the Ministry for Local Government and Regional Development is, however, shaped by an appreciation of the fact that different regions have different needs where regional development is concerned. Regional and district measures must therefore be tailored to the requirements of the situation county by county. Day-to-day administration of the various policy measures is therefore mainly delegated to the State Industrial and Regional Development Fund (SND), county and local authorities and the Industrial Estate Corporation (SIVA). The County Municipalities are responsible for producing regional development plans for the management and administration of the various forms of assistance at regional and local level.

Amdam (2001:173) points out that the overall aim of regional policy has had the supremacy of a widely accepted "doctrine" (Faludi 1987), but is becoming increasingly reduced to rhetoric. This in turn has to do with the increasing responsibility regions have for their own development:

> [...] the division of responsibility between local and central government has affected the evolution of regional policy. Regional-level governments have extensive powers, reflecting the strength of regional identity and the isolation of many communities inside the country. (Aalbu et al. 1999:39)

This may, however, change with the implementation of the new regulation of the division of labour between the three tiers of public administration, described above.

Given today's situation, Amdam's (2001:172) findings, that the aims of regional policy function as a vision for both regional policy and regional planning, are supported by a distinct characteristic of development. Regional planning at the county and municipal levels is an important instrument for (St.meld. Nr 58 1996-1997e:9):

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- implementing district and regional economic policy, i.e. associating instruments with plans and allotting funding;
- achieving efficient sectoral co-ordination in connection with land use, and bringing about synergy between different instruments and measures for accomplishing social, cultural and economic objectives;
- co-ordinating and stimulating regional development across national borders.

Thus we can perhaps conclude that regional policy at central government level is taking over aspects of planning, as illustrated by the development scenarios in the 2001 report to the *Storting*. At the same time, the regional level is increasingly important for implementing national regional policy and at the same time its new clear-cut profile may support a co-ordination of regional development and spatial planning at regional level.

Environmental policy

Since the establishment of the Ministry of Environment in 1972, both physical planning and environmental protection have been located in this ministry. An important reason for the establishment of a separate ministry was the desire to achieve better co-ordination of the administration of different environmental issues, the responsibilities for which had been divided among different ministries. Not only the gathering of environmental issues under one ministry, but also the very fact of the establishment of a Ministry of Environment was of importance at a time when concern for environmental issues was emerging and special ministries for environmental tasks were hardly known in any country.

> Perhaps even more important was the question of the role to be given to the Ministry of the Environment in relation to other ministries. (Reitan 1997:296)

In the first years, priority was given to questions of pollution control and thus collaboration with industry. Influenced by the Brundtland report (WCED 1987) the agenda was increasingly broadened in the late 1980s. Global environmental issues, and in particular the issue of global warming, were placed at the top of the agenda and the focus shifted towards concepts such as "sustainable development" and "an integrationist approach".

> In a parliamentary report of the follow-up to the Brundtland Commission (parliamentary report 46, 1988-1989), the government emphasised the trans-sectoral dimensions of environmental issues and the necessity for developing an integrationist approach. At the central level, this was to be achieved by giving all the ministries the responsibility for carrying

out a policy of sustainable development within their respective sectors. 'Sector responsibility approach' became the key term. (Reitan 1997:299)

In the early 1990s, a Norwegian national committee on sustainable development was set up. Clement and Hansen (2001:66) underline that, although its task was to co-ordinate a Norwegian strategy for sustainable development, it appears to have been almost inactive. Thus the main emphasis for sustainable development lies with the Ministry of Environment and its policy reports.

In the report to the *Storting* regarding the government's environmental policy and the state of the environment (St.meld. nr 24, 2000-2001) the integrationist approach is outlined. The report makes clear that the ecological perspective must form the basis for policy formulation in all sectors. Furthermore, ensuring that environmental policy becomes an integral part of all policy areas and that environmental considerations form a fundamental part of decision-making and development, is thought to be essential. In order to legitimise environmental policy, collaboration with the local level and business and industry is also seen as of central importance.

In general, one could presume that the emergence of the concepts "sustainable development" and an "integrationist approach" led to an increasing interrelation of physical planning and environmental protection, especially with both coming under the responsibility of the same ministry. However, at the same time as the environmental sector is expanding and increasing its importance, the planning sector is losing strength at national level. In this context, it may be worth mentioning that the OECD recommended in its environment performance review on Norway a strengthening of the strategic planning function within the Ministry of Environment. (OECD 1993:80)

Following up the statement made by the OECD in 1993, we might recall that in 2001 no report on regional planning and land-use policy has been presented to the ministry. As mentioned above, one of the reasons was that likely topics of such a report were already covered in the report to the *Storting* regarding the government's environmental policy and the state of the environment (St.meld. nr 24, 2000-2001).

A brief look into the report on regional policy to the *Storting* (St.meld. nr 34, 2000-2001) makes clear that environmental aspects are only touched upon to a limited extent. Basically, the report says that administration of regional policy instruments shall contribute to sustainable development (St.meld. nr 34, 2000-2001:44). There is,

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however, no commentary on whether the aims of regional policy are coherent with, or contradictory to, the aim of sustainable development.

Thus it seems that Norway witnesses a tendency towards stronger sector orientation where spatial planning at national level is divided into tasks covered by regional polices on the one hand and environmental policies on the other. The rhetoric of sustainable development and an integrationist approach seem at least in the field of spatial planning and development to be just that, rhetoric.

Scenarios for Norway – From a regional success-story to national ambitions

The 2001 report to the *Storting* on regional policy (St.meld. nr 34, 2000-2001) contains a summary of a scenario exercise, which has been carried out while preparing this report. A set of five studies, so called *Landsdelsstudiene*[66], one for each major region of Norway (Southern, Western, Mid- and Northern Norway), has been carried out. The studies consist of one section describing the historical development of the region and another scenario section. Thus a discussion of the likely development of the various regions has been approached following the basic ideas of the ESDP by combining economic, social, technological, demographic and geographical aspects.

Although, the Ministry for Local Government and Regional Development conducted this exercise as an integral part of the preparation of the above-mentioned report to the *Storting*, the original idea was born at regional level, namely in the Eastern Norway County Network (*Østlandssamarbeidet*). (Selstad 2001)

The Eastern Norway County Network is a voluntary co-operation of eight counties in Eastern Norway, originally set up to enhance international initiatives, as e.g. participation in Interreg programmes or other international arenas for regional co-operation. In 1998 it commissioned the regional research institute (*Østlandsforskning*) to elaborate a more general analysis of the regional situation and its prospects for the future. In 1999 a reports on the future of Eastern Norway was presented under the heading "Oslo-dominated or polycentric?" (Selstad 1999c). This report contains two scenarios for the region, one a trend scenario on an Oslo-dominated development, and an alternative scenario which is based on the ESDP aims of balanced

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[66] The single scenario-studies are *Nordnorge* (Arbo et al. 2000), *Trøndelag* (Selstad 2000), *Vestlandet* (Amdam et al. 2000), *Sørlandet* (Karlsen et al. 2000) and *Østlandet* (Selstad 1999). A summary of these studies is to be found in the report to the *Storting* on regional policy (St.meld. nr 34, 2000-2001). Tor Selstad (2001) has also written about this exercise in English.

polycentric development. The alternative scenario was a success and led to various activities at all levels of Norwegian administration:

> The description of the analysis and its ESDP-based goal scenario was accepted with astonishing ease, and soon became the primary goal in the strategy of ENCN [Eastern Norway County Network]. (Selstad 2001:311)

At the regional level at least two of the counties involved have used the same idea in their county plans and development strategies and also a number of municipalities have been inspired and begun working in the same direction. Also at central state level, the scenario report made a substantial impression and the Ministry for Local Government and Regional Development decided to carry out similar studies for all Norwegian major regions. Accordingly, a task group was established and the regional research institutes of the other regions were asked to prepare similar scenario reports.

Thus the 2001 report to the *Storting* on regional policy (St.meld. nr 34, 2000-2001:27-31) could be enriched with a chapter on ESDP-inspired scenarios reflecting possible future developments as seen by the research community. In their conclusions these scenarios inform the report to the *Storting* that industry or business and settlement patterns follow each other relatively closely, and can be expected to do so in the future as well. Furthermore, the development of the welfare state is of importance and the next twenty years will still be dominated by heavy infrastructure in the fields of road, sea, and air transport and railways. Information and communication technology is mainly viewed as a growth industry, and only to a minor degree as a factor influencing spatial development. In a best-case scenario it can help overcome distances and thus contribute to reducing the centralisation of business activities. However, key words and factors for spatial development remain the basic requirements, such as hard and soft infrastructure, learning, innovation and entrepreneurship. (St.meld. nr 34, 2000-2001:31) To an outside reader the scenario reports appear to focus extensively on the region in question, its development potentials and opportunities, but issues are only rarely related to the wider geographical situation. Thus the reports give more the impression of a Norwegian attempt to reduce the ESDP document in scale, in order to make it fit Norway, instead of applying it as a broader geographic reference framework for spatial development and spatial policies.

European influences

As outlined previously, Norway is an "adaptive non-EU Member-State" (Sverdrup 1998b). Following the advice Gro Harlem Brundtland gave after the EU referendum in 1994, Norway acts more or less as if it were an EU Member State. Thus, although Norway has not joined the European Union, European spatial policies definitely matter.

This is clearly illustrated by Norway's attempts to play along with the EU Member States at its own expenses. Examples are the Norwegian contribution to the EU Compendium on Spatial Planning Policies and Systems, Norway's participation in numerous Interreg programmes as well as its co-operation with EuroStat.

When the EU Member States prepared their national reports for the EU compendium of spatial planning systems and policies (EC 1999b,c, 2000), Norway also prepared a report (Naustdalslid and Tombre 1997) following exactly the same structure as the reports prepared by the 15 EU Member States. The Norwegian report was prepared and published by the Norwegian Institute for Urban and Regional Research (NIBR) and is thus neither part of the official series published by the European Commission nor are Norwegian aspects incorporated in the comparative review of EU spatial planning systems and policies (EC 1997). This report is one of many cases where Norway at its own expense and on its own initiative participates in EU activities. Another example is the Community Initiative Interreg.

Norway participates in both Interreg II (1994-1999) and III (2000-2006). Under Interreg IIA Norway participated in six different programmes and the combined programme areas cover all parts of northern Norway and the border regions of southern Norway. Norway participated under Interreg IIC in the Baltic Sea and the North Sea Programmes, and the Pilot Action Programme for the Northern Periphery[67]. Thus it was an active partner e.g. in the elaboration for the *Visions and Strategies around the Baltic Sea* (VASAB 2010) and the *Spatial Perspective for the North Sea Region* (NORVISION). As regards Interreg IIIA Norway participates in three different programmes together with other Nordic countries: Sweden-Norway, MittScandia and North Calotte/Kolartic. In field of Interreg IIIB the Norwegian focus is on the Baltic Sea, the North Sea and the Northern Periphery. In all these cases the Norwegian government provides funding for activities matching the

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[67] The Northern Periphery Programme is one of four Pilot Actions targeting broad trans-national regions of Europe. These Programmes on regional and spatial planning share the objectives of the Community Imitative Interreg IIC.

EU fund allocations in the other countries, and regional authorities provide a similar amount of funding corresponding to the national co-financing in EU countries. The motivation for this costly participation in Interreg programmes has been explained by Mønnesland and Naustdalslid (2000):

> Through its participation, Norway is involved in the operation of EU programmes, acquiring both experience of the process and access to communication arenas for the planning and regional policy operation of the EU system. The programme method of operating regional policy incentives has only a limited tradition in Norway. Since the EU polices influence Norway through the EEA Treaty in any case, experience of Structural Funds activities is regarded as important. (Mønnesland and Naustdalslid 2000:70)

European influences are, however, not only found in the field of voluntary participation in activities of EU Member States. A number of Norwegian policy documents reflect also on EU policies. Thus the 1997 report to the *Storting* on regional planning and land-use policy (St.meld. nr 29 1996-1997) refers to *Europe 2000* and *Europe 2000+*. The preparation of the ESDP-related document has already been described. References are also made to national planning documents prepared by EU Member States, where emphasis is placed on links between planning and economic instruments, such as the Structural Funds.

The 2001 report to the *Storting* on regional policy (St.meld. nr 34, 2000-2001) makes, for example, references to the ESDP document, CEMAT guidelines and certainly the Structural Funds. For the preparation of the report, scenarios for five parts of Norway, so called *Landsdelsstudiene*, have been developed where the ESDP topics are more or less applied to these parts of Norway. In these studies the ESDP is applied to parts of Norway, however, rather by reducing the European scale to a regional one instead of giving the Norwegian region in question a European reference framework.

Apart from these policy documents, the Planning Act Committee referred to above has also included aspects of the European debate in its discussion about reforming Norwegian planning law (NOU 2001:7). Firstly the report elaborates on the concept of "spatial development", which adds a new dimension to planning, as traditionally planning is understood as land-use planning in Norway. Very briefly the report reflects also on the stimulus the ESDP has given to the regional level in Norway, where the main emphasis is in the field of Interreg participation. Furthermore, the report touches upon the CEMAT guidelines and the principles of subsidiarity and reciprocity. This illustrates that the

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European debate is well observed by the committee, although the observations have, so far, had no major impact on the conclusions put forward.

Also at regional level, the European debate and especially the ESDP have been taken into consideration. They formed e.g. the base for a co-operation of the eight county-municipalities in *Østlandet*, the eastern part of Norway. In this co-operation on spatial planning, the emphasis was on polycentric settlement patterns and opportunities to complement or support the capital region in order to achieve a balanced and sustainable development in this part of the country. This aspect is also further elaborated in the scenario on the development of *Østlandet* (Selstad 1999c) mentioned above. Furthermore, this case of wider co-operation in the spirit of ESDP policy aims is also presented in the report to the *Storting* on regional policy (St.meld. nr 34, 2000-2001:33) as an example of regional planning in a European perspective.

In conclusion, the above illustrates that Norway observes the European debate on spatial planning and development carefully and participates in various European co-operation activities at its own expense, even though it is not covered by the European debate. As the overall aim of European spatial development, sustainable balanced development, is congruent with the aim of Norwegian policy of robust regions in all parts of the country, no major adaptations are needed. The ESDP rather adds an additional element to the Norwegian vision. It is, however, remarkable, that the ESDP, which is understood as a planning document, is mainly dealt with by the Norwegian actor for regional policy. While the Ministry of Environment and the Planning Act Committee do make reference to the ESDP and the European debate, the Ministry for Local Government and Regional Development is the one that actually works with the ESDP, as illustrated by the scenario exercise.

Selstad (2001) points out that there are two main reasons for Norwegian interest in the ESDP: eagerness to show a more modern and international Norwegian attitude after the setback of the EU referendum in 1994 and the regional development tradition in Norway. He explains the latter by the fact that the idea of promoting alternative centres was popular in the 1960s, but was neglected in the 1970s by the trends of counter-urbanisation. Thus, the idea of polycentrism is "music to the ears" of some older planners, "reminding them of a long-forgotten melody" (Selstad 2001:312).

Despite this harmony of European and Norwegian policies, actual developments are heading in different directions, as illustrated by the reform of the division of labour between the three tiers of public

administration. Whereas the European Union and its Member States are heading towards strengthening the regional level, the Norwegian debate is questioning the need for regions. In this context Aalbu (2000) points out a paradox of Norwegian regional policy and the attitude towards the EU:

> Those forces which are most interested in regional policy, and which now really could use the support for regions which EU membership would have provided, are at the same time the strongest opponents of Norwegian EU membership. (Aalbu 2000:9)

Thus we can conclude that Norwegian spatial policies, the adaptation of EU policies and the Norwegian attitude towards the EU show some congruence but are clearly three different policy fields which are not always in line with one another. Their interrelation may be an example of Enzensberger's (1989) picture of Norway as an anachronistic and paradoxical society.

Summary and conclusions

This review of the Norwegian planning system illustrates, on the one hand, the weak position of physical planning as compared to regional policy, which enjoys a rather strong position at central government level and, on the other hand, numerous influences from the European debate.

Although the Norwegian population has rejected EU membership twice, Norway acts in many regards as if it were a Member State. Thus Norway is carefully observing the European debate as regards spatial planning or regional policy and in areas of its own interest Norway is fully participating at its own expense.

Norway has a tradition as a planning state but can hardly be characterised as a (physical) planning country. Planning became marginalized during the 1980s and has never fully recovered since. Physical planning is carried out at regional and local level. At national level the main emphasis is on regional policy, although a number of areas which come under regional policy would, in other countries, fall under spatial planning. For the foreign reader, Norwegian distinctions between land-use planning, regional planning and regional policy in a narrow and a broad sense may be confusing, as the definitions of these terms differ slightly from the way they are understood in other countries (cf. Box 10).

Adaptive Non-Member – A Norwegian copy of the ESDP
Norway is a keen observer of EU policies and in numerous cases it plays along with activities of EU Member States or participates in European programmes at its own expense. In the field of spatial planning and

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development Norway has, for example, prepared its own contribution to the European Compendium on Spatial Planning Systems and Policies. Other examples are to be found in the active participation in Interreg Programmes both as regards Interreg II (1994-1999) and Interreg III (2000-2006). The Interreg participation is, however, only one example of how the Structural Funds of the EU actually affect Norway.

Apart from Norwegian participation in EU activities, European influences can also be detected in Norwegian policy documents. Thus references to such EU documents as *Europe 2000* or *Europe 2000+* and also to the ESDP document are to be found in the 1997 report to the *Storting* on regional planning and land-use policy. An even more interesting piece of ESDP application can be found in the field of regional policy. The 2001 report to the *Storting* on regional policy makes references to both the ESDP document and the CEMAT guidelines and certainly the Structural Funds. Part of these references to the EU debate takes the form of scenarios on the development of the five Norwegian major regions, so called *Landsdeldstudiene*. In these studies the ESDP is applied to Norway's major regions. This is, however, done by reducing the European scale to a regional one instead of using the EDSP document as broader geographical reference framework for the development of Norwegian regions.
Although the Norwegian interpretation of the ESDP may follow ideas of its own, the ESDP is regarded as giving added value to the Norwegian debate. Concentrating on the divison of labour between various sector at national level, the 2001 report on regional policy is of interest. It takes up the question of applying the ESDP in Norway.

Thus the Ministry for Local Government and Regional Development has, under the umbrella of regional policy, taken on the task of spatial planning, whereas the Ministry of Environment is focusing increasingly on land-use planning at regional and local level.

Despite these adaptive approaches of Norwegian spatial policy, actual developments in Norway and Europe are heading in different directions, as illustrated by the reform of the division of labour between the three tiers of public administration. Under the label "Europe of Regions", regions in EU Member States are gaining more and more importance and de facto influence, whereas the Norwegian debate questions whether Norway intact does need regions, and if so, how many.

However, there are no indications of Norwegian influences on the European debate in the field of spatial planning and development. This may be the price Norway pays for being a non-member.

Norway – Reluctant but curious

Despite the unique geography of Norway and the fact that Norway is not a formal EU Member State, the overall aims for spatial development for Norway and the EU are quite congruent. The EU is aiming at sustainable balanced development and Norway for robust regions in all parts of the country. Thus, both put a strong emphasis on utilising their entire territory rather than concentrating merely on their central parts.

Thus it does not come as a surprise that Norway makes use of EU debates and activities for strengthening domestic policies when this seems appropriate. At the same time, the discussion about the legitimacy of a regional level shows that Norway does not slavishly follow EU developments.

In any case, the European business has not helped the Norwegian (physical) planning sector to recover from the marginalisation it has suffered from since the 1980s. Its stronger brother, regional policy, has taken the ESDP on board and thus underlined is ambitions of being cross-sectoral. This has, however, to do with the fact that planning in Norway means not only land-use planning but also economic planning, aiming to influence and direct the political agendas of territorial authorities. To what degree the new division of labour between the administrative tiers will foster further interventions by the central state and intensified integration of economic development and physical planning at the regional level remains to be seen.

Sweden – Infusing and Being Infused

A neutral nation with a strong sense for influences

In 1388, parts of the Swedish aristocracy elected as their queen Margarete of Denmark, whose accession for the first time unified the three Nordic countries, Denmark, Norway and Sweden, under one crown. This was the start of the Kalmar Union. At the beginning of the 16th century Swedish resistance to the Union became stronger. When the Danish King Christian II tried to break the Swedish resistance by force, resulting in the so-called Stockholm blood bath, he caused an outright rebellion led by Gustav Vasa. With the help of the Hanseatic city of Lübeck, Vasa defeated the Danes and was elected king of Sweden, marking the definitive end of the Kalmar Union.

At the beginning of the 17th century Sweden became a major European military power and the Baltic Sea was even called the Swedish Sea for a while. By taking an active role during the Thirty Years' War, Sweden enlarged its area of influence. Its great power status, however, came to a rather ignominious end with several punishing military defeats at the beginning of the 18th century and Sweden began to concentrate on retaining its current territory. Not only its European status but also its status as a Nordic power decreased: in 1808 Sweden lost Finland to Russia and in 1905 the personal Union with Norway under the king of Sweden was dissolved.

During the 20th century Sweden has managed to stay neutral during both World Wars. Although Sweden remained until well into the 20th century a primarily agrarian country, it has achieved a high standard of living and become an urbanized welfare state since. In this context the Swedish Social Democratic movement and the societal consensus were important factors in shaping the Swedish model, which is further discussed later on.

Based on its neutrality both as regards the European Wars during the 20th century and in relation to the prevailing political systems in Europe divided by the Iron Curtain, Sweden regards itself as a country of peace and neutrality and a partner for mediation in international conflicts.

Indeed, during the post-war period of East-West conflict, broad-based support for the official national security doctrine of neutrality was evident. Traditionally, Swedish neutrality was conceived as an instrument by which the state sought to remain outside any armed confrontation. A vital aspect became the credibility of this articulated will and demonstrated ability to remain neutral even under crisis. Swedish involvement with other states or commitments to international

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organisation were carefully assessed with regard to their implications for this policy stance. (Ekengren and Sundelius 1998)

Accordingly, the main arguments against EU membership were related to the idea of Sweden being and remaining a non-aligned nation state. The supranational character of the EU does limit state sovereignty and thus affects Swedish neutrality. Another aspect is the Swedish position as mediator in international conflicts, which, it was argued, would become less credible if Sweden were part of the European Community. Ekengren and Sundelius (1998:135) point out, however, that at least at government level, the "transition from an image of Sweden as the omitted neutral to a committed European seemed to have been fully completed well ahead of the beginning of membership negotiations".

On the other hand, Sweden traditionally has demonstrated an inclination to export its values. Thus a primary argument for membership was that only through membership could Sweden move beyond a series of national adjustments to Brussels towards having an impact upon European policies.

> From a social democratic point of view, the task ahead was to infuse the rest of the Union with the progressive values and positive experiences of the time-tested Swedish version of the good society. (Ekengren and Sundelius 1998:140)

A more down-to-earth reason behind this is certainly that active participation in European policy-making is necessary for shaping future domestic conditions in Sweden, as the country is highly influenced by European policies.

However, the idea of making the Union more Swedish shows that the original intention of the Swedish government was to belong to the inner core, together with Germany, France and the Netherlands, where it could take a role as forerunner. This was the alternative chosen by the Swedish elite. The other alternative would have been to become a small and probably marginalized nation on the northern fringe of a dynamic Europe driven by Delors' internal market policy.

Given this background, the first phase of institutional adaptation of central government structures was formed by negotiation for a European Economic Area in 1989. Only two years later Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson[68] laid down in writing the parameters for involvement of Sweden in the EC. And finally in November 1994 a referendum was held

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[68] Ingvar Carlsson was Swedish Prime minister for Social Democrat Party-led governments of the periods 1986-91 and 1994-96. Before he became Prime Minister he was, for instance, Minister for Housing and Physical Planning in 1973-76, i.e. the time when there was national physical planning in Sweden.

on the intensively debated EU Membership. The referendum resulted in a slim 53 per cent majority for membership. Thus Sweden joined in 1995. The continuing strong public opposition against EU membership resulted in the planned referendum on the EMU being postponed, and so Sweden joined neither the Monetary Union, nor the European core. This clash between government aspirations and public sentiment led Ekengren and Sundeluis (1998) to the conclusion that it was the Swedish state or elite rather than the population which joined the European Union.

> The people of Sweden were inspired by their political authorities to turn their backs to the Continent of Europe some fifty years ago. In spite of the best efforts by the new generation of leaders to draw public attention back to this traditional focus of interest, most Swedes (across party lines, but more so the young and women than the middle-aged and men) tend to remain sceptical. State and society at large are out of touch on the issue of how best to deal with the inevitable slide forward in the territorial and temporal redefinitions of European policy-making. (Ekengren and Sundelius 1998:146)

Swedish characteristics

With 450,000 km^2 the Kingdom of Sweden is, as regards territory, the fifth-largest country in Europe, after Russia, the Ukraine, France and Spain. It has, however, only 9 million inhabitants, and thus a rather low average population density of 20 inhabitants/km^2. Only one-third of the Swedish population lives in fact in the large expanse of the country lying north of the Uppsala-Stockholm area, while more than one-third of the population lives in one of the four metropolitan areas, namely Stockholm, Gothenburg, Malmö and Uppsala. The difference in size between each of the first four cities is more than double. Stockholm is more than twice the size of Gothenburg, which is two times larger than Malmö which in turn is more than double the size of Uppsala. In general, urbanisation took place rather late, as compared to the rest of Europe, and reached its peak in the period 1950-70, a time of large-scale population movements from rural areas. After a period of stagnation, today urban growth rate is again high, particularly in the major cities, but it is now feeding upon a loss of population, not only in rural areas, but also in medium-sized and small towns.

The Swedish settlement pattern is often described as a number of islands in an archipelago with access to differentiated labour markets, well-equipped service centres, good higher education facilities and external communications. This archipelago consists of 24 larger urban areas which float in a sea of woods, rural areas and minor municipalities.
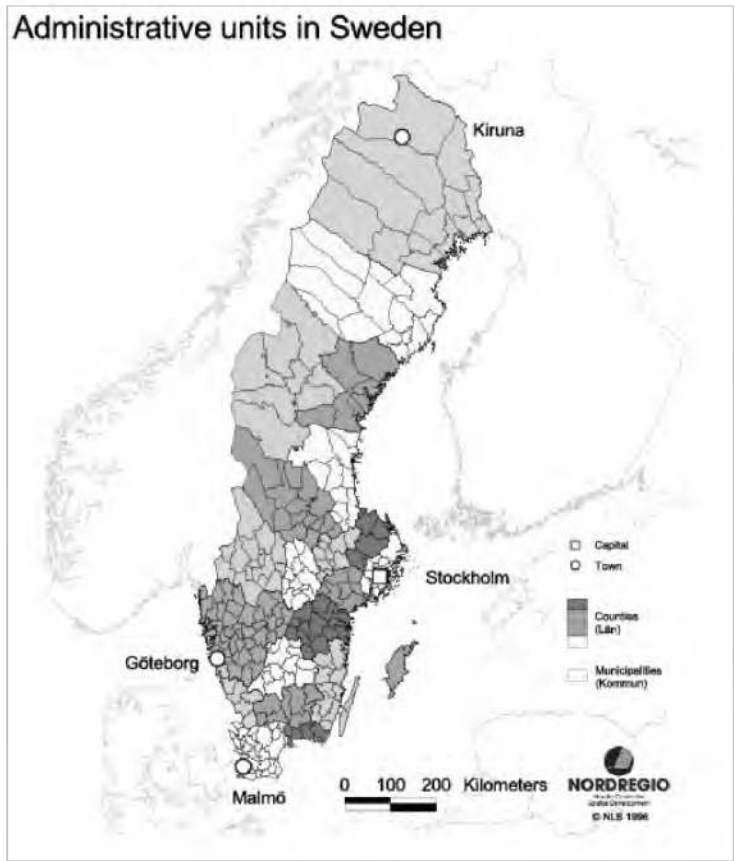
Map 12: Administrative Units in Sweden

Six of them have well established universities. (Boverket 1996) The National Vision "Sweden 2009" outlined by the National Board of Housing, Building and Planning (Boverket 1996) formulated the generally accepted idea of connecting these 24 islands with each other by high-speed railway connections, so that they would form a "String of Pearls Network". The pearls are, however, quite spread out along the string.

This "String of Pearls Network" would mainly be concentrated in the Southern and coastal parts of the country. This is a logical consequence of the fact that most people live in the South and along the Baltic coast, and thus the large forests in the north are sparsely populated. In general, forest covers roughly 70 per cent of the total land area.

The uneven distribution of population illustrates the sharp regional disparities, with the string of urban pearls on the one side and extensive rural ears with extremely low population density on the other side. Migration trends are steadily reinforcing these disparities. Interestingly, most of the counties located in the northern parts of Sweden also have a high level of GDP per capita which does not, however, reflect actual personal disposable income. The reason for the high level of GDP per capita is the presence of numerous large mining and processing industries (especially pulp and paper) which greatly inflate the recorded level of GDP per capita. Real levels of personal disposables income in the northern parts are relatively low. (Aalbu et al, 1999)

Swedish spatial policy-making is, however, not only influenced by these geographical factors. To understand policy-making in Sweden, it is necessary to understand the main characteristics of the traditional Swedish welfare model, which form an important basis for policy-making and planning.

State, Society and Consensus

> Planning has a long tradition in Sweden. A strong public sector
> and self-governing local authorities have all contributed to a
> system geared to developing factors of importance to welfare.
> (Alfredsson and Wiman 2001:117)

Since the 1930s, the idea of *folkhemmet* has been the fundamental idea underlying the creation of the welfare state. This was the utopian vision of the Swedish Model and the social democratic project, an approach to operationalising a classless society and trying to realise it through social engineering. It was a vision of a society as a community based on solidarity, equality and care for the weak, the poor and the disadvantaged. The idea became also a metaphor that legitimised rather paternalistic and

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interventionist decision-making during the more than forty-four years of uninterrupted social democratic government (1932-1976). Today, this would be described as discourse in a "hegemonic project" (cf. Hajer 1995). Anyway, while the decision-making process did include organised interests, it nevertheless excluded many groups and interests which never became a part of the established elite. The apparent success of the project of *folkhemmet*, particularly in the 1950s and until the 1970s came out of a conviction among the public and the elites that it was possible to plan and engineer an equal and just society based on principles of solidarity. This illustrates the corporatist tradition in Swedish policy making.

Kronsell (1997:55) argues that the Swedish model aimed at creating a "perfect society" and exporting that model as a good example to the rest of the world was made possible mainly because of the economic prosperity in post-war Sweden. The policy style that emerged during this period was one of co-operation and consensus. Through negotiations between the most important social actors, compromises could be reached that were more constructive and beneficial to all than if the relationship had been adversarial. In economic terms, the picture of a cake has been used to illustrate this philosophy. If the battle is about who is getting how much of the cake the sum which can be divided stays the same. Thus instead of determining the single pieces of the cake by fighting each other it is better for all parties to combine their efforts and expand the outer limits, i.e. fight to make the cake bigger and thus each single piece as well. (Olson 1965)

Three aspects highlight the consequences of the *folkhemmet* ideal for Swedish policy-making. Firstly, there is a strong tendency towards corporatism; secondly, as a result of the corporatist structures the divisions between state and society have been blurred; and thirdly, there is an attempt in all this to exercise a high degree of rationality.

Co-operation between state and society has been and probably still is one of the most important characteristics of Swedish decision making. In Sweden, the meanings of the concepts of "state" and "society" have been and probably still are very similar, at least until the idea of "civil society" had been picked up by the liberals in the 80s. Within this discussion "state" and "municipality" were set against "market" and "family solidarity". This implies that in a civil society it is not the state that directs, but the citizens themselves. It is still unclear, however, just how much the emphasis on civil society is an attack on the "strong society" of the Social Democrats and whether it constitutes an antithesis to the welfare state. However, state and society are still main concepts within political decision making in Sweden. Petersson (1996:106) argues

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that – representing the interests of the state – the Social Democrats have put an equal sign between strong society and strong state as they mixed up the instrument (the state) and the aim (welfare). In the post war period political agreement about the necessity of solving social problems became synonymous with state involvement. As collective action became equivalent with state involvement, the Swedish state is now seen as a service provider and democracy as service democracy. (Micheletti 1996:197) The change of power in the Swedish government in 1991 was commented on in an official declaration with the expression that too often state and public power had been seen as equivalent to society.

In general, the understanding of society – that is fundamental for the design of political space and its demarcation as against other fields – tends to differ in Sweden as compared to the rest of European. This is, because Sweden has never really split the organic entity that closely combines state and society. Dialogue between political actors developed its own tradition in the time of the strong society and has become even more rigid since. It has become standard practice for the government and organisations to meet and solve political problems in a pragmatic and cautious manner. (Micheletti 1996:196) Various terms are used for characterising the Swedish decision-making culture. One term is corporatism, while other labels used include "close co-operation between elites" or "corporate pluralism". Basically, the concept of corporatism, discussed in the chapter on Nordic characteristics, is used for describing a system of intensive co-operation between state and organisation.

Until the end of the 1980s the strong position of various interest groups was not criticised. Party-political conflicts were hardly seen; instead political parties competed to delegate legislative responsibility to interests groups and their organisations. These interest groups did not hesitate to participate. According to Rothstein (1992:346), it is only natural that the border between state and social organisations was unclear. The first signs of criticism of the unquestioning acceptance of corporatist policy making appeared during the middle of the 1980s in a report by a Government Commission (SOU 1985:40).

This criticism has been followed by voices arguing that the Swedish approach is not a corporatist one but a consequence of Social Democratic hegemony and thus their ideology of *folkhemmet*. Almost parallel to the critical report of the Government Commission, Helco and Madsen (1986) published a report where they refute the idea that corporatism is a characteristic of Swedish policy making. They argue instead that the hegemony of the Social Democratic Party dominates Swedish policy making and that corporatism is rather their politico-

technical instrument. On the other hand, Aronsson (1995) argues that the political heritage in Sweden is characterised by low utopian aspiration and a rather pragmatic realism. Both aspects are unified in a complex network of negotiating institutions, to which a broad group of the population has access. Development towards this integrationism in a broader senses had started, according to Aronsson (1995:46), even before the establishing of the Swedish Model by the Social Democrats. An example of this is the significance of the *folkrörelsen* (popular non-government movement) as compared to the interest groups and their organisations. A comparison of the two enables one to trace the debate about political acceptance and the development, together with the eventual decline of the Swedish welfare state, the prime features of the history of modern Sweden. Even today, popular NGOs are of great importance in public administration politics. The engagement of citizen in such organisations is seen as a fundamental component of Swedish democracy. (SOU 1990:44:168)

Whatever the line of argument is, it becomes obvious that corporatism and broad policy discourses in one form or another are characteristic of Swedish policy-making. This is in fact supported by the Swedish constitution, which states that administrative tasks can be delegated to organisations. This close co-operation of the public and private sector has blurred the borders between them and in some cases parts of private organisations have even been incorporated into the state. Thus, Sweden can be characterised as corporatist in the sense of institutionalisation and legitimisation of the role of organisations in the political process, and therefore in the Swedish Model, up to the 1990s. However, it must be borne in mind that the state carefully selects its co-operation partners. The most important condition for friendly treatment by the state is the capability of the organisation to argue rationally, to have expert knowledge that the state does not have available, and to be able to judge political proposals with a responsibility towards society as a whole. (Micheletti, 1996:196) At this point it has to be said that Swedish organisations are imbued by social responsibility and even take into consideration national economic assessments. But, since the beginning of the 1990s, there is a clear tendency for corporatism to turn towards lobbyism and the defence of group egoism. (SOU 1990:44:183)

The combination of state and social organisations means above all that the organisations are keen lobbyists and that the state uses the organisations to shape and implement its aims and policies. (SOU 1990:44:179) This symbiosis becomes manifest in several ways, e.g. with the involvement of organisations in the early phases of decision making.

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This facilitates identifying potential opposition groups, turning them into project partners and finally making them accomplices and thus ensuring the implementation of proposed measures. In their observations of this symbiosis Helco and Madsen (1986) underline that the number of people involved in policy-making is rather small.

> To enter the world of Swedish politics and policy is to enter a small, ingrown realm of group decision making, in which a professional class of politicians, administrators, and interest group functionaries must constantly expect to keep dealing with one another. (Helco and Madsen, 1986:21)

Swedish politics is also labelled as cosy and homely, whereas foreign researchers are said to be impressed by the pragmatic style of decision making. (Petersson 1996:116) Furthermore, there are many indicators that informal networks function effectively. In Sweden they have been used for creating a reasonable unity or consensus. (Aronsson 1995:55) The weak distinction between state and society is often seen as a defect and even regarded as backward in a European perspective, but it may be the opposite. Normative political theories – as developed by Arato and Cohn – focus on politicisation of the civil society in order to improve the communicative dimension in the social establishing of norms. (Aronsson 1995:51)

In any case, growing Europeanisation makes changes necessary. The Swedish manner of decision-making is often regarded as rather cumbersome, especially where there is a need for immediate reactions to developments in the European debate. This is not only due to lengthy consensus procedures, but also to technocratic elements in the decision-making style.

> The short time spans between EU meetings have challenged the Swedish logic of appropriate procedure. The high pace of decision-making in the Council has created difficulties for the strong Swedish tradition of securing wide support for every decision, both within and outside the administration. There is simply no time for officials to discuss Swedish actions in the EU thoroughly with affected groups and individuals at home. (Ekengren and Sundelius 1998:140)

In addition to its corporatist structure, Sweden employs at national level a centuries-old system of official investigatory commissions. The deliberations of government are supplemented by these commissions in which specialised groups, professionals, experts and interest groups work out proposals before they are submitted to Parliament. The results of these commissions are documented in a series of official government

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publications, so called Reports of the Government Commissions (*SOU – Statens offentliga utredningar*). Reinert (1987) describes these widely used procedures not only as a method for achieving high-quality expert advice for policy-making, but also as a key element in the process of reaching consensus. In the process of investigation, ideas are continuously fed back and forth between the commission, interest groups and government agencies. It is thus not surprising that most conflicts are resolved before parliamentary debate begins and that the implementation of policies is very smooth. (Thornley 1996)

As a consequence of the conviction that experts in the administrative structure are best at solving social problems, the idea of framework legislation has become rather common in Sweden. A framework law in the Swedish context contains goals, general guidelines and principles which are to be filled in with more specialised regulations by the government, by the administration and often by individual municipal councils. Kornsell (1997:56) underlines that the reliance on framework laws implies that political problems are transformed into administrative problems, which are then settled by administrative experts.

In conclusion, although the overall consensus on building a welfare society may have declined, the Swedish corporatist approach to policy making is still alive and well. It has, however, together with the entire planning business, moved from comprehensive macro corporatism to corporatism at local level (as this is the only planning level left in Sweden) and in sector policies (as there is no-longer an overall macro-corporatism), where it is exercised through an extensive consultation and participation processes. This is inline with Falkner's (2001) observations already discussed in the chapter on Nordic characteristics, namely that contemporary corporatist arrangements appear significantly restricted to functional scope, as the policy-making process is broken down and varies across policy subsystems. An example from the national level can be seen in the way the ESDP process has been handled in Sweden. Before discussing this, we give an account of the planning system.

Historical development of the planning system

> Swedish planning achieved its breakthrough during the post-war years. An ideological and administrative change to a new, extended form of community planning then took place and was generally accepted as rectification of market failures. This was so effective that it was to dominate policy in important sectors of society for several decades. (Holm and Fredlund 1991:35)

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Swedish planning existed for almost one hundred years before its breakthrough came with the establishment of the Swedish Welfare Model after World War II. In 1850 the railway engineer A.W. Edelsvärd developed an ideal plan for countryside towns. This plan was primarily drawn up in accordance with requirement of fire protection for Swedish wooden-structure towns and it was actually applied until the beginning of the 20th century. The same requirements formed the basis for the first Swedish building regulation enacted in 1874. (Wirén 1998:117) In the years 1907 and 1931 further laws and regulations on building and planning were enacted. It was, however, first with the Planning and Building Act of 1947 that planning was give direct guiding effects for new building sites.

Holm and Fredlund (1991:35) characterise the post-war years as revolutionary in terms of planning. War administration had shown how central planning could mobilise formerly unexpected resources. If it was possible to create a machine of destruction, it should also be possible to plan peaceful social construction and reform programmes. The Building Act of 1947 was designed in this spirit and gave the municipalities for the first time the opportunity to plan their entire territory with an overall (general) plan. The idea behind that plan, and its aim to create municipalities suitable for living in, was supported by both architects and economists. In this symbiosis the economists developed the theory and architects worked on applying it – the path from theory to practice went through the overall (general) plan. (Nilsson 1996a:6)

The following years between 1950 and 1970 are the period of the Strong Society. During this time there was, as discussed previously, a clear consensus between the society/public and industry on the need to create a new approach to society and accordingly to planning. Clearly, the vision of the future welfare society was, and partly still is, widely accepted and integrated in public planning. Supported by this consensus and with planning as a tool a new society was to be "built". An illustrative example of this is the so called *miljonprogrammet*[69].

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[69] As part of the Swedish welfare project, the government adopted a housing programme in 1965. The declared objective was to produce one million dwellings during a ten-year period (1964-74). The programme was set up at a time when there was a considerable shortage of housing. The aim of the programme was actually exceeded by 6,000 dwellings and during the last years of the programme period the housing shortage turned into a surplus of accommodation, with apartments which could not be rented out. Even in 1990, ca. 25 per cent of the housing market consisted of dwellings built during this period. The houses built during this period had a high technical standard and modern installations. Despite this, some of these areas are today often associated with segregation and social exclusion. Today attempts have been initiated to improve these areas in the field of employment opportunities, better schools, renovations and improvement of the environment.

Another example of the creative will and control of societal development is the regulation of landownership. The central government encouraged municipalities to acquire land and build up local land reserves for future development. In 1974 a land clause was passed which limited the possibility to use public building/housing loans for exploitation of land, which was owned by the municipality at least at one point in the exploitation-process. In practice this put the municipalities in the position to decide who was to exploit land and build on it and also who was to manage the buildings afterwards.

The political climate changed, however, during the 1960s when the economic boom continued but changed its nature and became more fragmented. Structural changes and concentration of industry meant that urbanisation was intensified and while building reached record levels, the housing market remained strictly regulated. (Holm and Fredlund 1991) During this period, the awareness that the management of limited natural resources was also an issue for physical planning had grown and as early as 1965 the Swedish Government took an interest in national physical planning. With the introduction of national physical planning, the possibility of stronger control of county planning came under review; nothing resulted from this, however. What did result from the central state entering the planning stage was a dialogue between national, regional and municipal planning, the so-called "national planning snake", conducted at the political level. (Blücher 2001)

Soon, it became evident that there was a need for modernisation of the planning system and, after almost 20 years of debate and lengthy investigative work, a new Planning and Building Act came into force in 1987. Some main objectives of the new legislation were:
- updating and simplifying planning and building procedures through deregulation;
- decentralisation of power to the municipalities, with limited state control with the possibility of interfering only in specific circumstances when national interests are at stake;
- reinforcement of public involvement;
- modernisation of the planning system mainly by introducing compulsory, but not legally binding, comprehensive municipal plans.

The new Planning and Building Act meant the end of national physical planning. Following the Swedish preference for framework legislation, aspects which originally were issues of national physical planning were integrated in the National Resources Act.

Simultaneously to the Building and Planning Act, the Natural Resources Act came into force. These reforms are to be seen as one

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package, "as there exists something of a Siamese twin relationship between the two, in that neither could have survived without the other". (Blücher 2001:121) The Natural Resource Act provided basic provisions regarding the use of land and water areas, and the Planning and Building Act supplied the municipalities with the planning tools to draw up their future utilization and to give their interpretation of the balancing of various interests.

> Even though the new planning legislation was meant to signal a paradigm shift, it partly confirmed the emergence of already established planning methods and of the existing division of responsibilities between the state and the local authorities. Because of that, the reform has sometimes been criticized for not being innovative enough and for not promoting new planning approaches. (Schulman and Böhme 2000:76)

In general, the Natural Resources Act aimed to regulate decisions taken by Parliament and Government within this planning framework, in addition to offering general management guidelines for matters regarding the use of land and water resources. Concern for managing resources has increased even more since the reform came into effect. Thus a new environmental code came into force in 1999 and the Natural Resource Act has in its entirety been transferred to this new Environmental Code. The Environmental Code serves as an umbrella for both the Planning and Building Act as well as other special acts connected with the physical environment.

Strengthening the connections between environmental and planning issues has resulted in the need to combine aspects and attitudes which were previously viewed as in some respects contradictory. The municipal planning process, based on a balancing of different interests in the utilisation of land and water, now has to confront an environmental policy, which emphasises scientific knowledge and gives less room for local interests and aspects. (Cars and Engström 1997) This conflict became especially evident during the consultation process on the Environmental Code. Critics claimed that the linkages between the Planning and Building Act and the Natural Resources Act would be served and that this, in turn, would jeopardise the balance between different interests by favouring environmental aspects and protection and giving less emphasis to development. (Schulman and Böhme 2000)

A feature which was evident beforehand and which became reinforced by the Planning and Building Act of 1987, is that planning is mainly understood as and focused on land-use planning. Physical planning is seen as the hard core of planning, "planning with a capital P"

(Grandberg and Sydow 1999:53). This has to be seen in the context of planning being an exclusive task of municipalities carried out in a process characterised by public participation and broad consultation as its basic elements.

Reflecting their powerful position, the Swedish planning system focuses on the municipalities – with the notion of the "local planning monopoly" as a basic concept. The monopoly is granted, however, under certain restrictions. The municipalities must give due consideration to interests of the central state. The monopoly is regulated by formal legislative procedures, e.g. the requirement of consultation.

These changes during the 1980s and 1990s have, of course, a political dimension as well. During the 1980s there was an increase in commercial development often initiated by the investor or developer, perhaps by sounding out politicians. This development marked a shift in the balance of power from public authorities to the private sector. From the point of view of increasing commercial development, planning was often felt to be rigid and inflexible. (Newman and Thornley 1996:214) Thus the strong position of the public sector in planning the welfare society came under increasing pressure.

During the 1990s, developments proceeded still further in the direction of market orientation. This decade is, however, marked by two occurrences. Commercial real estate crashed and the banks' loan portfolios were wrecked. This triggered a banking crisis, resulting in the collapse of two of the five largest banks, which had to be bailed out by the government. It has been estimated that up to three-quarters of the credit losses sustained by the banks were the result of the property crisis. (Kalbro and Mattson 1995) Following the economic developments, the election in 1991 led to a change of government. For the first time since 1920 a conservative prime minister led a Swedish government. The arrival of the non-socialist coalition brought a stronger ideological dimension to the process of deregulation. The emphasis on choice contributed to a departure from the consensus culture of the past. In order to underline the wind of change one of the first moves of the new government was to break up the Ministry of Housing, which had been a key actor in planning the welfare society, and to allocate its responsibilities to seven different ministries. Planning was increasingly consulted for formulating political aims, but not for putting these into practice. The study "Sweden 2009", which the government commissioned from the Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning, may be considered as a step in that direction. In 1994 the

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Social Democrats returned to government. The change of government did not, however, imply a return to pre-1991 politics.

Something else happened during the 1990s: Sweden joined the EU and thus became involved in the ESDP process and faced the challenge of reacting to European ideas on spatial planning. This will however, be discussed later on.

Discovery of the region – beyond planning?

So far, this survey of Swedish planning has avoided the question of regional planning or regions in general. In the Planning and Building Act there are provisions for regional planning on a voluntary basis. If the municipalities concerned agree, the government can appoint a regional association of local authorities to be responsible for co-ordinating common planning issues and – only when considered necessary – to draw up a regional plan. Once adopted, a regional plan is not binding, but serves rather as a framework for subsequent planning. However, these provisions have only been applied in the county of Stockholm, under the control of the County Council.

In general, where the regional level is concerned, the emphasis has traditionally not been on physical planning, but on economic development. With regard to economic regional development as well, the regions have traditionally a rather weak position.

> Sweden has never had a regional level where politically responsible people are in charge of regional development. (Oscarsson 2001:54)

Traditionally, the County Administrative Boards, which are creatures of central government, are responsible for regional development in co-operation with the Ministry of Industry and *NUTEK* (the Swedish Bussiness Development Agency) and related national boards. In the following section I will first describe the general aims of regional policy in Sweden and afterwards touch upon two recently introduced changes, namely the Regional Growth Agreements and steps towards a new regional organisation.

Regional development policy – towards something completely new?

As illustrated previously, the long-dominant Social Democratic Party has put a heavy premium on equalisation between individuals and the large central state budget, spent accordingly, almost automatically results in equalisation, between regions as well as individuals. (Oscarsson 2001) In consequence, Swedish regional policy is rooted in social welfare ideals. The ultimate goal is for people to have equal access to employment, community services and a healthy environment, irrespective of where in

the country they live. The main regional challenges result from a combination of remoteness, migration and unemployment. Regional policy has traditionally placed its greatest emphasis on the most remote northern counties. In general, one distinguishes in Sweden regional policies in the broad and the narrow sense of the term (in the same way as Norway does, where this terminology actually was invented). Whereas small regional polices are understood as the actual regional policies, comprising various regional incentives/support schemes, large regional policies is related to the regional consequences of all state activities.

During the 1990s no major changes have taken place as regards orientation and scope of regional policy. There have, however, been important developments as regards the mode of operation influenced by the economic development of the country, EU membership and a new regard for the driving forces of national economic growth. (Prop 2001/02:4) The following discussion highlights some aspects of EU influence on regional policies.

Although the Community Initiative Interreg is neither among the big European projects nor a major source of funding, it has contributed to changes in Sweden. This is especially so because the areas eligible for Interreg programmes are not the traditional support areas of regional policy. An active regional development approach covers almost the whole of Sweden, whereas traditionally only less-favoured areas were addressed. (Prop 2001/02:4) Furthermore, EU membership did introduce new tools, such as an increased focus on programmes and comprehensive perspectives. The concept of formulating regional policies in the form of programmes implies that the work of various actors in relevant policy fields and activities is to contribute to reaching the aims of a comprehensive and long-term development strategy. This has e.g. been applied in the newly developed Regional Growth Agreements, to be discussed later on.

All these developments were fed into the Swedish debate about regional policy and after a number of committee reports a government bill (Prop. 2001/02:4) on a policy of economic growth and vitality in the entire country was presented in the autumn of 2001. The traditional fields of regional policy and regional industrial policy, which is part of the overall industrial policy, will be unified to form a single, new policy field, regional development policy. It remains to be seen whether this will mean a paradigm shift or prove to be merely rhetoric. What is, however, new is that regional development policies will cover the entire country and not just various types of disadvantaged regions. This new territorial approach implies also that effort should be made to prevent a spatial

division of Sweden and bridges built between urban and rural areas, not unlike the rural-urban partnership approach in the ESDP.

As regards the national urban system, direct references are made to the ESDP. It is said that the ESDP added a new point of view to Swedish policy making because it underlines the need to approach the European periphery as a counterweight to the strong and expanding regions in the core of Europe. In this regard, Sweden belongs to the European periphery where the urban centres are to be strengthened as development engines and gateways. This perspective challenges the Swedish concept of a national balance, which proposes to strengthen mainly weaker regions. This Swedish perspective is thus more in line with another European aim expressed in the ESDP, namely that regions at all levels must be strengthened and partnership between towns and countryside improved. Other references to the ESDP are less critical, e.g. strengthening the northern cities Umeå and Luleå in order to support towns in peripheral and rural areas. In this regard, European and Swedish ideas are more in harmony.

Overall, it seems that, inspired by the European debate and European initiatives, Swedish regional policy is developing a more spatial and holistic approach, which also gives the regions more possibilities to influence actual policy as regards their regions.

Regional Growth Agreements – towards partnership and contracting
Regional Growth Agreements are new. To a considerable extent they build on experiences with the Structural Funds. The Agreements are an instrument within regional industrial policy and aim at improved co-ordination of various policy sectors and increased regional adaptation. The overall aim is to stimulate sustainable economic growth which contributes to more and growing enterprises and thus increased employment opportunities for both women and men.

In 1998 the government introduced a system of Regional Growth Agreements and invited all Swedish regions to set up a Regional Growth Agreement. The counties accepted and during February 2001, 21 such agreements where submitted to the government. Although the government had earmarked for this purpose SEK 20 billion (ca Euro 2.2 billion) of the state budget as Regional Growth Capital, the actual distribution of which was to be influenced by the regions, this did not imply that additional money was provided by the central state. It mainly implied that existing central state funds, now described as the Regional Growth Capital, were to be used more efficiently and creatively, by making voluntary agreements extending over a three-year period (2000-02) a condition for approval. Thus the introduction of the Agreements did

not imply additional national funding, but rather an opportunity for regional representatives to influence the spending of national funds.

In general it is the County Administrative Boards or the regional self-governance organs (Kalmar, Gotland, Skåne and Västra Götaland) which carry out the work. Regional partnerships are the platforms for that work. The composition of the partnerships varies from region to region. However, state representatives, the private sector, municipalities and county councils are often key actors. The partners in a region come to an agreement to co-operate on a three-year action programme for regional growth. This agreement, the Regional Growth Agreement, forms the basis for negotiations with central state level.

Oscarsson (2001) underlines that it is difficult to be precise as to the amount of money concerend, but it seems to be a little less than SEK 2 billion a year out of the identified growth capital. In addition, money from local authorities, the private sector and the Structural Funds is also involved. In short, the Regional Growth Agreements can be seen as a step in Swedish decentralisation, placing responsibility for finally shaping regional policies at the regional level. Interestingly enough, however, decentralisation in this case does not mean giving responsibilities to the municipalities but to the regional level and here regional partnerships are addressed instead of specific single actors.

> If we look at the decentralisation trend we can see that at the same time as central government has delegated more and more tasks to the municipalities, the need for co-operation between larger geographical areas has increased. It is now also recognised that regional growth is only possible where there is sufficient participation in the region as a whole. (Ehn 2001:3)

The Agreements, which run from 2000 to 2002, are to be prolonged to the end of 2003. For the new programming period which will start in 2004, the title will be changed to Regional Growth Programmes. Such a programme will be based on the principle of partnership and consist of an analysis, aim and regional priorities plus a "plan" on how the measures are to financed, carried out and evaluated. The similarities to the set-up of the EU Structural Funds are striking.

Regional pilot projects – towards a new regional organisation?

Another link in the chain of decentralisation and the discovery of the regional level are pilot projects in the field of regional organisation. The recent Swedish division into regions, formally counties, is rather old. The division was introduced in the 17th century when Finland was still a part of Sweden and some of the southern and western parts of the current Swedish territory belonged to Denmark. This historical background

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implies that the division into counties diverges from today's functional regions. However, despite increasing gaps between administrative regions (counties) and functional regions, the division into counties has remained untouched for over 300 years. Only during the last decade of the 20th century have things started moving, both as regards the geographical division and the organisation of regions.

In 1997 pilot projects regarding new divisions of regional responsibilities and organisation were set up. The main aim of the pilot projects is to develop arrangements for greater democratic participation in regional development and to increase the efficiency of this work. Various forms of democratic influence on regional development have been experimented with in the four pilot projects, which include counties of different sizes and with different regional development potentials. (Ehn 2001) In general this implies that regional development tasks which previously lay with the county administrative board were transferred to new so-called regional self-government organs.

There are four official pilot regions in Sweden, namely Kalmar, Gotland and Skåne, which started in July 1997, and Västra Götaland, which only started in January 1999. In general, these four pilot regions represent three different forms of regional organisation:
- Directly elected regional level
    The pilot regions Skåne and Västra Götaland have contributed in particular to giving the term "region" in Sweden a more precise definition. (Ehn 2001) These two new regions have directly elected political bodies in their respective county and, unlike the county councils, the regions have formal responsibility for the county's regional development.
- Regional federation
    In Kalmar county all the municipalities and the county council have established a regional federation council which is directly elected by the municipalities and the county council. The regional federation body is responsible for all the tasks which normally lie with the county councils, e.g. regional development of the county. There is, however, one major exception: the new body is not responsible for health care and medical service.
- County municipality
    In Gotland county the municipality has, in addition to the usual municipal responsibilities, the same responsibilities as a region.
Since the establishment of the new regions, Sweden is divided into 21 counties, which all have a county administrative board and a county

governor. 18 of the counties have county councils, two of them are regions and one county only consists of a municipality. (Ehn 2001)

The pilot project would not be a pilot project without monitoring and evaluations intended to provide conclusions for the organisation of the regional level. A Parliamentary Committee on the Regions has been appointed for this purpose. An important task is to investigate the extent to which regional self-government involves deeper democratic participation in regional development, but also to utilise experiences gained from development and voluntary co-operation in other parts of the country. As there is a strong emphasis on democracy, the question arises as to whether expanded regional self-government should be based on joint efforts by municipalities, and thus be indirectly elected, or whether the existing directly elected county councils should evolve into regional self-governing bodies with broader powers. The other big issue is, of course, the one of generalisation of results, namely the question whether any new system should encompass the entire country or only those regions which have a general agreement that responsibilities for regional development should be transferred from the central state to self-governing regions.

> At least regarding the evaluation of regional democracy, the Committee has a "mission impossible". The well-known political scientist ROBERT D. PUTNAM has in his studies of the development of the regional democracy in Italy after the far-reaching regional reform in 1970 shown that the creation of regional self-governing bodes certainly changes politics and strengthens democracy, but it takes a long time. (Ehn 2001:7)

As the pilot projects in their original setting are running until the end of year 2002, the Parliamentary Committee on the Regions was urged to draw conclusions at a rather early stage of the developments in the pilot projects. As early as the autumn of 2000 it presented its final conclusions (SOU 2000:85). Firstly, the committee argues for a continuation and widening of the pilot activities. In concrete terms this means that the existing pilot project will be prolonged until the end of 2006 and that additional counties will be invited to participate. Secondly, the committee argues for a clearer division of responsibilities between the central government and regional self-governing bodies. In particular the self-governing bodies should receive full responsibility for the allocation of central state funds for regional development projects. (SOU 2000:85)

Outside the pilot projects, efforts to develop new regional co-operation arrangements are also underway in county councils and municipalities, so-called voluntary experiments. (Ehn 2001)

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Conclusion – the appearance of the regional level

When it comes to national spatial development policies, regional policy is the main aspect in Sweden. As has been discussed, there are no national planning policies and also at regional level planning is a non-issue.

In general, we may conclude that although Sweden has had regions, or more precisely counties, since the 17th century, it took EU membership to discover the regions in modern Swedish politics. Hitherto, regions were more or less in the focus of regional policies as less-favoured regions which need state intervention in order to achieve the overall national goal of social welfare. With the indicated shift from regional policy to regional development policy the focus will no longer be just on less-favoured regions but on the entire Swedish territory. Thus regional (development) policy is becoming more spatial.

In parallel with this broadening of regional policy we witness also a decentralisation tendency, where regional policy is no longer just a central state issue but also involves regional actors. As regards the Regional Growth Agreements, the aspect of programming and regional partnerships has added a new dimension to Swedish regional policy. In fact it gave the regional actors profound influence over state spending in the field of regional development, now labelled as regional growth capital.

Whereas this exercise is based on the existing institutional setting, a number of pilot projects endeavour to find new institutional settings and as part of this they leave the county structure behind and form regions with a high degree of self-governance and democratic regional settings which are responsible for the development of the region.

Thus it might be that Sweden is on its way towards establishing regions that will have the opportunity of assuming responsibility for their own development. As illustrated above, these developments are, if not directly influenced by, then at least inspired by European policies. Be it the comprehensive spatial approach to regional policy or the programming structure of regional policy instruments, European models are close at hand.

Environmental policy

Environmental issues have been on the agenda in Sweden since the 1960s. It took, however, more than 20 years for Swedish environmental policy to get a ministry of its own.

> Ever since the 1972 Stockholm Conference on the Environment, Sweden has taken pride in being an environmentally progressive country. Swedish policy makers have expressed the opinion that their country must stand out as "the good environmental example"

if Sweden's efforts to achieve more radical environmental
solutions are to be successful. (Lundqvist 1997:65)

As late as in 1987 a separate Environment and Energy Ministry was set up, with a relatively small staff, mainly responsible for "core" environmental issues, while the other ministries also have environmental responsibilities as regard their specific sectors. Sector responsibility became an increasingly important principle in environmental activities in the 1990s.[70] (Kronsell 1997) An example of this is the Regional Growth Agreements, mentioned above. The need to take regional environmental and resource management programmes into account in connection with regional development planning was pointed out by the Government in the regional policy bill introducing the Regional Growth Agreements. The degree to which this has been carried out is, however, another question.

As a result of the emphasis on sector responsibility a lack of cohesion on environmental issues was felt. The issue of coherent environmental policies was dealt with in a government bill entitled "Environmental policy in the 1990s" (Prop. 1987/88) which was the first attempt to view environmental policy in a collective sense and subsequently led to an investigation of how best to co-ordinate the various pieces of environmental policy. (Kronsell 1997)

Today a major issue in Swedish environmental policy is ecological sustainability. The wording ecological sustainability was chosen deliberately in order emphasise the ecological dimension of sustainable development. In April 1999 the parliament adopted 15 environmental quality objectives (Gov. bill 2000/01:130) which focus on the ecological dimension of sustainable development. They are formulated with regard to nature's capacity for absorbing environmental impacts and define the desirable future state if the environment. They focus mainly on aspects such as human health, biological diversity, cultural environment and nature.

As part of the Swedish sustainability policy, the government reports annually to Parliament on the progress made in efforts to achieve ecological sustainable development. These annual reports describe the effects of measures which have been taken on the process of adjustment

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[70] The scope of environmental policy has changed during the 1980s and 1990s. The policy of the late 1960s was mainly concerned with pollution control (air, land, water) and nature conservation. Biocides, herbicides and waste emerged on the agenda, and there was some connection of environmental policy to national physical planning and environmental research. Today's environmental policy comprises not only these features, but is also about agriculture and forestry, traffic and communications, energy provision, industrial activities, hazardous as well as other products environmental recovery, education to promote environmental awareness, and environmental impact assessment and evaluation. (Lundqvist 1997)

of ecological sustainable development and are presented in conjunction with the Budget Bill. These ambitions of strengthening sustainable development are furthermore underpinned by the preparation of a Swedish National Strategy for Sustainable Development, which will encompass ecological, economic and social aspects of sustainable development.

As regards international ambitions, Sweden joined the EU with environmental standards in Sweden higher than EU ones. An outspoken aim was not only to maintain high national standards but to work for higher European standards. (Kronsell 1997) The environmental image of Sweden is supported by Margot Wallström, the Swedish EU Commissioner, being responsible for DG Environment.

The efforts of the Swedish EU Presidency in the first half of year 2001 may also be mentioned. At the EU Summit in Gothenburg the heads of state adopted a EU strategy for sustainable development. This implies that when new proposals are drawn up in the EU the economic, social and ecological effects must be weighed in each individual proposal. The news from the Gothenburg summit is that the ecological dimension in the strategy for sustainable development must be given the same prominence as social and economic considerations. Every year at their annual spring summit, the EU heads of state and government will discuss the progress of the work on the strategy for sustainable development. Included in the conclusions from Gothenburg is the phrase that the European Union will give the necessary policy guidance to promote sustainable development in the Union.

Thus it may be said that Sweden promoted environmental aspects during its EU Presidency. When it comes to national activities in the field of environmental policy and sustainability, Sweden is in the forefront. It is, however, obvious that, although there is the ambition to make environmental issues and especially ecological sustainability a mainstream issue, the environmental sector is characterised by the strong sector approach which is typical of the Swedish style of national policy making.

The national level waking up?

Upon joining the European Union, Sweden became involved in the ESDP work, both as a participant in the European policy community as well as a recipient of European ideas. As Sweden has phased out national physical planning during the 1980s and has no overall spatial development perspective of its own, it faced two problems. Firstly, there was no natural Swedish actor to participate in the European debate, as there was no actor dealing with spatial development of the country as such.

Secondly, there was no Swedish position, and thus not much to draw on when entering the European debate, no clearly preceived national interests to watch, etc.

As regards the institutional setting, the ESDP has made an interesting journey through Swedish bureaucracy. To begin with the ESDP task was placed with the Ministry of Interior in the department which also was responsible for physical planning aspects. The national election 1998 was followed by a restructuring of the central state administration, during which the Ministry of Interior was wound up. The ESDP, together with other tasks concerning physical planning, was transferred to the Ministry of the Environment. This change meant, however, only a change in the framework, as the staff working on these tasks was transferred to the new ministry. During the following years the Ministry of Industry, Employment and Communications became increasingly involved in ESDP business, as the ESDP no longer was considered as physical planning but regional development planning and thus related to regional policies. In the course of time, ESDP business was finally completely transferred to the Ministry of Industry, Employment and Communications. Similar institutional consequences of the shifting interpretation of the ESDP as firstly being a planning and later on a development issue, are also reflected at the level of national administrative boards. As Swedish ministries are rather small as regards number of staff, they rely on the support of national administrative boards. To begin with the ESDP task was the business of the National Board of Housing, Building and Planning (*Boverket*) which sent representatives to the CSD meetings, prepared Swedish contributions and background reports for the requested tasks and also handled the public hearing in 1997. The shift from planning to development resulted in the fact that the Board for Industrial and Technical Development (*NUTEK*), which during a restructuring in year 2001 was renamed the Swedish Business Development Agency (it retained, however, the abbreviation *NUTEK*), became increasingly involved in Swedish ESDP business. Finally, in 2000, the government gave both boards the joint task to act as national ESDP Secretariat and to look after both the European activities as well as national work on the ESDP.

The story about the institutional aspects of Swedish handling of the ESDP would, however, not be complete if we look only at the national level. As indicated, in Sweden, municipalities hold the planning monopoly and are not used to planning of any kind being carried out above their heads. Here, the ESDP has caused confusion as regards who is responsible for intergovernmental co-operation. There is not only the

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problem of how Sweden should be represented in the EU, considering that the state level has no planning competence, but also that of applying ESDP policy guidelines in the absence of intermediaries between the European and the municipal level. So the ESDP document fell literally down from the EU level onto the desks of municipal planners. Both after presenting the first official draft of the ESDP document in 1997, as well as after the adoption of the final version in 1999, Sweden organised hearings with representatives from the municipal and regional levels. The immediate reaction was a mixture of total rejection and sceptical curiosity, ending in a debate about the ESDP as representing a new form of planning. In the public hearings in 1997 the ESDP was viewed as an interesting planning approach (Boverket 1998a) and the following years much of the debate centred on the ESDP as a new planning method. Not only was it novel to have "planning" at European level, but also to use a non-binding and clearly spatial approach. As seen from the development of the Swedish planning system, planning has traditionally been rather land-use oriented. Thus, taking a spatial, cross-sectoral approach seemed to be new, as was the attempt to reconcile the objectives of development, balance and protection. However, when the fuss about this new approach to planning became too much, local planners started to react by saying that municipal comprehensive planning has never done anything else. In the end, the local level almost hugged the ESDP to death by saying that what the ESDP proposed, applicable at local level, had been common local planning practice in Sweden for ages.

At national level, debates with the local level and the experiences gained in European co-operation have led to ongoing reflection about the strengths and weaknesses of the Swedish planning system. As early as during the first public hearings in 1997 there were voices pointing out the need for a Swedish national development perspective. (Boverket 1998a) The first reactions at central state level were to go back to a set of sector visions or perspectives which had been developed during the middle of the 1990s. On behalf of the Ministry of Interior a number of sector visions were reviewed, to see whether they could give answers concerning Swedish positions in the European ESDP debate. (Nordregio 2001, Böhme 2001b) Altogether five such sector perspectives[71] have been reviewed against the background of spatial development initiatives at European level and in Sweden's surrounding areas:

- The National Board of Housing, Building and Planning (*Boverket*) published in 1996 its vision for the development of Sweden: *Sverige 2009*.

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[71] A brief description of each of the five studies is included in the annex.

- The National Board for Industrial and Technical Development (*NUTEK*) published in 1997 an analytical background report for regional development tasks and national considerations: *Regioner mot år 2018*.
- The Swedish Environmental Protection Agency (*Naturvårdsverket*) published in 1998 its view on opportunities for developing Sweden into a sustainable country within a short period of time: *Sverige 2021*.
- The National Rural Development Agency (*Glesbygdsverket*) published in 1997 policy proposals focusing on development in Sweden's rural areas: *Förnyelsens landskap*.
- The Committee on Transportation (*Kommunikationskommittén*) published in 1997, together with its final report, a vision of a transport system of the future: *Ny kurs i trafikpolitiken*.

The five studies represent the high degree of sector-orientation in Swedish administration and policy-making. Only the Study prepared by the National Board of Housing, Building and Planning (*Boverket*) has its roots explicitly in the field of planning. Although it is an officially free-standing study, it can also be seen as a direct continuations of the work on national physical planning done during the 1970s. (EC 2000) At the same time it also serves as part of the Swedish preparation for Baltic Sea Co-operation under VASAB 2010 (Visions and Strategies for the Baltic Sea) and can also be interpreted as a Swedish position paper for the ESDP process. This does not, however, imply that this study is more important than the others when it comes to grasping Swedish national spatial development policies.

A comparison carried out by Nordregio (Nordregio 2001, Böhme 2001b) shows that these five reports do not just paint different pictures of Sweden - they also represent different values and points of departure. Therefore, the idea of using them as layers for forming a comprehensive picture of spatial development in Sweden is out of the question. However, their differences and similarities illustrate the state of spatial development policy in Sweden. Despite their strong sector orientation, all five studies argue that a more comprehensive and cross-sectoral approach is needed in their respective policy field. The main challenge remains, however, with the conflicting aims of different sectors in combination with the above-mentioned consensus culture.

Despite the conflicts prevailing, a common view can be identified as regards regional policy. All of the reports view regional policies as integral to Swedish welfare politics and in this context all of them underline the need for more territorial co-ordination. As regards the aspect of sustainable development, all reports underline its importance. In

the end the reports show, however, rather different understandings and approaches and even state that the idea of sustainability must not be allowed to jeopardise economic development.

Since the Swedish studies were written, balanced polycentric development and rural-urban partnership have become issues in the European debate. Still, the reports show an emphasis on the dichotomy between a growing population concentration in metropolitan areas, accompanied by population loss in already sparsely populated regions, and the goal of guaranteeing good living conditions throughout the country. As regards rural-urban relationships it is argued that Swedish municipalities are fairly large in area and thus include both urban and rural centres, in addition to the fact that functional urban regions are a well established concept in Sweden. This may somehow explain why rural-urban partnership is not a major issue at the regional level. (Böhme 2001b)

In conclusion, Nordregio's study highlights differences as regards European and specifically Swedish views of issues addressed in the ESDP such as regional development, sustainable development, polycentricity, rural-urban relationships and accessibility. Apart from the different conceptualisations reflected in the European debate and the various Swedish sector debates, the main findings of the study concern the need for a national cross-sector approach, difficulties in handling value-conflicts and international spatial integration. Developments in Sweden are only rarely seen as related to developments in its surroundings.

In its survey Nordregio (Nordregio 20001) argues for a Swedish Spatial Development Perspective, taking its point of departure in a critical adaptation of ESDP aims and policy options. As shown above, concepts such as polycentric development and rural-urban partnership could take on different meanings in Sweden than in central Europe. One aim for a Swedish Spatial Development Perspective might be to establish a basis, which could be used at local, regional and national level.

> So, the question might actually not be so much *whether* various sector perspectives and visions can be pieced together, giving a consistent picture of the spatial development in Sweden, but whether Sweden needs a consistent and comprehensive spatial perspective. (Nordregio 2001:73)

With these not unexpected finding at hand, the Swedish central administration started to investigate the need for and, if necessary, the possible shape of such a national vision. The national ESDP secretariat, composed of the National Board of Housing, Building and Planning

(*Boverket*) and the Swedish Business Development Agency (*NUTEK*), was established in order to lead the Swedish ESDP debate to constructive conclusions.

The national ESDP Secretariat together with other national administrative boards, representatives from the county administrative boards, the regional self-government bodies, the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and The Swedish Federation of County Councils formed the so-called national ESDP group. This group discussed intensively the issue of a national spatial development perspective and drew on experiences of national spatial planning in other European countries. There is a general consensus in this group that a comprehensive picture of spatial development in Sweden is needed in order to elucidate what the nation and the regions want. Such a national perspective should work in two directions. On the one hand, there is a feeling that clear signs from the central state administration are needed, indicating aims directed towards the regions. On the other hand, there is felt to be a need to have a clear picture of recent spatial developments in the country for participation in the European discourse. Furthermore, there seems to be a general need for highlighting the complexity of national spatial development and the various connections in the system. Here, the interrelations between spatial planning activities at national and at local self-governance level are a major challenge. The national ESDP group gave its recommendation to the government on 28 December 2001. The recommendations propose mainly to study needs and possibilities for setting up a comprehensive national development strategy.

European influences

Since joining the European Union in 1995, Swedish policy-making has been considerably influenced by the European debate, while Sweden has also considerably influenced the European debate. It seems, however, that these two-way-folws have affected different policy sectors in the field of spatial development policies.

As indicated above, the Swedish elite anticipated that EU membership would make Sweden one of the core members of the Union and thus enable the country to take an active role in setting the European agenda. As the population was much more hesitant towards EU membership, Sweden joined but never received enough commitment back home to become a proactive force in the European policy communities. In some aspects Sweden has, at least during its EU Presidency in the first half of 2001 been able to influence the agenda; this concerns both EU enlargement and environmental questions. Regarding the environmental policy sector especially the decision on a European strategy for

sustainable development adopted at the Gothenburg Summit may be mentioned.

Generally speaking, the lowly status of spatial planning in Sweden became evident during the Swedish EU Presidency. One emphasis of the Presidency was EU enlargement. In the field of spatial planning, one activity beyond carrying on with routine business was actually initiated by Germany: A Symposium on the draft programme of the European Spatial Planning Observatory Network (ESPON) with representatives from 26 European countries, EU Member States, Accession Countries and countries of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) in Stockholm. In the spirit of EU enlargement, the Swedish presidency organised under the heading "Partners in Spatial Development" a meeting of an enlarged Committee on Spatial Development (CSD) in Brussels. Representatives from 33 out of 50 invited countries participated in this meeting.

The main direction of influence seems, however, to be from European to Swedish policy-making. In the field of spatial development policies, recent developments in Swedish regional policy and the debate about a Swedish spatial development perspective are to be mentioned in this context. As outlined above, influenced by experiences from the EU Structural Funds as well as the Community Initiative Interreg, winds of change have been sweeping Swedish regional policy. Mainly three aspects are to be underlined in this context, a broader spatial orientation, empowerment of regional actors and the creation of regions. The government bill on regional policy (Prop 2001/02:4) introduces a paradigm shift in regional policy, as it proposes to include the entire territory and not only disadvantaged regions as before. The official rationale for this is that a more comprehensive approach to regional policies is to prevent increasing spatial dualisms, such as between rural and urban regions. Furthermore, regional policy is becoming more programming-oriented and thus open for regional actors to influence the actual shape of regional applications. This aspect, as well as the partnership aspect emphasised in the Regional Growth Agreements, is obviously influenced by EU Structural Funds experiences. Finally, there are the ongoing regional pilot projects experimenting with new forms of regional organisations and new division of responsibilities, and thus working towards a regional level which has democratically anchored bodies with clear competences for regional development. Thus one may predict that, influenced by the European idea of a Europe of Regions, Sweden within the next decades will get a regional level which can take an active position in spatial development policies.

That such a level does not exist at the moment became also obvious in the ESDP process. Here the strong emphasis on planning as a municipal task has caused difficulties in Sweden. This did not completely disappear when the ESDP business was transferred from physical planning to the economic development sector. This transformation of the understanding of the ESDP may have settled the direct conflicts arising from the municipal planning monopoly. It did not, however, solve the problem that Sweden has no comprehensive perspective for the spatial development of the entire country. Existing sector perspectives turned out to be of only limited use for formulating national positions in the European debate and for transmitting ideas from the European debate to the regional and local level. Challenged by the ESDP document falling directly from Brussels on the desk of municipal planners, the discussion in Sweden focused in the first period on the ESDP as a new approach to planning. Only after some time had elapsed did the focus shift towards a reflection on the Swedish planning system, finally leading to an organised discourse on the need for a Swedish Spatial Development Perspective, what it should be like and how this national planning approach is to be related to activities at regional and local level. This debate, which may be characterised as the main impact the ESDP has had in Sweden, is still in progress.

In general, we may conclude that in the field of spatial development policies, Sweden did not stand out for the paternalistic attitude which was envisaged by the Swedish elite when joining the European Union. Apart from the environmental sector, Sweden is heavily influenced by developments at the European level. If, in the course of a few years, there are powerful regions with their own Regional Development Programmes and a national level with an explicit position expressed in a national spatial development perspective, this will be a clear sign of European integration.

Summary and conclusions

This review of the Swedish planning system illustrates, on the one hand, the strong ideological influences especially on central state level and, on the other hand the strong emphasis of planning as a municipal task. This dualism has a number of implications as regards Swedish spatial development policies and their relation to the European debate.

The Swedish Model, as expressed in the ideology of *folkhemmet*, has endowed the central state with enormous competences rooted in a large societal consensus on the development of society.

Frameworks and pragmatism in planning

Planning in Sweden is rooted in the idea of the welfare state with its heyday in the post-war period. Based on the conviction that it is possible to plan peaceful social construction and reform programmes and deeply rooted in the development of the strong society, planning was an important task.

Embedded in this, national physical planning was alive for about 20 years, before the introduction of the Planning and Building Act in 1987 made physical planning a municipal task. The so-called municipal planning monopoly was introduced.

Today, the absence of a strategic spatial development policy for the whole country illustrates the lack of utopian ambition. This is not only true with regard to the physical planning sector, but also the regional policy sector as traditionally regional policy focuses on disadvantaged areas and does not reflect a perspective for the entire country.

Planning or development?

When Sweden got involved, the ESDP processes went under the label "spatial planning". As discussed elsewhere in this study the European discourse changed for several reasons from "spatial planning" to "spatial development policy". The change from planning to development is in the case of Sweden not just a question of wording but rather an issue of concepts and responsibilities. As planning is understood as physical planning and thus related to the municipal level, the ESDP was, to begin with, dealt with by the actors responsible for local land-use planning. As time passed by, the ESDP was increasingly perceived as development-related and thus the actors responsible for regional development got involved and finally took over.

The ESDP's journey through the world of Swedish ministries and related national boards and agencies illustrates that neither (national) spatial planning nor spatial development policies were established concepts in the Swedish policy environment. One may have expected that this journey might also involve a number of changes as regards Swedish positions and perspectives. As neither of the sectors dealing with the ESDP has a clear development perspective covering the entire country, this was, however, not the case.

The appearance of spatial policies

The story of the ESDP and how it contributed to starting a discussion on a Swedish Spatial Development Perspective can be seen from a wider perspective regarding the appearance of spatial policies.

If a Swedish perspective were to materialise, which has political backing, i.e. is not just another study done by the administration, this would be the most obvious case of spatial policy in Sweden.

Indeed, the strong sector orientation of Swedish policy-making and administration has repeatedly been subject to discussion and once a national discourse commences, a more comprehensive and cross-sectoral approach to policy making may be envisaged. This may contribute to broadening environmental policy, going beyond ecological sustainability, and the separate concepts of (physical) planning and (regional) development may converge.

Less speculative are current developments in the field of regional policy. By merging regional policy and regional industrial policy into regional development policies, the scope of policy is becoming more comprehensive. The potential for a paradigm shift lies, however, in the territorial aspect. Regional development policy is intended to be a policy for the entire country – taking a national spatial perspective – whereas the previous policies focused on less-favoured areas. This shift is said to be influenced by Swedish experiences with the European Community Initiative Interreg, which takes this broad spatial approach.

On top of this, there is the discovery of the regions. Hitherto, regional policy was a central-government-led initiative, influenced by experiences from EU Structural Funds, where there is a trend to follow a programming approach giving regional actors the opportunity to have an influence. This emergence of regions is connected to decentralisation trends from the central government level to the regional level. The two main elements in this process are the regional pilot projects and the Regional Growth Agreements. Both strengthen the responsibilities and opportunities for regional level actors to take an active role in regional development. Thus although regional planning in the traditional sense is not addressed here, the development of spatial development perspectives for the regions is close at hand. In the end, the regional level may expand its function of bringing various sectors together in space and co-ordinating various (partly contradicting) national sector policies at regional level.

In conclusion, there are developments from various directions which point toward the rise of a cross-sectoral and spatial policy approach. All these developments, although they take place in different policy communities, lie under the Ministry of Industry, Employment and Communications. Thus one may expect that the lines in the end may converge into a single policy approach. Another observation of interest is

that, in all of these individual lines and developments, experiences form European co-operation have a prominent position.

The model child in European integration?

When Sweden anticipated EU membership it expressed a desire to infuse the European Community with Swedish values and experiences from the Swedish Model. This has not turned out to be the case, at least not in the field of spatial development policies.

In the field of environmental policy, however, Sweden does belong to the European forerunners. Given the fact that the present EU Commissioner for the Environment, Margot Wallström, is Swedish, as well as the progress achieved during the first Swedish EU Presidency in year 2001, here a sphere of Swedish influence can be seen.

The developments as regards the ESDP process and regional policy and the emergence of regions in Sweden indicate, however, that Swedish policy-making draws intensively on experiences from the European debate. Whether this is a purposeful move or just one of woolly effects of discourses in policy communities, Sweden shows a high degree of Europeanisation in adapting to trends set by Community policies. As these results are mostly working by shaping the Swedish policy environment they are often not easily noticeable to outsiders. Seen formally, the degree of adaptation may be low, in the case of ESDP it has even been considered as non-existent. This is, however, mainly because work is underway in adapting basic structures. Accordingly, the integration process is going deeper than in countries which just "need" to adapt to new policy key-words. Thus, Sweden which set out to infuse may become a paragon in being infused by Europe – at least in the field of spatial planning.

In the end (spatial) planning looks set to remain a non-issue in Sweden, but spatial development policies are clearly the coming fashion.

PART III – CONCLUSIONS

After this survey of European spatial planning, both as planning for Europe and planning in Europe, with a specific focus on the five Nordic countries, what remains is to draw some conclusions on the interrelation of Nordic planning and planning for Europe.

Earlier in this study I quoted Hans Magnus Enzensberger (1989), who advised the Nordic countries to be more eccentric, and to turn the tables on their opponents by claiming that their own position is in fact the superior one. Based on the foregoing discussion, can we assess whether the Nordic countries have actually followed Enzenberger's advice as far as European spatial planning is concerned?

We have learned that the Nordic countries form a "Planning Family" of their own, distinct from other European Planning Families. (Newman and Thornley 1986) Furthermore, we have seen that, even though the Nordic countries seem quite homogenous from a European perspective, there are numerous and essential differences distinguishing them from one another when they are examined in more detail.

A key characteristic of this family is definitely the strong position of local self-government, which forms a cornerstone of Nordic constitutions and is supported by far-reaching decentralisation trends; spatial planning at the national level is reduced to a minimum and regional planning only weakly represented. Unitary governments counter-balance the strong local level. These common constitutional factors are embedded in political and cultural ties between the Nordic countries. The Nordic political systems, for instance, invoke the same approach to conflict resolution: in all Nordic countries we can identify a decision-making culture bringing together all the interest groups involved under official auspices to try to forge a policy consensus. Thus, policy making is characterised by dispassionate assess-ments of the situation, committee discussions and reports, and co-operation, invoking a common neo-corporatist penchant towards consensus. This is accompanied by a preference for framework control or framework legislation.

This in itself does not qualify the Northerners as eccentric spatial planners. Before answering the question of eccentricity, however, I would like to draw some conclusions regarding the handling of European spatial policies in the Nordic countries, recent changes in their planning systems, Nordic influences on European spatial development policies and vice versa. This will be followed by a discussion of loosely coupled policy discourses at different geographical scales and what happens when policy networks meet.

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Nordic Planning Systems and European Adaptations

Just how new policy issues are conceived depends not in the least on the institutional setting and the policy environment. Thus in discussing European spatial policies and the formulation of national policies, the specifics of the national planning and policy systems need to be considered. Earlier we discussed the different planning traditions (EC 1997) and planning families (Newman and Thornely 1986) in Europe, where the Nordics form a distinct group. As was pointed out in the course of that discussion, the Nordic planning systems are based on unitary central government accompanied by a powerful municipal level. Despite the strong unitary governments, national spatial planning policies are, as the previous discussion has illustrated, the exception to the rule. Which leads us to the question of how Nordic planning systems adapt to European spatial planning.

In this context, the discussion of the five Nordic planning systems has illustrated a number of recent changes to the actual planning systems which point towards increasing similarities with other European planning systems. The most obvious one is the emergence of a regional level, a trend which is definitely related to European spatial development policies, as the Structural Funds were an influential factor. Another trend which has become evident is an increasing cross-sectoral perspective. It may be too early to talk about a trend towards overcoming the strong sector orientation of Nordic spatial policy but there are at least initial signs of Nordic approaches to integrated spatial planning.

The aim of this section is to briefly summarise the structural challenges facing the Nordic countries in trans-national spatial planning projects. Three aspects will be highlighted: the gap between local and European planning, the emergence of regions and the instrumental approaches to integrated spatial planning.

Between local and European planning

Even if the precise shape of municipal competencies varies from country to country, local self-government is one of the cornerstones of all Nordic constitutions. The importance of the municipal level is also evident in planning, with Sweden as the extreme example. There, municipalities enjoy a planning monopoly, a basic concept in Swedish planning, meaning that the responsibility for land-use planning rests with the municipalities. Regional plans can only be drawn up with the agreement of the municipalities concerned, and even then they are not binding. As might be expected in such circumstances, regional planning is anything

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but common. The state as such withdrew from the scene as early as the 1980s, when planning came to be seen as old-fashioned.

In Finland the position of the municipal level differs only slightly from that in Sweden. Here, regional councils, formed by the municipalities work through a bottom-up process, preparing regional plans. As the regional councils are comprised of municipal representatives, no regional elections take place, as is the case in Denmark, Sweden and Norway. The regional plan is not only drawn up by a body representing the municipalities, it has no effect in areas for which a binding master plan has been adopted by a municipal authority. The Finnish central state has no real planning competence, but it does have the power to advance national planning interests by setting national land-use goals.

In Denmark, too, the municipal level is the cornerstone of the planning system. However, here regional plans do exist and are binding for municipal planning. On top of this, Denmark practices national planning, the only Nordic country to do so. After each round of national elections, a national planning report presenting Denmark's general planning policy is compiled. Since it is not binding, however, this report seeks to give persuasive guidance for regional and local authorities to follow.

In Norway, local government enjoys a fairly strong position, although there is a clear focus on local government as an instrument to be used by the state to implement national policies. Until 1997, the Norwegian central state prepared a policy report on regional planning and land-use policy every four years. Currently it is taking a low-key position in spatial planning policies, thus the mainly non-binding county plan is the only superordinated level above the local one. As discussion is in progress on the existence of, and suitable tasks for, the regional level in Norway, the current situation is likely to change during the next years.

In Iceland, strong local traditions and small communities put strong emphasis on the local level. When it comes to spatial planning, the municipal level is the most important one for land-use planning, as it forms both the basis of regional planning and carries out local planning. Even though there were, and to a certain extent still are, ambitions to introduce a national spatial plan, planning at national level is restricted to gathering information and the field of regional policy.

As one can imagine, the strong position of municipal planning coupled with the lack of comprehensive national spatial concepts (with the exception of Denmark) creates difficulties for these countries when entering trans-national debates. At the beginning of the 1990s, when both

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VASAB and ESDP co-operation and the related debates on spatial development visions started, the EU Member States Finland and Sweden had two major concerns. Firstly, as planning is mainly understood as land-use planning at local level, there was no self-evident answer to the question of who should represent these countries in a trans-national arena. Secondly, as there was no spatial development concept or comprehensive perspective, the challenge was to identify the national interest. To some extent this problem occurred also in Norway, although in a more moderate form, as Norway as a non-EU Member State did not participate in the ESDP process and, until 1997 at least, every fourth year national policy reports on regional planning and land-use policy had been prepared. For Iceland, responding to this challenge was simple, as it neither participated in the VASAB nor the ESDP process.

In general, the strong position of the local level basically restricts central state administrations to setting broad goals and structural frameworks, while the local level finds the means to achieve these goals. How the ESDP has actually been handled despite these structural challenges will be summarised when discussing the Europeanisation of Nordic spatial policies.

The emergence of regions

The foregoing section mentioned that in the planning field most Nordic countries have a government structure with a weak to almost non-existant regional level. European spatial development policies, however, have proven influential in strengthening the regional level. This is perhaps also the most obvious example of diverging developments in Nordic EU Member States and non-Member States. Whereas in Finland and Sweden, EU membership has definitely contributed to strengthening the regional level, in Norway European co-existence has brought the need for a regional level into focus.

At regional level, Finland diverges from its Scandinavian neighbours by the absence of an autonomous, self-governing regional level. This underlines the autonomy of municipalities and the tradition of municipalities joining together and forming co-operation bodies. Based on this tradition Finland managed to make a virtue out of necessity. In anticipating EU membership and, in view of the need to adapt to Structural Fund regulations, stronger regional institutions in the form of 20 Regional Councils were established at the beginning of 1994. Finnish Regional Councils are, in fact, amalgamated federations of munici-palities. They act as a regional development authority, providing an insti-tutional framework for better integration of regional development and strategic planning, as well as overseeing the preparation of regional land-

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use plans, etc. Thus the formation of Regional Councils represents a step towards stronger regionalisation, and moves Finland closer to the philosophy of a "Europe of regions".

Whereas Finland set up a new regional level, Sweden appears to be more hesitant, but here, too, the regional structure is undergoing change. As far as administrative structures are concerned, Sweden has set out regional pilot projects in order to test new forms of regional administration and regional governance. On top of this, recent decentralisation trends resulted in the introduction of Regional Growth Agreements, strengthening the responsibilities and opportunities for regional actors to take an active role in regional development. Both changes are influenced by the Structural Funds, especially the Regional Growth Agreements, which are a sort of Swedish version of the European Structural Fund system.

In general it can be concluded that the two Nordic newcomers to the European Union are discovering the regional level and expanding its functions in bringing various sectors together in space. In both cases the developments are influenced by European spatial development policies, primarily by the Structural Funds.

Contrasting trends can be viewed in the Norwegian debate. A debate on the division of labour and responsibilities within the Norwegian administrative system is currently underway. The two dominant positions are either that Norway does not need a regional level or that Norway needs fewer counties with limited tasks. Thus, we may either see the regional level disappearing or at least a limitation and redefinition of the tasks of the county municipalities, together with the takeover by the state of more tasks and responsibilities. At the same time the central state will still limit itself to framework control of the municipal level. Either way the trend of the Norwegian discussion differs markedly from moves towards strengthening the regional level as we have seen them in Sweden and Finland.

With regard to Denmark and Iceland no similar intense discussions of, and proposed changes to, regional administration are visible at the moment. However, as Denmark has a comparably effective regional level, it already fits into the position that Finland and Sweden are developing. Whereas Iceland has no regional level and thus can be regarded as being generally in line with the Norwegian position.

Towards integrated spatial planning
In addition to these substantial changes of the administrative or planning systems, another type of formal change has begun to weaken the traditionally strong Nordic sector-orientation. Changes in the formal

settings of the planning systems indicate that there are trends towards more integrated spatial planning. The policy trends which indicate the emergence of spatial planning will be dealt with separately.

In general one can distinguish two types of trends which characterise formal Nordic approaches to spatial planning. Firstly, there are cases in which a spatial, cross-sectoral approach is related to planning or policy instruments. Secondly, there are cases in which the European debate has shaped discussion of the need for new elements in the planning systems.

The most obvious case of developing a Nordic approach to spatial planning are the Finnish Regional Councils. As these councils are responsible for both regional development and regional planning, they face the challenge of combining often divergent interests. However, the two formal instruments, the regional plan and regional development programme, are ideally mutually linked and together form the strategic regional plan. Thus the strategic regional plan takes a cross-sectoral, spatial approach, overcoming the traditional division between planning and development. These cross-sectoral ambitions are, however, not mirrored at national level.

Similar ambitions for sector co-ordination may have provided the background for the Norwegian county plan. There is, however, a trend of fragmenting and subsequently neglecting sector co-ordinating comprehensive planning at regional level, while planning capacity and resources are increasingly engaged in sector programme and planning activities.

Turning from the regional to the national level, one could mention the Danish national planning reports, which during the last decade have taken an increasingly broader perspective. Here increasing cross-sectoral ambitions are working towards a reconciliation of the various sectors into a comprehensive, even holistic, spatial view with the planning sector clearly the strongest sector and actor.

Consequently, we can conclude that a (new) formal approach to spatial planning in the Nordic countries can be found at the level of Finnish regional planning, while the Danish national plan is more and more creeping towards a co-ordinating position and thus informally extending its scope. As regards other existing planning instruments, attempts at cross-sectoral spatial planning or policy are rather weak.

There are, however, ongoing debates on the need for such instruments. This has been the case in Iceland, to a certain degree in Norway and definitely in Sweden. Indeed, the Swedish debate may result in the creation of new planning elements in the formal national planning

system, as the idea of a Swedish Spatial Development Perspective is supported in various corridors.

Summing up, the Nordic countries entered trans-national spatial planning exercises with national planning systems which were, with the exception of the Danish system, not very well equipped for this kind of work. The crucial issues facing the formal planning systems are the gap between local and European planning, the emergence of regions and the instrumental approaches to integrated spatial planning. All three issues are at present rapidly changing. These dynamics are definitely related to European influences, but actual changes in the systems were caused more by the Structural Funds. The European spatial planning discourse, on the other hand, has led mainly to national debates and activities. This approach to influencing national policies evokes the question of community competence and could perhaps best be described as "creeping competence" (DETR 1999).

Making the Nordic Countries more European

Having discussed recent developments regarding the formal systems, we can turn to the field of spatial policy-making. All the Nordic countries, apart from Iceland, do discuss and act on European spatial development policies. Norway does it voluntarily and at its own expense whereas the three Nordic EU Member States, Denmark, Finland and Sweden are in a position where they to a certain extent have to do so. This is especially true as far as the Structural Funds are concerned (cf. Aalbu et al. (1999) for an analysis of the relations of European policies and the Nordic countries).

Apart from the statutory programme, the Nordic countries have also participated in actions concerning the non-binding ESDP document or have been influenced by the ESDP process. We can roughly distinguish between two different. In this context we need to recall that the concept of spatial planning is new to the Nordic countries, where traditionally a high degree of sector orientation prevails and spatial planning is separated into physical planning, regional development and environmental protection. However, we do see cases where the ESDP has been transferred into national planning policy or national planning approaches. There are also cases where ESDP aims are referred to or taken into account within the field of regional policy.

The ESDP and national planning policy
Systems for national planning policies differ widely between the five Nordic countries. Among their common features is the lack in all five countries of a spatial planning tradition corresponding to the idea of

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spatial planning as expressed in the European discourse. At European level spatial planning is understood as a method or procedure to influence future allocations of activities to space, which embraces measures to co-ordinate the spatial impacts of various sectors, to achieve a more balanced distribution of economic development between regions and to regulate the sound management of the natural and cultural heritage at any geographical level. (EC 1997) Discussing planning in the Nordic countries means focusing primarily on land-use or physical planning. Accordingly, approaches to national planning or national planning policies also have their roots in the tradition of land-use planning.

As the review of the five Nordic planning systems has shown, national planning exists as a regular and mandatory activity with regular policy documents only in Denmark. Here, the national planning report is a mandatory document, prepared by the Ministry of Environment in co-operation with other ministries after each national election. The report, which provides guidance for the regional and local authorities in a non-binding, persuading manner, is adopted by the government and thus represents Denmark's general planning policy. National planning policy in the other Nordic countries, where it exists, is voluntary and mainly based on singular activities. In Norway there was a tradition of delivering a report on regional planning and land-use policy in co-ordination with the mandatory report to the *Storting* on regional policy. This tradition has, however, been weakened over time and in 2001 the Ministry of the Environment dispensed with this practice.

The remaining three Nordic countries do not have any recent tradition of preparing national planning policies. The only actual reports on national spatial development were produced during the mid 1990s when there was a general fashion of producing planners' national visions. During this period, reports such as *Finland 2017*, *Sweden 2009* or the competition *Iceland 2018* occurred.[72] These reports remained general development visions without any ambitions of becoming exclusive national planning policy. Later on, however, a debate began on the need for national spatial planning in Iceland and Sweden, whereas in Finland the instruments for national land-use goals were introduced in the year 2000.

Despite all these differences, the common feature of Nordic planning at national level is that, apart from laws and limited instruments

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[72] Corresponding ambitions in Denmark are reflected in the national planning perspectives, e.g. *Denmark heading towards the year 2018* in 1992, *Denmark: A green room in the European house* in 1997 or *Denmark 2025* in 2000. These have, however, a different status as compared to the vision-activities in Finland, Sweden or Iceland, as the Danish reports are embedded in the context of the national planning report.

for special occasions, all activities aim at providing a non-binding framework for the regional and local level.

As far as the ESDP is concerned, the question arises as to what degree the approaches to national policy described above have been used for adapting to the ESDP. The most distinct case of transferring the ESDP into national policy is Denmark. The national planning reports of 1992 and 1997 clearly combine national and European aims and in the report of 2000 ESDP features can also be identified. In Finland, ESDP features have been transformed into national policy by integrating these aspects in national land-use goals. Indeed, these are the only cases in the Nordic countries where ESDP aims have obviously been integrated into the available instruments of national planning.

Interestingly, both countries, Denmark and Finland, have at the same time also used their national planning activities for spatial positioning in the European debates, as will be illustrated later on when discussing Nordic ambitions in customising the Union.

The ESDP and regional policy

As a consequence of the strong sector orientation in the Nordic countries, discussing the application of the ESDP concerns not only the planning sector but also the regional policy sector. One reason for this is that the ESDP is understood as regional development policy, while at the same time there is competition between the planning sector and the regional policy sector with regard to comprehensive policy sector co-ordination.

The systems of national planning policies differ widely between the five Nordic countries. But, at least in the Nordic EU Member States, the EU Structural Funds have influenced regional policy. In Denmark and Finland, EU Structural Funds have almost replaced national regional policy and national support schemes for less-favoured regions. Regional policy in Denmark has only recently made its come-back as a policy field with national policy reports.

As mentioned above, in Norway the Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development presents a report on regional policy to the *Storting* every fourth year. In this report Norwegian regional development is analysed and the national aims and strategies for regional policy are presented, together with regional development programmes. In general, regional policy has a strong position in Norway. The same is true for Sweden, even though comparable regional policy reports are not produced on a regular basis. There are, however, government bills on regional policy and the most recent one, from the year 2001, illustrates the strong emphasis on regional policy as regards spatial development policies.

In the case of Iceland, at national level not very much is done in the way of issuing formal policy documents; programmes and projects are the prevailing instruments. The dominance of the regional development sector over the planning sector is, however, striking.

Iceland, Sweden and Norway are the countries where regional policy has the strongest position. In Sweden and Norway regional policy makes reference to European spatial policies and, accordingly, has at least at some point paid attention to the ESDP. Examples of this are the Swedish government bill on regional policy 2001/02 as well as the Norwegian report to the *Storting* on regional policy of 2001, which invokes for instance ESDP-inspired spatial development scenarios. Thus in these two countries regional policy is emphasising its position as comprehensive, all-embracing spatial policy - a position which in Denmark is occupied by the national planning policy.

As regards the application of the ESDP, it thus can be stated that among those sectors dealing with spatial policy at national level, the respective dominant sector is taking care of the incorporation of ESDP ideas. This is probably a consequence of the fact that the concept of spatiality is new to the Nordic countries and thus it is the sector with wider scope that is taking this concept on board. It is, however, remarkable that, even though the ESDP is not binding, it is being integrated – even in Norway, which is not even covered by it. The only Nordic country not handling the ESDP is, for obvious reasons, Iceland.

General relevance of ESDP topics

Considering the wide range of topics covered by the ESDP, as well as its abstract formulations, it should not come as a surprise that there are opportunities for practically any policy field interested to relate to the ESDP document. This is especially true since the ESDP can be applied at various geographical scales.

Seen from an EU perspective, one could argue that there is a certain misfit of European and Nordic development interests. (Böhme 1998) The Nordic countries are peripheral in a European perspective and have relatively low European accessibility. They are also challenged by their low population density. At the same time, they do not, however, suffer from many other problems sometimes attributed to peripherality, such as low GDP per capita, low quality of life, exploitation and dependence. As there are no global integration zones in the Nordic countries, apart from the Øresund Region, the idea of polycentric European development implies accumulating development to the larger

urban areas, namely the capital areas.[73] This may lead to a more balanced European development; it implies in turn, however, that the dominance of these capital regions will grow and lead to greater spatial imbalances within the Nordic countries. Thus, there is a certain misfit of European and national aims. These divergent implications of European and national aims can be discerned in most ESDP topics and are also to be found in the field of accessibility or sound management of the natural and cultural heritage. Taking the issue to a perhaps extreme conclusion, one could argue at least half-seriously that the idea of sustainable balanced development seen exclusively in a European perspective, implies a division of labour between various spatial entities whereby regions above the line Oslo-Stockholm/Uppsala-Helsinki are assigned the role of European national parks.

This line of reasoning is not, however, justified, as the aims and ideas put forward in the ESDP are intended to be applied at various geographical scales. Reviewing them in a Nordic or national perspective one find the intentions of the ESDP to be very much in line with the aims of national spatial development policies. As the discussion of various national policy sectors has shown, balanced development and utilising the entire territory, rural-urban partnership and sustainable development are key issues also in the Nordic debate, independently of the ESDP. Partly, these topics are inspired by the European debate, but to a large degree they have their roots in national centre-periphery discussions. Accordingly the main aim of the national policies – with varying emphases – is to prevent increasing spatial imbalances caused by migration towards the larger urban agglomerations, mainly the capital regions. Thus spatial balance in a Nordic perspective implies strengthening the regional centres as compared to the European perspective which focuses on strengthening Nordic national centres. As both are actually necessary for maintaining Nordic welfare, spatial policies face a challenging balancing act.

In addition, a range of ESDP aims can also be applied at regional or local level. This is, however, mainly influenced by national debates and policies. At this level interest in the European debate is limited to individual cases, such as e.g. the development scenario of the Eastern Norway County Network (Selstad 2001), the municipal plan for Copenhagen or the Swedish debate on the ESDP method.

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[73] Potentials for Nordic polycentric development are currently being investigated under the framework of a study on polycentrism and peripheral maritime regions carried out on behalf of the Conference of Peripheral Maritime Regions of Europe (CPMR).

In conclusion, there is a considerable congruence of spatial development issues discussed at European and Nordic level. This facilitates relating national policies to the European debate, although understanding and interpretation of similar aims or formulations may differ. Accordingly, the regional policy sectors in Sweden and Norway make clearest reference to the ESDP whereas in Finland and Denmark the planning sector is translating the ESDP into national aims. Denmark, especially, is an outstanding example of adapting national planning policies to European spatial development policies.

Making Europe more Nordic

Hitherto discussion has centred on the Nordic countries adapting to European spatial policies. At the beginning of this study we saw that European spatial policies are shaped by discourses and network governance. This offers various possibilities for participating actors and national representatives to influence European policy making.

Any attempt to influence EU policy is certainly marked by a country's general attitude towards the EU. Therefore we will first discuss the general attitude of the Nordic countries towards the EU and then have a look at the Nordic EU Presidencies before going into more general aspects of influencing European spatial policies.

Nordic attitudes towards the EU
The attitude the Nordic countries show towards the EU differs widely. EU Member States Denmark and Sweden are rather hesitating members, while Finland is keen on European integration. As regards the non-Member States, Norway has earned for good reasons the label of an "Adaptive Non-Member" (Sverdrup 1998b), while Iceland generally shows the EU a cold shoulder and claims to be uninterested, at least as far as spatial policy is concerned.

To some extent the low profile adopted by the Nordic countries during the ESDP process reflects their general attitude towards the EU. Regarding Finland, Lindström (2000:21) may be right in stating that "new Members tend to underline their special priorities in such as way as to cause the Union to change its policies in a manner commensurate with the Member State's own needs." Denmark and Sweden are much more hesitant Member States, especially when it comes to supranational aspects. It is no accident that, although their economies are highly interwoven with those of the countries of "Euroland," neither of them has elected to join the European Monetary Union (EMU).

In contrast, for Finland European integration was the answer to its exposed geopolitical position. After the end of the Cold War, it was no

longer suspended between two blocs, needing to stay in touch with both without taking a clear position in support of either. At long last, Finland was free to plot its own course and so joining the EU, and seeking rapid integration, can be seen as a kind of cleansing operation.

The situation in Denmark and Sweden is different. Here preference is given to intergovernmental co-operation rather than to supranational approaches. In both these countries, to a greater extent than in Finland, a sort of trans-national Nordic identity has over time superimposed itself on national identity. This can explain why, although Nordic co-operation is no longer perceived as a viable alternative to European integration, Denmark and Sweden remain hesitant EU members.

Compared to these positions, the Norwegian situation is rather intricate. Although the Norwegian population has rejected EU member-ship in two referenda, the Norwegian administration and civil servants act in many regards as if their country were in fact a Member State. On several occasions the Norwegian government has underlined the need to adapt Norwegian policy to the EU as far as possible, with just one limitation: formal Norwegian membership. Thus Norway is carefully observing the European debate and in areas of its own interest it is fully participating at its own expense.

Iceland tends to seek minimum participation in European integra-tion. Despite its reluctant attitude and long geographical distance to the core of Europe, it would be wrong to simply write off Iceland as an uninformed and isolated country. Iceland's engagement in Nordic co-operation, its participation in the European Economic Area and Schengen, and involvement in the field of spatial planning and development through the Interreg III debate indicate that Iceland is moving more and more towards Europe.

In consequence, even though the Nordic countries often act in unison, they are deeply divided when it comes to the issue of European co-operation and formal integration. These basic differences may also be a central reason why the Nordic countries actually do not co-operate more strongly within the EU or even go as far as to form a Nordic bloc for defending their specific interests. The differences in attitude are also reflected in the Nordic EU Presidencies.

Holding the power of the EU Presidency
As only three out of the five Nordic countries are EU Member States and thus share the pleasure of regularly taking over the rotating EU presidency, this section will focus on these three, whereas the following section will again discuss all Nordic countries.

As members of the European Union, Denmark, Finland and Sweden have a good chance of adding some Nordic eccentricity to Europe. Indeed, every now and then, the Nordic Member States stick their necks out, trying to make the EU more Nordic. The most remarkable example is the Northern Dimension: "Nordic Regional Policy in a Brave new European World" (Lindström 2000). During her first EU presidency, in the second half of 1999, Finland emphasised this Northern Dimension, a concept intended both to focus attention on the need to reduce threats to security in the European north and to make full use of the economic potentials in Northern Europe.[74] Ojanen (1999) labelled the development and adoption of this European Union policy "made in Finland", as the "customising" of the EU, or "making the Union more Finnish".

As far as more concrete spatial planning policy is concerned, the preceding German presidency (first half of 1999) had managed to finalise the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP). So the ESDP task of the Finnish Presidency (second half of 1999) was to maintain momentum in the ESDP process by developing an Action Programme and by re-kindling discussion on European co-operation on matters of spatial development and planning. The Action Programme looks like an ambitious list where each and every country puts forward what it wishes to see done. Only time will tell what the actual results of all this will be. As far as European spatial co-operation was concerned, the Finns launched a discussion on future co-operation and the Urban Exchange Initiative III.

In the first half of 2001, Sweden held her first EU Presidency, during which the lowly status of spatial planning in Sweden became evident. One emphasis of the Presidency was EU enlargement. In the field of spatial planning, one activity beyond carrying on with routine business was actually initiated by Germany: a symposium was held on the draft programme of the European Spatial Planning Observatory Network (ESPON), with representatives from 26 European countries, EU Member States, Accession Countries and EFTA countries meeting in Stockholm. In the spirit of EU enlargement, the Swedish presidency also organised a meeting of an enlarged Committee on Spatial Development (CSD), under the heading "Partners in Spatial Development", in Brussels. Representatives from 33 out of 50 invited countries participated in this meeting. As far as the wider scope of spatial policy was concerned,

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[74] Whereas the Northern Dimension is perhaps most immediately relevant to the EU's relation to Russia and the Baltic States, the Finns have stressed that geographically it is a much more comprehensive concept, encompassing the area from Iceland in the west to northwest Russia, and from the Arctic Ocean in the north to the southern coast of the Baltic Sea.

environmental policy and EU enlargement were important issues for the Swedish EU Presidency.

Whereas Finland and Sweden joined the EU in 1995 and thus were newcomers when holding their respective presidencies, when taking over the EU presidency in 2002, Denmark, a member since 1973, will be able to build on previous experiences. However, as regards planning, and in spite of that fact that Denmark had been among the countries advocating a European Spatial Vision at the 4th informal meeting of the EU ministers responsible for spatial planning in Lisbon in 1992 (Faludi and Waterhout 2002), the last Danish presidency of 1993 was anything but spectacular. Several reasons can be given for this, among them a change of government during the EU presidency as well as intensive work going on at the time on the Vision and Strategies Around the Baltic Sea (VASAB).

During none of the presidencies of Nordic countries, however, have milestones been achieved in the ESDP process. The reason for this lies both in general attitudes towards the EU as well as in the Nordic planning systems themselves.

Customising the Union?

Apart from activities shaping the EU Presidencies and EU memberships, there are a number of other arenas where the Nordic countries have opportunities to influence European or trans-national spatial policy formulations.

One of these fields is, as Rusca (1998) indicated, environmental policy. Here the Nordic countries are often considered forerunners. Indeed, Denmark and Norway were out early with the establishment of a Ministry of the Environment in 1971 (Denmark) respectively 1972 (Norway). Norway can furthermore bask in the glory of having its former Prime Minister, Gro Harlem Brundtland, permanently linked with the concept of sustainable development. In general, the Nordic countries are often characterised by having higher environmental standards than the EU and to a certain degree environmental advocates hoped that having Finland and Sweden join the EU would strengthen the environmental bloc. Environmental ambitions as regards spatial development policies seem, however, to consist mainly of an environmental Nordic profile in the European debate. This profile is supported by the achievements of the Helsinki Commission (HELCOM) and also by the Gothenburg summit of the Swedish EU Presidency. The location of the European Environmental Agency (EEA) in Copenhagen should also be mentioned.

Stronger positions to influence trans-national spatial policies are visible in the Baltic Sea co-operation, where various Nordic countries have substantially backed VASAB 2010 co-operation, or in the Northern

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Periphery and North Sea co-operation, mainly under the umbrella of Interreg. The clearly inter-governmental character of these exercises may be a reason why the Nordic countries show a clearer profile here.

Finland and Denmark clearly lead the way in focusing on their spatial development vision and advancing their spatial planning interests, either in the above-mentioned trans-national arenas or in the ESDP process. In the Finnish report *Finland 2017*, which was prepared for the VASAB and ESDP process, European ambitions are clearly underlined:

> The European investments in identifying new challenges and in outlining future trends are impressive. [...] In order to be able to present tenable arguments in the international dialogue, Finland needs a clear view of her future national trends. Otherwise we run the risk of being left standing at the outskirts of international debate without any means of influencing developments that will affect Finland, too. (Ministry of the Environment 1995:3)

Similar ambitions underlie Danish planning when it presents itself as the "green room in the European house" in the national planning report 1997. Indeed, even the previous national planning report states that international developments make it necessary to formulate Denmark's position within a European perspective. Thus, if Denmark wants to succeed in Europe, it needs to spell out its goals for the physical, functional and spatial development for the coming twenty to thirty years. (Miljöministeriet 1992)

These are, apart from the Northern Dimension, the most obvious cases showing potential for Nordic eccentricity and ambitions to inspire discourses on European spatial planning policies. Possible eccentricities during the negotiations concerning the EU Structural Funds are not considered.

Discursive European Integration: When Policy Networks Meet

Returning to the body of theory discussed at the beginning of this study, the findings regarding the interrelation of Nordic and European planning will be discussed in the light of European integration. After a short summary of the ESDP process as the emergence of a policy community putting a European discourse in place, we will discuss to what degree this type of network governance is mirrored by Nordic corporatist policy communities. Finally, the discussion moves on to the question of to what degree policy communities and discourses at different geographical scales influence each other. This is made more concrete with examples from the ESDP and its impacts and effects at national level.

The case of European spatial planning
European integration can and does proceed on a variety of fronts and takes different shapes. Apart from the delegation of competencies to superior levels and the establishment of institutional settings which are mostly connected to non-hierarchic governance, European integration also comprises non-hierarchical forms using a networking approach to governance.

The review of spatial planning for Europe has shown that European spatial policy, in particular the ESDP, is a product of a policy network. In the case of the ESDP it has been concluded that during the last decades of the 20th century the CSD developed from an issue network in the field of European spatial planning into a policy community which also has been described as an "epistemic community" (Faludi et al. 2000). The European Commission supported the development of this policy community, as it suited the Commission's position as a political entrepreneur, creating networks to promote European integration. Forming trans-national policy communities around issues which the Commission has an interest in promoting has been described by Kohler-Koch (1999) as part and parcel of "network governance".

Since it links the emergence of the CSD as a European policy community with the Commission's interest in enlarging its competence in the field of spatial planning, the ESDP process is a good example of European integration by network governance.

Furthermore, we have learned that there are no incentives for applying the ESDP, except in the case of the Community Initiative Interreg IIC and IIIB. Accordingly, applying the ESDP is mainly based on the power of a joint discourse, which either can be understood as one single ESDP discourse or a number of overlapping discourses on various issues promoted by the ESDP (Richardson and Jensen 1999 and 2000).

In any case, the discourse-centred approach to translating the ESDP into practice implies "loose structural coupling" (Benz 2002), as it signifies that decisions in one arena do not completely determine decision in other areas although they may influence particular aspects. This loose structural coupling signifies that decisions made in the European policy community do not completely determine decisions made in national or regional policy environments. In the case of the Nordic countries, we can even speak of two types of loose structural coupling. There are, on the one hand, the three Nordic EU Member States which take an active part in this discourse and, on the other hand, Norway and Iceland which stand outside the policy community, i.e. the discourse.

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The main features of this loose structural coupling of Nordic adaptation to the European discourse, could conceivably reflect the Nordic tradition of corporatist policy making. In order to illustrate whether this is in fact the case, some elements of Nordic decision-making and spatial policy communities will be highlighted before turning to the interrelation of European and national level.

Nordic spatial policy communities

As discussed earlier, the Nordic countries have a strong neo-corporatist tradition in decision-making and are used to what Falkner (2001) describes as corporatist policy communities. This concept is indeed close to the concept of epistemic communities. In general, the Nordic countries used neo-corporatism at macro levels as a manifestation of the autonomous central state desiring to manage social change and welfare. This form of macro-corporatism, covering the entire range of socio-economic policy, is today somewhat a matter of the past. The character of corporatist governance has changed into a procedure where the central actor creates a policy community around a relevant policy task or decision-making practice in various sectors or policy fields.

Following that line of reasoning, the review of spatial planning in the five Nordic countries has illustrated how the various countries deal with adapting to the European debate. The corporatist decision-making, committees, networks and approaches to policy communities described show how the responsible ministries have gathered relevant actors around the issue.

This is most obvious in the case of Finland, where not only do the Ministry of the Environment and the Ministry of Interior closely co-operate but pay respect also to the Finnish bi-polar government structure by involving local level representatives actively in the European debate. In view of the ambiguous role of the representative of the Finnish Association of Local Authorities, which participates in the European debate and partly also acts as mediator between the two ministries, one could perhaps speak of an inbuilt corporatist policy community *en miniature*. This triad assures a smooth inter-linkage of European and national spatial policies and guarantees direct contact to the most important level for planning and regional development, the municipalities. Another example of Finnish network governance can be distinguished in the Centres of Expertise Programme, whose core philosophy implies bringing all relevant regional actors together around the policy issue of regional expertise.

As regards the Swedish handling of the ESDP, one may suspect that the ESDP journey through the various ministries and national

administrative boards has prevented the creation of a policy network or even a policy community on this issue. This conclusion would underestimate the meaning of Helco and Madsen's (1986) observation that the world of Swedish policy-making is a small and ingrown realm of group decision-making where the various actors must constantly expect to keep dealing with one another. Indeed, the Swedish ESDP process illustrates that the professional class is small and that there is a policy network where various constellations come together in corporatist policy communities around a number of issues. The most obvious example of such a policy community in the field of the ESDP is the so-called ESDP secretariat and its ESDP group, set up by the central government to discuss necessary changes in the Swedish planning system and the need of a Swedish Spatial Development Perspective.

Principally following the approach which Gaardmand (1991) characterised as the "mahogany-table method and corporative planning", the Ministry of the Environment prepares the Danish national planning reports with the involvement of the other relevant policy actors. In Denmark planning has a stronger position and is more politically sensitive than in other Nordic countries. Accordingly, balancing of various societal and political interests is a natural part of national planning before the policy report is handed over to governmental debate. In consequence, applying the ESDP at national level is in Denmark embedded in the complex system of preparing national spatial planning policy and thus the ESDP issue was promptly integrated into the existing policy networks. Summing up the development of Danish planning, Jensen (1999) underlines that the development of the Danish urban pattern is more the result of corporatist planning and policy processes than of broad public debate.

Whereas the central actors of the ESDP is related policy communities in Finland, Sweden and Denmark are also members of the European ESDP policy community and thus build links with it, this is not the case in Norway and Iceland. Nonetheless, the Nordic non-Member States share the same corporatist traditions and, as illustrated in the country chapters, there are issue-related policy networks and communities in both these countries. In the case of Iceland we have discussed the different types of committees, which illustrate that planning and related policy-making is the concern of a rather small policy network, almost a family affair. Also in the case of Norway the importance of collaborative decision-making has been discussed. Although in both countries policy networks and communities in the field of spatial policy exist, direct relations to the ESDP are not to be observed.

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Discursive European integration by network governance

To sum up, although the ESDP has been taken into account in all Nordic countries, apart from Iceland, only in the Nordic EU Member States has it been integrated into the national discourses. As discussed previously, in these countries the European discourse introduced or supported the formerly unknown concept of spatial planning and spatial policy. The criteria for a successful discourse, namely symbols, specific practices and construction of an ideology (Hajer 1989), have been met by the ESDP process. Furthermore, the actors in the field of spatial planning are required to draw on the discourse for their own credibility. Accordingly, we even may talk about a "hegemonic discourse" (Hajer 1995).

Indeed, we have seen that national discourses or policy networks have nationally put forward single issues coming from the European discourse and to a certain extent the European discourse also provided input to restructuring processes of the national planning systems. The most obvious examples are recent approaches aiming at spatial cross-sectoral planning and development policies and policies covering not only certain areas but the national or regional territory as an entity.

Seen from a slightly greater distance, one could argue that topics such as spatiality, balanced development, polycentricity, rural-urban partnership, accessibility, etc. are more or less reflections of the spirit of the time, *Zeitgeisterscheinung*. It hardly comes as a surprise that these issues are debated in various circles, i.e. policy networks at European, national and also regional level. At the same time, we should acknowledge that the CSD, and thus the ESDP, was first out with these issues and may at least be considered a trendsetter serving as point of reference for "descendents" or imitators following later. In either case, as regards the Nordic countries, the
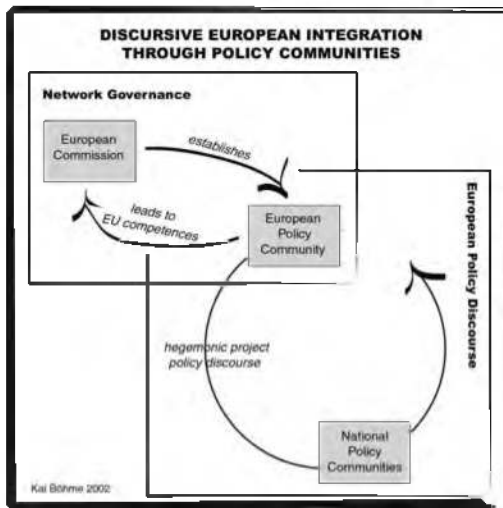

Figure 2: Discursive European Integration

ESDP and the European discourse can be considered successful in disseminating the core ideas of spatiality and balanced spatial development.

In this context, this study has shown that there are effects of the ESDP which serve as an indication of the effectiveness of discourses and the fact that European committees actually influence national networks. At least, where there are both European and national policy communities with personal links between them, discursive European integration by network governance does show effects.

On the left is the figure illustrating discursive European integration, shown in the first part of this study. As discussed previously, discursive European integration consists of two elements which are linked through a policy community.

On the one side, there is the Commission's interest in establishing a European policy field. According to Kohler-Koch's theory of network governance (cf. Box 4) the Commission can do this by establishing a policy network (cf. Box 3) around the issue in question. In case this network to capable to develop into a policy community, it may also be able to invoke a powerful discourse (cf. Box 9), i.e. to establish a hegemonic project. This formation of a European policy community around spatial planning, the CSD, and the Commission's imputed underlying interests in the ESDP process have been discussed under the heading of *Planning for Europe.*

The second part, i.e. how the European policy community influences national policy-making, has been addressed by the survey of planning in the Nordic countries. From this we can conclude that a powerful European policy discourse, and community influence national policies, at least under certain circumstances – namely through the direct personal links between European and national policy community. At the same time the European policy community also offers an opportunity for national actors to influence the European discourse. This link, however, seems more difficult to exploit.

Putting together these two steps, we can conclude that European integration not only relies on overt integration forces. European integration can also be viewed in a policy network perspective, where European policy communities create powerful discourses (cf. Hajer 1995), which influence national policy environments and form a European policy environment related to the idea of network governance (cf. Kohler-Koch 1999).

Whether these effects on the national level are limited to policy formulation or will lead to a harmonisation of planning for Europe,

remains to be seen. As regards structural changes, the Swedish debate on a national spatial development perspective may imply that discursive integration is certainly powerful enough to do so. Nevertheless, this case is an exception, especially as most changes discussed in this study are influenced by the Structural Funds. Thus, structural harmonisation is likely to follow the classical approach to integration, focusing on the delegation of competencies to superior levels and the establishment of institutional settings which are mostly connected to multi-level governance. An informed guess would be that discursive European integration by network governance, however, will lead to harmonisation as regards the topics dealt with in spatial policy.

In spite of the persuasive power of the European discourse and the ESDP, one might ask whether it has been Europe rather than the Nordic countries that followed Enzensberger's advice on being eccentric. Indeed, international spatial planning co-operation, especially in the case of the ESDP, has been an eye-opener for Nordic planners in at least two respects. Firstly, it contributed to overcoming the strict separation between physical planning and regional economic policy. Secondly, it stressed the broader spatial context of planning policies and thus contributed to increasing spatial integration in a wider geographical and political context, as e.g. the Baltic Sea Region or the European Union. In that respect, Martin's (2001) conclusion as regards the Netherlands also applies to the Nordic countries: The link between national spatial panning policies and European spatial development is now well established.

One has to admit that the Nordic countries have not really proven to be all that eccentric in shaping European spatial policy, apart from the geo-political approach to spatial policy presented by the *Northern Dimension*. Thus the Nordic countries are mainly reacting to the European spatial planning debate, or as indicated in the title of this book, echoing it. But even if the Nordic countries have not followed Enzensberger's advice, their cases illustrate how different national preconditions for participating in international planning can be. The policy environment and formal planning system shape in turn the opportunities for being eccentric.

One can only speculate what would have been the case if the Nordic countries had co-ordinated their interest in European spatial development more intensively and perhaps even got as far as producing a Nordic spatial development outline[75].

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[75] The BENELUX Structural Outline prepared by the Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg could have been a source of inspiration for such an exercise. Especially since e.g. De Vries and Van den Broeck (1997) describe the Benelux as an microcosm of planning cultures.

EPILOGUE – SPITZBERGEN, MIDSUMMER 2024

During the first Norwegian EU Presidency, the EU ministers for spatial planning held their routine meeting on Spitzbergen. The "Pentagon-Express", central Europe's most electronic newspaper, reported on the event in detail, in a feature by its expert writer on European spatial development policies, K. Kunz.

In his opening speech, the EU Commissioner for Language Policy, T. Milani, highlighted the importance of language planning in Europe and illustrated the importance of language interference for European Integration. For this he used the example of spatial planning, which started off as a wild European animal, but over time made its way into all 32 official European languages, in the same way as that "strange parrot" polycentrism did. At the same time he stressed that promoting European integration by creating common language symbols in the policy discourses should not be overdone. He referred to the recently published guidelines for the forthcoming Spatial Funds period, in which the concept of Holistic Outer Management Opportunity Planning had been introduced.

Before celebrating a traditional Nordic midsummer night on Spitzbergen, the EU Commissioner for Spatial Development Policies, E. Gløersen, presented the Commission's outline for the Spatial Funds period 2026-2033. Despite his sparkling presentation, for the well-informed audience it was obvious that this, his first speech as Commissioner, was no easy task. Only a few days ago he had been appointed as Commissioner, according to the new rules of the constitution of the European Union. In order to make European policies work more smoothly, the number of Commissioners had been reduced and so no longer did every country, but only a limited number of country-groups, have EU Commissioners. The four Nordic countries were the first to agree together with the President of the European Commission on a joint Commissioner; that the decision finally fell on the Norwegian candidate was surprising, as Norway had joined the EU only recently. The political debate, however, did put pressure on the candidate to be very clear in acting as EU Commissioner, reflecting both a European spirit and the flavour of all four Nordic EU Member States.

During the debate on the new Spatial Funds he was, however, strongly supported by the Finnish Minister for Urban Affairs, J. Antikainen. This support focused especially on two points. Firstly, Antikainen underlined the need to abolish European Urban Policy, which

maintained the outdated dualism between urban and rural areas. Thus he supported the Commission's proposal to take an exclusively spatial approach. Secondly, Antikainen argued ambitiously for introducing the principle of relativity for functional urban areas, abolishing the number of inhabitants as determining indicator. His main argument was that all functional urban areas in Europe are equally important and thus their size does not matter. This strategy had been largely discussed by the Nordic Committee for European Spatial Policies during its 10th anniversary as a formal Committee under the Nordic Council of Ministers. Surprisingly, the Nordic line of reasoning was supported by the German delegation, headed by A. Müller. The other central European countries were, at least to begin with, rather sceptical.

The negotiation procedures were closely followed by a number of observers from the scientific scene. During the midsummer night cele-brations, there were lively debates as to whether the Finnish success story would finally close the circle of the discursive European integration model. So far, it could be stated that the Commission succeeded in expanding its own competence by creating a policy community on spatial planning, the CSD. Indeed, in the long run it had lead to the introduction of a Commissioner for Spatial Development Policies. Furthermore, it was evident, that the discourse invoked by the policy community had strongly influenced all Member States, as not at least illustrated in the speech of the Commissioner for Language Policy. The two remaining questions were, however, whether it would be possible for the Member States to clearly influence the European agenda and whether the system described by discursive European integration would be stable over time. As regards the latter one, the Finnish researcher K. Schmidt-Thomé never tired pointing out that the CSD in fact was continuing in the form of the mandatory annual meetings of EU ministers for spatial planning and accordingly the main impetus still rested with a European policy community. One could perhaps reply that the institutionalisation which had taken place during recent years (mandatory minister meetings, a Commissioner on spatial policies, etc.) resulted in formal structures with a defined Commission competence and thus this policy field would no longer rely on the policy discourses only. This assumption proves however not true, as the Commission's competence is still strictly limited and rather weak. Thus the main line of implementation of European policies is still through policy discourses invoked by the, nowadays mandatory, minister meetings. In conclusion, the well-known German social scientist S. Huning argues that discursive European integration became a stable system against the odds. Therefore it was also possible

for Finland, respectively the Nordic Countries, to use the discursive approach for influences the European discourse.

Indeed, that the Nordic Member States finally succeeded in pushing through the principle of relativity for functional urban areas was not only because of tough Finnish negotiations at European level. After a number of backlashes in the time of Structural Funds, the Nordic countries realised the importance of tight co-operation in European issues and started preparing a common position in advance for the last round of Structural Funds. With the introduction of the principle of relativity for functional urban areas they, however, finally managed to ensconce their Nordic position and entered the areas where the Nordic countries were characterised as eccentric negotiation partners. A fact which actually also was proven by another topic on the agenda.

After having decided upon the Spatial Funds Programme for the next period, Iceland's plans for joining the European Union were discussed. Together with Norway, Iceland had joined the Economic Union and the European Monetary Union. Full Membership required, however, also joining the Environmental Union, and no agreement could be reached so far. The Icelandic Minister of the Environment, H. Bjarnadóttir, refused to combine the Icelandic emission quota with the joint European quota, without achieving at least improved European regulations for Territorial Impact Assessment. According to the Kyoto +10 protocol, the quotas of the EU Member States are to be seen as a single entity and for several reasons the European Union has encountered major difficulties in meeting the set goals. Whereas Iceland developed through new Territorial Impact Assessment standards a very strict emission policy and thus easily saves more energy than prescribed in the Kyoto +10 protocol, despite new power plants which were needed for establishing new smelters for environmentally friendly production of aluminium. Accordingly, Bjarnadóttir's goal is to place Iceland in a leading position in environmentally policy and get the rest of the Union on the same track. During the meeting in Spitzbergen the negotiation partners came close to an agreement and it seems likely that Iceland will reach its goals. This would, however, be the dot on the "i" of customising the European Union, i.e. making it more Nordic.

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SUMMARY

The emergence of European spatial planning is an example of European integration proceeding by means of networking and formulating policy discourses. Recent developments in the Nordic countries, i.e. Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden, are good examples for this. Changes in the national spatial planning systems and policies indicate that discursive European integration can be successful, the condition being that there are strong policy communities at European and national level and that there are direct links between them.

In general, establishing new European policy fields is part of the process of European integration. In so doing, creating policy networks is an alternative to the establishment of formal European competencies. Often, policy networks formulate discourses, thereby promoting their ideas. Thus, successful network governance at European level leads to discursive European integration.

Indeed, networking and discursive integration is the path taken by European spatial planning. Presently, neither a Community competence nor the creation of effective instruments and funds are viable alternatives.

Despite **Denmark**'s reputation as a hesitant EU member, as far as spatial planning is concerned, at least in the Nordic context one might call it rather enthusiastic. In general, Denmark is active both in the field of national planning as well as regards involvement in trans-national projects. The national spatial planning reports of 1992 and 1997 reformulate existing views of urban development and national planning to represent a combined national and European perspective. Thus, in 1992, the year that the VASAB and ESDP processes were launched, the Ministry of Environment and Energy presented a national planning report with a distinct European profile and clear ambitions of positioning Denmark in the wider European space. The ambitions of spatial positioning reached their peak in the next national planning report of 1997, called *Denmark and European Spatial Planning Policy*. Published three months before the first official draft of the ESDP was presented at Noordwijk, this report created the metaphor of Denmark as a green room in the European house and furthermore mirrored exactly the goals of the ESDP. Thus, Denmark may be said to have been the first in applying the ESDP.

In general, as compared to other Nordic countries, planning has a strong position in the competition between (economic) regional policy and (physical) planning policy.

The story of the ESDP demonstrates this clearly. The establishment of the Committee on Spatial Development (CSD) led to the formation of a policy community. Although there were no formal instruments, this community succeeded in launching the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP) as a "hegemonic project" in the wider context of European planning and spatial policies. In so doing, it employed the subtle power of policy discourses in disseminating the main concepts of the ESDP.

This work analyses the success of the discursive approach, using spatial planning in the five Nordic countries, where spatial planning was a completely new concept, as an example.

A review of spatial planning systems and policies in the Nordic countries shows similarities and differences of the respective national planning environments, formal systems and policies. From a European perspective the five countries form a fairly homogenous group. This is e.g. illustrated by the focus on the municipal level and especially by the dualism between planning, understood as physical planning and regional

Finnish attitudes towards European integration are proactive and **Finland** is eager to influence the European agenda. In the field of spatial policies, too, the fear of marginalisation in international debates makes Finland take an active role. An outstanding example is the *Northern Dimension*, a rare combination of spatial development policies and geo-politics. It intends both to focus attention on the need to reduce various security threats in the European North and to make full use of the region's potential. Looking at spatial planning more in particular, a national perspective, *Finland 2017*, has been prepared in order to underpin the position taken in the ESDP and the VASAB process.

As regards spatial policies in general, and the *Northern Dimension*, in particular, Finland distinguishes itself more by its integrationist attitude than (as has been the stated ambition) for making the Union more Finnish. Likewise, policy formulation and the administrative set-up have been influenced by EU membership. Already before joining, Finland created stronger regional institutions with a view to the need to adapt to EU Structural Funds regulations. These newly established Regional Councils are at the same time a step towards overcoming the traditional division between (physical) regional planning and (economic) regional development. Thus, they are a first clear indication of the emergence of spatial planning in Finland.

development. This contrasts with the European concept of spatial planning aiming at reconciling physical planning, environmental and regional policies. There are also substantial differences between the Nordic countries, which need to be taken into account. Their adaptation to the challenges of European spatial planning varies according to the differences in their planning systems and policies and the position of planning in the national policy environment. In addition to the planning systems and policies, the wider policy environment has been taken into account. The Nordic countries have in common their corporatist tradition, in particular the current form of neo-corporatism prevailing in various policy fields. The presence of "corporatist policy communities" in the spatial planning field made the Nordic countries receptive for discursive European integration. Indeed, with their corporatist tradition the Nordic countries have been well attuned to participating in discursive integration, with demonstrable effects on their planning systems and policies, with the introduction respectively strengthening of a regional level and earnest attempts at cross-sectoral integration as prominent examples. Whilst discursive integration was successful as regards adapting to European policies and discourses, Nordic EU Member States have been less able and/or willing to avail themselves of the opportunity discursive integration offers for

In many regards, **Iceland** presents Nordic planning issues and approaches in a nutshell. This is true for spatial imbalances and for the virtual taboo that rests on radical solutions, as well as for the weak but emerging regional level and for decision-making structures.

Iceland is not a member of the EU and did not participate in the ESDP process. Furthermore, it is located so far away form the European continent that no major interest in the ESDP process or document has been shown. Even though the issues of rural-urban partnership and polycentric development may be of partial interest, discussions put more emphasis on the fact that no other European country has the same extreme conditions as Iceland does, which is certainly true. In the field of spatial policies, the debate on Icelandic participation in Interreg III illustrates that it would be wrong to picture Iceland as an uninformed and isolated country.

The emergence of regions and growing ambitions as regards regional planning indicate likewise that Icelandic planning is becoming more and more compatible with other European planning systems. However, this is not the result of a direct influence by the European Union, but more general trends reflecting the spirit of the age.

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shaping the European debate. (For further information on the interrelation of national and European spatial planning in the Nordic countries see the boxes.)

The review of spatial planning in the five Nordic countries identifies a number of crucial differences in the way they participate in the European debate. One key finding is the importance of overlaps both of an institutional as well as personal kind between the European policy community and the national policy communities. Now, the positions of these linchpins depend on the formal set-up of national planning. This is responsible for differences also in the way the Nordic EU Member States adapt to the ESDP.

Anyway, despite these differences all Nordic countries, with the exception of Iceland, do take the ESDP into consideration. The broad European influence gives rise to the question as to whether and to what extent we witness a harmonisation of planning policies and systems in Europe. The conclusion is that discursive integration does lead to

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Norway is another Nordic Non EU Member State. However, as against Iceland, Norway often behaves as if it were a Member State. Thus Norway keenly follows European debates as regards spatial planning and spatial policies and in areas where it has an interest is fully participating on its own expense. Examples are the Norwegian contribution to the EU Compendium on Spatial Planning Systems and Policies and the active participation in Interreg programmes.

Accordingly, there are numerous influences from the European scene. Norwegian participation in EU activities apart, European influences can also be detected in Norwegian policy documents. An interesting example of ESDP application is to be found in the field of (economic) regional policy rather than in the (physical) planning sector. The 2001 white paper on regional policy makes clear references to European spatial policies. Parts of these references take the form of ESDP inspired scenarios concerning the development of the five major regions, so called Landelsstudiene. In general, although the Norwegian interpretation of the ESDP may invoke ideas of its own, the ESDP is regarded as giving added value to the Norwegian debate.

Despite these adaptive approaches, developments in Norway and the EU are heading in different directions, with the reform of the division of labour between the three tiers of public administration a clear illustration. Thus, the EU is opting for strengthening the regional level, but the Norwegian debate questions the use of regions and wants to marginalize or abolish the regional level.

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harmonisation of planning policies, but whether it also contributes to a harmonisation of planning systems remains to be seen. Maybe here harmonisation is more likely to follow the classic approach, focusing on the delegation of a formal competence to the European Community and the establishment of institutional settings. An informed guess would therefore be that in the main discursive European integration by network governance will lead to harmonisation of spatial planning policies.

Furthermore, one has to keep in mind, that discursive integration might not be a stable but rather an intermediate state in a long process of establishing a new European policy field. This is already indicated in the theory on which this is based, the theory of "network governance" (Kohler-Koch) describing how the Commission works to extend its remit. Furthermore, a strategy of "loose structural coupling" (Benz) necessarily leads to a discussion of the formal settings and thus supports Kohler-Koch's thesis that European networks are put in place with the intention to ultimately extend the competence of the Community.

In **Sweden**, the handling of the ESDP was rather in line with Norway than with the other Nordic EU Member States. Sweden did not seek to actively influence the European debate, but set up a broad national dialogue on the ESDP instead. First, the ESDP was perceived as a new planning tool. Later on, the focus in this national dialogue shifted towards new demands on Swedish planning and the need of a Swedish spatial development perspective.

In general, however, developments regarding the ESDP and regional policy and the emergence of regions in Sweden show Swedish policy-making drawing intensively on the European debate. Whether this is a purposeful move or just one of difficult-to-predict side effects of discourses in policy communities, Sweden shows a high degree of Europeanisation in adapting to trends set by Community policies. As these results are mostly to be found in the Swedish policy environment, often they are not easily discernible to the outsider. In this regard Swedish handling of the ESDP illustrates best of all the Nordic dualism between (physical) planning and (economic) regional development. The concept of spatial planning challenges this separation of sectors and leads to intensive debates before action can be taken.

Formally, the degree of adaptation may be negligible; in the case of the ESDP it has even been considered as non-existent. This is, however, mainly because work is underway in adapting basic structures. Here, integration goes deeper than in countries which just need to adopt new policy buzz-words.

Against this backdrop, discursive integration as a way of influencing European spatial planning, as illustrated in this study, might just be a passing phase in the process of establishing spatial planning as a European policy field. Be that as it may, this study illustrates that European integration by networking and policy discourses is possible.

SAMENVATTING

De opkomst van ruimtelijke planning en beleid op het niveau van Europa (spatial planning), is een voorbeeld van het voortschrijdende proces van Europese integratie middels het netwerken en de formulering van beleidsdiscoursen. Recente ontwikkelingen op het gebied van (nationaal) ruimtelijk beleid en planningsystemen in de Noordse landen (Denemarken, Finland, IJsland, Noorwegen en Zweden) zijn hiervan een goed voorbeeld. Voorwaarde is wel dat er sprake is van een 'sterke' planningsgemeenschap op zowel Europees als nationaal niveau, en dat er sprake is van directe verbindingen tussen deze niveaus.

 Het opzetten van nieuwe Europese beleidsvelden kan dus worden opgevat als onderdeel van Europese integratie. Het creëren van (beleids-) netwerken is daarmee een alternatief voor het installeren van formele, Europese bevoegdheden. Netwerken formuleren discoursen en geven zodoende invulling aan ideeën en opvattingen. Dus, succesvol governance via Europese netwerken leidt tot discursieve Europese integratie.

Ondanks de reputatie als weifelend EU-lid op het gebied van ruimtelijke planning, in de context van de Noordse landen daarentegen kan men de houding van **Denemarken** zelfs als enthousiast bestempelen. Denemarken is zowel actief op het gebied van planning op nationaal niveau, als actief betrokken in transnationale projecten. De nationale nota's op het gebied van ruimtelijke planning van 1992 en 1997 plaatsten bestaande opvattingen over stedelijke ontwikkeling en nationale planning in een gecombineerd nationaal en Europees perspectief. Dus, in 1991, het jaar dat het VASAB- en EROP- proces werd gelanceerd, presenteerde het Ministerie van Milieu en Energie een nationaal planning document met een duidelijk Europees profiel en heldere ambities om Denemarken in de omvangrijker Europese ruimte te positioneren. Deze ambities bereikten een hoogtepunt met het volgende nationaal planningdocument van 1997, genaamd Denmark and European Spatial Planning Policy. Dit document, gepubliceerd drie maanden voordat de eerste officiële schets van het EROP zou worden gepresenteerd in Noordwijk, creëerde de metafoor van Denemarken als een groene kamer in een Europees huis en weerspiegelde exact de doelstellingen van het EROP. Er kan dus worden gesteld dat Denmarken als eerste het EROP heeft overgenomen.

 Vergeleken met de andere Noordse landen heeft planning over het algemeen een sterke positie in de competitie tussen (economisch) regionaal beleid en (fysiek) ruimtelijk beleid.

En inderdaad: netwerken en discursieve integratie is de weg die is ingeslagen door Europese planners. Op dit moment zijn zowel EU bevoegdheden op het gebied van ruimtelijke planning als het in het leven roepen van effectieve instrumenten en fondsen geen reële opties. Het verhaal achter de totstandkoming van het EROP (ESDP) kan in dit verband worden gezien als illustratief.

Zo heeft de installatie van het CSD (Committee on Spatial Development) geleid tot een sterke planningsgemeenschap. Hoewel er geen formele instrumenten ter beschikking waren, is deze gemeenschap er in geslaagd het Europees Ruimtelijk Ontwikkelingsperspectief (EROP) als een "hegemonie project" te lanceren in een bredere context van Europese planning en ruimtelijk beleid. Het heeft hierbij gebruik gemaakt van de subtiele kracht van beleidsdiscoursen in het verspreiden van de centrale concepten van het EROP.

Deze studie analyseert het succes van de discursieve benadering door de vijf Noordse landen, waar ruimtelijke planning een compleet nieuw concept was, als voorbeeld te nemen.

De Finse positie ten aanzien van Europese integratie kan worden gekenmerkt als pro-actief en **Finland** is enthousiast om de Europese agenda te beïnvloeden. Ook op het gebied van ruimtelijk beleid neemt Finland, uit angst voor marginalisering in het internationale debat, een actieve rol. Een perfect voorbeeld hiervan is de Northern Dimension, een uitzonderlijke combinatie van ruimtelijk ontwikkelingsbeleid en geopolitiek. Doel ervan is zowel aandacht te vragen voor de noodzaak verscheidene dreigingen voor de veiligheid in Noord-Europa te reduceren, als het optimaal gebruik maken van de potenties in de regio. Kijken we naar ruimtelijke planning meer in het bijzonder, een nationaal perspectief, Finland 2017, is ontwikkeld om de eerder ingenomen posities in het EROP en VASAB- proces te onderstrepen.

Door het ruimtelijk beleid in het algemeen, en de Northern Dimension in het bijzonder, onderscheidt Finland zich door zijn meer op integratie gerichte houding dan (wat altijd de ambitie is geweest) door een houding die de Unie meer Fins poogt te maken. Bovendien zijn zowel de beleidsformulering als de administratieve opzet sterk beïnvloed door het EU-lidmaatschap. Door middel van sterkere regionale instituties heeft Finland zich al voor deelname aangepast aan de regulering ten aanzien van de EU Structuur Fondsen. Deze nieuw opgezette instituties, Regional Councils, zijn tegelijkertijd een poging om (fysieke) regionale planning en (economische) regionale ontwikkeling met elkaar te koppelen. Zodoende is er sprake van een duidelijke indicatie van de opkomst van ruimtelijke planning in Finland.

Een overzicht van planningsystemen en ruimtelijk beleid in de Noordse landen vertoont zowel overeenkomsten en verschillen op respectievelijk het gebied van de nationale planningsomgevingen, formele systemen en beleid. Vanuit een Europees oogpunt vormen de vijf landen echter een redelijk homogene groep. Dit kan bijvoorbeeld worden geïllustreerd door de bestaande focus in die landen op het gemeentelijk niveau en vooral door het heersende dualisme tussen planning (begrepen als fysieke ruimtelijke ordening) en regionale (economische) ontwikkeling.

Dit in tegenstelling tot het Europese concept van ruimtelijke planning dat gericht is op verzoening van planning, milieu en regionaal beleid. Er zijn ook aanzienlijke verschillen tussen de Noordse landen zelf, die aandacht verdienen. Hun aanpassingen ten aanzien van de uitdagingen van Europese ruimtelijke planning variëren overeenkomstig met de verschillen tussen hun planningsystemen en ruimtelijk beleid en de positie van planning in de nationale beleidsomgeving. Naast de planningsystemen en ruimtelijk beleid, dient de omvangrijkere beleidscontext in acht genomen te worden. De Noordse landen hebben een gemeenschappelijke corporatistische traditie, wat met name in zijn huidige vorm van neo-corporatisme de overhand krijgt in verschillende beleidsvelden. De aanwezigheid van "corporatistische beleidsgemeenschappen" in het veld van ruimtelijke planning maakt de

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In veel opzichten vat **IJsland** de Noordse planningskwesties en benaderingen het best samen. Dit geldt voor ruimtelijke ongelijkheden, voor het taboe dat rust op radicale oplossingen, en voor de zwakke maar opkomende besluitvormingsstructuren op regionaal niveau.

IJsland is geen lid van de EU en heeft ook niet deelgenomen aan het EROP proces. Bovendien ligt IJsland zo ver van het Europese continent af dat er überhaupt geen bijzondere interesse voor het EROP proces of document is getoond. Alhoewel kwesties als de relatie stad-platteland en polycentrische ontwikkeling wellicht van belang kunnen zijn, ligt de nadruk in discussies toch op het feit dat geen enkel ander Europees land dezelfde extreme condities ervaart als IJsland, wat zeker waar is. Op het gebied van ruimtelijk beleid, illustreert het debat rond de deelname aan Interreg III dat het incorrect is om IJsland als ongeïnformeerd en geïsoleerd te classificeren.

De opkomst van regio's en groeiende ambities ten aanzien van regionale planning indiceren bovendien dat het IJslandse planningsysteem meer en meer vergelijkbaar wordt met andere Europese systemen. Echter, dit is niet zozeer het resultaat van directe invloed van de EU, maar meer van algemene ontwikkelingen die de tijdsgeest weerspiegelen.

Noordse landen ontvankelijk voor discursieve integratie. En inderdaad, met hun corporatistische tradities zijn de Noordse landen goed aangepast om deel te nemen in discursieve Europese integratie met aantoonbare effecten op hun planningsystemen en beleid. De introductie, respectievelijk versterking, van het regionale niveau en de serieuze pogingen tot transsectorale integratie zijn hiervan duidelijke voorbeelden. Maar waar sprake is van succesvolle discursieve integratie in de zin van aanpassing aan Europees beleid en discoursen, zijn de Noordse EU-lidstaten er minder in geslaagd gebruik te maken van de kans die discursieve integratie biedt om het Europese debat mede vorm te geven (zie de kaders voor meer informatie over de interrelatie van nationale en Europese ruimtelijke planning in de Noordse landen).

Het overzicht van ruimtelijke planning in de vijf Noordse landen identificeert een aantal cruciale verschillen in de wijze waarop wordt

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Noorwegen is een ander Noords land dat geen lid is van de EU. Maar, in tegenstelling tot IJsland, gedraagt Noorwegen zich wel vaak als een EU-lid. Zo volgt Noorwegen intens het Europese debat rond planning en ruimtelijk beleid en, daar waar het belang heeft, wordt er op eigen kosten actief deelgenomen. Voorbeelden hiervan zijn de Noorse bijdrage aan het EU Compendium on Spatial Planning Systems and Policies en de actieve deelname aan de Interreg programma's

Derhalve zijn er talrijke invloeden uit de Europese beleidsomgeving. Zo kan, naast de Noorse deelname aan EU activiteiten, de Europese invloed terug worden gezien in de Noorse beleidsdocumenten. Een interessant voorbeeld van de toepassing van het EROP kan meer worden gevonden op het gebied van (economisch) regionaal beleid dan in de (fysieke) planning sector. Zo verwijst het 2001 white paper over regionaal beleid duidelijk naar Europees ruimtelijk beleid. Enkele verwijzingen nemen, geïnspireerd door het EROP, de vorm aan van scenario's over de ontwikkeling van de vijf belangrijkste regio's, de zogenoemde Landelsstudiene. Hoewel de Noorse interpretatie van het EROP op zichzelf nieuwe ideeën oproept, kant het EROP worden beschouwd als een waardevolle bijdrage aan het Noorse debat.

Ondanks deze aanpassingsbenadering, ontwikkelen Noorwegen en de EU zich in verschillende richtingen. De hervorming van de arbeidsverdeling over de drie lagen van de publieke administratie is hiervan een duidelijke illustratie. Dus, waar de EU kiest voor het versterken van het regionale niveau, staat in Noorwegen het gebruik van regio's ter discussie en wordt er geopperd voor het marginaliseren zo niet afschaffen van het regionale niveau.

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deelgenomen aan het Europese debat. Een belangrijke bevinding is het belang van overlapping, zowel institutioneel als persoonlijk, van de Europese en de nationale beleidsgemeenschappen. De posities van deze belangrijke onderdelen zijn op hun beurt weer afhankelijk van de formele opzet van nationale planning. Dit verklaart ook de verschillende wijzen waarop de Noordse EU- lidstaten zich aanpassen aan het EROP.

In ieder geval nemen alle Noordse landen ondanks al deze verschillen, met uitzondering van IJsland, het EROP in acht. De brede Europese invloed doet ons afvragen of en in wat voor mate we een harmonisering van planningsystemen en beleid in Europa kunnen waarnemen. De conclusie is dat discursieve integratie leidt tot harmonisering van ruimtelijk beleid, maar of dit ook opgaat voor planningsystemen is nog maar de vraag. Waarschijnlijk volgt de

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De manier hoe **Zweden** met het EROP omgaat is meer in de lijn van Noorwegen dan met de andere Noordse EU-lidstaten. Zweden trachtte niet het Europese debat actief te beïnvloeden. In plaats daarvan werd er een breed nationaal dialoog over het EROP opgezet. Terwijl het EROP in eerste instantie werd begrepen als een nieuw planninginstrument, verschoof de focus van dit nationaal debat later meer in de richting van nieuwe eisen aan Zweedse planning en de noodzaak van een Zweeds ruimtelijk ontwikkelingsperspectief.

Echter, ontwikkelingen met betrekking tot het EROP en regionaal beleid, en de opkomst van regio's in Zweden, laten zien hoe de Zweedse beleidsvorming in het algemeen voortbouwt op het Europese debat. Zweden vertoont, of dit nu een doelgerichte beweging is of meer een moeilijk-te-voorspellen neveneffect van discoursen in de planninggemeenschap, een grote mate van Europeanisering door te anticiperen op trends die worden gevormd door Gemeenschapsbeleid. Aangezien de resultaten ervan het meeste kunnen worden gevonden in de Zweedse beleidsomgeving zijn ze moeilijk te onderscheiden voor een buitenstaander. In dit verband illustreert de manier waarop Zweden omgaat met het EROP het beste van alle landen het Noordse dualisme tussen (fysieke) planning en (economische) regionale ontwikkeling. Het concept van ruimtelijke planning daagt dit onderscheid uit en leidt tot een intensief debat voor er tot actie kan worden overgegaan.

Formeel gezien is de mate van aanpassing verwaarloosbaar en met betrekking tot het EROP zelfs geheel afwezig. Echter, dit is voornamelijk vanwege het feit dat men bezig is met het aanpassen van de basisstructuren. Hier gaat integratie dan ook dieper dan in landen waar men zich slechts hoeft aan te passen aan nieuw beleidsjargon.

harmonisering op dit gebied meer de klassieke benadering waar de focus meer ligt op het delegeren van een formele competentie naar de Europese Gemeenschap en het opzetten van instituties. Een terechte aanname zou daarom kunnen zijn dat algemene discursieve Europese integratie via netwerk-governance zal leiden tot harmonisering van ruimtelijk beleid.

Bovendien dient men in acht te nemen dat discursieve integratie waarschijnlijk geen stabiele, maar meer een tussenfase is in het lange proces van het installeren van een nieuw Europees beleidsveld. Dit wordt al onderkend in de theorie waarop deze studie is gebaseerd: de theorie van "network governance" (Kohler-Koch), die beschrijft hoe de Europese Commissie werkt aan de afname van haar eigen invloed. Een strategie van "loose structural coupling" (Benz) leidt bovendien noodzakelijkerwijs tot een discussie over de formele institutionele opzet en dus ondersteunt het Kohler-Koch's stelling dat Europese netwerken worden opgezet met de intentie om uiteindelijk de bevoegdheden van de Europese Gemeenschap uit te breiden.

Discursieve integratie als een manier om Europese ruimtelijke planning te beïnvloeden, zoals aangetoond in deze studie, kan tegen deze achtergrond worden opgevat als een te doorlopen fase in het proces van het instellen van ruimtelijke planning als een Europees beleidsveld. Hoe dan ook, deze studie illustreert dat Europese integratie via netwerken en beleidsdiscoursen mogelijk is.

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SAMMANFATTNING

Framväxten av europeisk fysisk-funktionell planläggning är ett exempel på den europeisk integration som pågår genom nätverksarbetande och formulerande av policy diskurser. Den senaste utveckling i de nordiska länderna, dvs Danmark, Finland, Island, Norge och Sverige, är ett bra exempel på detta. Förändringar i de nationella fysisk-funktionella planläggningssystemen och politiken pekar på att diskursiv europeisk integration kan vara framgångsrik, under förutsättningen att starka gemenskaper existerar på europeisk och nationell nivå och att det finns direkta länkar mellan dessa.

Generellt sett är etablerandet av nya europeiska politikområden en del av den europeiska integrationsprocessen. I detta är skapandet av policy nätverk ett alternativ till etablerandet av formella europeiska kompetenser. Ofta formulerar politiska nätverk diskurser, som därmed främjar deras idéer. Sålunda leder framgångsrik styrelse genom näterk på europeisk nivå till diskursiv europeisk integration.

Trots **Danmarks** rykte som en tveksam EU-medlem, kan man i vart fall i nordisk kontext kalla det ganska entusiastiskt då det gäller fysisk-funktionell planläggning. Generellt är Danmark aktivt både inom området nationell planläggning och rörande involverande i transnationella projekt. De nationella fysisk-funktionella planläggningsrapporterna från 1992 och 1997 omformulerade existerande ståndpunkter gällande stadsutveckling och nationell planläggning till att representera ett kombinerat nationellt och europeiskt perspektiv. Sålunda presenterade miljö- och energiministeriet under 1991, året då VASAB- och ESDP-processerna startades, en nationell planläggningsrapport med en distinkt europeisk profil och med klara ambitioner att positionera Danmark i det större europeiska perspektivet. De rumsliga positioneringsambitionerna nådde sin topp i den nästa nationella planläggningsrapporten, från 1997, kallad *Danmark och europeisk fysisk-funktionell planläggningspolitik*. Denna rapport, publicerad tre månader före det första officiella utkastet av EDSP presenterades i Noordwijk, framställde metaforen av Danmark som ett grönt rum i det europeiska huset, och återspeglade vidare exakt målen inom ESDP. Sålunda kan Danmark sägas ha varit först med att tillämpa ESDP.

Generellt sett har planläggning, i jämförelse med andra nordiska länderna, haft en stark position i tävlan mellan (ekonomisk) regionalpolitik och (fysisk) planläggningspolitik.

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Nätverksarbetande och diskursiv integration är utan tvivel den väg som europeisk fysisk-funktionell planläggning tagit. För närvarande är varken en EU-kompetens eller skapandet av effektiva instrument och fonder faktiska alternativ.

ESDP historien visar detta tydligt. Etablerandet av CSD-kommittén (Committee for Spatial Development) ledde till uppkomsten av en policy gemenskap. Trots att det inte fanns några formella instrument lyckades denna gemenskap sjösätta ESDP (Det regionala utvecklingsperspektivet inom Europeiska unionen) som ett "hegemoniskt projekt" i en bredare kontext av europeisk planläggning och fysisk-funktionell politik. På detta sätt använde den sig av den subtila makten hos policy diskurser för spridandet av huvudkoncepten inom ESDP.

Detta arbete analyserar den diskursiva metodens framgång genom att använda fysisk-funktionell planläggning i de fem nordiska länderna, där fysisk-funktionell planläggning var ett helt nytt koncept, som exempel.

Finska attityder gentemot europeisk integration är proaktiva och **Finland** är angeläget att påverka den europeiska agendan. Inom fältet fysisk-funktionell politik gör dessutom rädslan för marginalisering i internationell debatt att Finland intar en aktiv roll. Ett framträdande exempel är *den nordliga dimensionen*, en ovanlig kombination av fysisk-funktionell utvecklingspolitik och geopolitik. Initiativet har för avsikt att både rikta uppmärksamhet på behovet av att reducera diverse säkerhetshot i norra Europa och att till fulla utnyttja regionens potential. Då man speciellt tittar på fysisk-funktionell planläggning har ett nationellt perspektiv, *Finland 2017*, tagits fram för att understödja den antagna positionen i EDSP- och VASAB-processen.

Då det gäller fysisk-funktionell politik i allmänhet, och *den nordliga dimensionen* i synnerhet, utmärker sig Finland mer genom sin integrationiska attityd än (vilket har varit den uttalade ambitionen) för att göra EU mer finsk. På samma sätt har formuleringen av politik och den administrativa strukturen påverkats av EU-medlemskapet. Redan innan anslutningen skapade Finland starkare regionala institutioner i överrensstämmelse med behovet att anpassa sig till EU:s strukturfondsregleringar. Dessa nyetablerade landskapsförbund är samtidigt ett steg mot att övervinna den traditionela uppdelningen mellan (fysisk) regional planläggning och (ekonomisk) regional utveckling. Sålunda är de ett första tydligt tecken på framväxten av en fysisk-funktionell planläggning i Finland.

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En genomgång av fysisk-funktionella planläggningssystem och politik i de nordiska länderna visar likheter och skillnader i de respektive nationella planläggningsmiljöerna, formella systemen och politiken. Från ett europeiskt perspektiv utgör de fem länderna en tämligen homogen grupp. Detta belyses till exempel genom fokuseringen på den kommunala nivån och främst genom dualismen mellan planläggning, förstått som fysisk planläggning och regional utveckling. Detta kontrasterar mot det europeiska konceptet för fysisk-funktionell planläggning som syftar att förena fysisk planläggnings-, miljö- och regionalpolitik. Det finns också avsevärda skillnader mellan de nordiska länderna som måste beaktas. Deras anpassning till den europeiska fysisk-funktionella planläggningens utmaningar varierar i enlighet med skillnaderna i deras planläggningssystem och politik och planläggningens position i den nationella politiska miljön. Förutom planläggningssystemen och politiken har hänsyn tagits till den bredare politiska miljön. De nordiska länderna har gemensamt deras korporatismiska tradition, speciellt den nuvarande formen av neo-korporatism som är allmänt utbredd inom diverse politikområden. Närvaron av "korporatismiska politiska gemenskaper" inom det fysisk-funktionella planläggningsområdet gjorde att de nordiska länderna var mottagliga för diskursiv europeisk integration.

I många avseende presenterar **Island** nordiska planläggningsfrågor och metoder i ett nötskal. Detta stämmer för rumsliga obalanser och för den verkliga tabu som gäller för radikala lösningar, så väl som för den svaga men framväxande regionala nivån och för beslutfattningsstrukturer.

Island är inte medlem i EU och deltog inte i ESDP-processen. Därutöver är det lokaliserat så långt från den europeiska kontinenten att inget större intresse för ESDP-processen eller dokumenten har visats. Även om frågor rörande stad-land partnerskap och flerkärnig utveckling kan vara av visst intresse lägger diskussionerna mer vikt vid det faktum att inget europeiskt land har lika extrema förhållanden som Island har, vilket i hög grad är fallet. Inom området fysisk-funktionell politik illustrerar debatten om Islands deltagande i Interreg III att det vore fel att beskriva Island som ett likformigt och isolerat land.

Framväxten av regioner och växande ambitioner när det gäller regional planläggning indikerar på samma sätt att Isländsk planläggning blir allt mer och mer överrensstämmande med andra europeiska planläggningssystem. Detta är emellertid inte ett resultat av direkt inflytande från den europeiska unionen utan mer generella trender som reflekterar tidsandan.

Genom de nordiska ländernas korporatismiska tradition har de verkligen i hög grad varit lämpade till att delta i diskursiv integration, med uppenbara effekter på deras planläggningssystem och politik, med introduktionen respektive förstärkningen av en regional nivå och uppriktiga försök till tvärsektoriell integration som framstående exempel. Medan diskursiv integration var framgångsrik då det gäller anpassningen till europeisk politik och diskurs, så har de nordiska länderna varit mindre benägna och/eller villiga att utnyttja det tillfälle diskursiv integration erbjuder dem att forma den europeiska debatten. (För mer information om sambanden mellan nationell och europeisk fysisk-funktionell planläggning i de nordiska länderna se boxarna.)

Genomgången av fysisk-funktionell planläggning i de fem nordiska länderna identifierar en rad centrala skillnader rörande sättet på vilket de deltar i den europeiska debatten.

Norge är ytterligare ett icke nordiskt EU-medlemsland. Norge, i jämförelse med Island, uppför sig emellertid ofta som om det vore ett medlemsland. Följaktligen följer Norge intensivt europeiska debatter rörande fysisk-funktionell planläggning och fysisk-funktionell politik, och inom områden där det har ett intresse deltar det fullt ut med sina egna medel. Exempel är det norska bidraget till EU-kompendiet om fysisk-funktionella planläggningssystem och politik, och det aktiva deltagandet i Interreg- program.

I enlighet därmed finns det åtskilliga influenser från den europeiska scenen. Bortsätt från norskt deltagande i EU-aktiviteter kan dessutom europeiska influenser spåras i norska politiska dokument. Ett intressant exempel på EDSP-tillämpning återfinns inom fältet (ekonomisk) regionalpolitik snarare än inom den (fysiska) planläggningssektorn. I stortingsmelding om regionalpolitik från 2001 görs klara referenser till europeisk fysisk-funktionell politik. Delar av dessa referenser utgörs av ESDP-inspirerade scenarios rörande utvecklingen av de fem större regionerna, de så kallade Landsdelstudiene. I allmänhet, även om den norska tolkningen av ESDP kan åberopa egna idéer, anses ESDP ge mervärde till den norska debatten.

Trots dessa anpassade procedurer är utvecklingen i Norge och Europa på väg i olika riktningar, med reformen rörande uppdelning av arbete mellan tre skikt av den statliga organisationen som ett klart exempel. Sålunda väljer EU att stärka den regionala nivån medan den norska debatten ifrågasätter användbarheten av regioner och vill marginalisera eller helt avskaffa den regionala nivån.

En huvudslutsats är vikten av överlappningar av såväl institutionell som personlig karaktär mellan den europeiska politiska sfären och den nationella politiska sfären. Dessa grundbultars position är i sin tur beroende av den nationella planläggningens formella struktur. De är likaledes ansvariga för skillnaderna i de nordiska EU-medlemsländernas sätt att anpassa sig till ESDP.

Alla de nordiska länderna, med undantag av Island, tar hur som helst EDSP i beaktande trots dessa skillnader. Det vidsträckta europeiska inflytandet ger upphov till frågan om hur vida och i vilken utsträckning vi bevittnar en harmonisering av planläggningspolitik och system i Europa. Slutsatsen är att diskursiv integration leder till harmonisering av planläggningspolitik, men om det på samma sätt bidrar till en harmonisering av planläggningssystemen återstår att se. Kanske är harmonisering inom detta område mer sannolikt att följa den klassiska vägen, med fokus på att delegera formell kompetens till europeiska

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I **Sverige** ligger behandlingen av ESDP mer i linje med Norge än med de andra nordiska EU-medlemsländerna. Sverige försökte inte aktivt påverka den europeiska debatten utan satte istället igång en bred nationell dialog om ESDP. Först sågs ESDP som ett nytt planläggningsverktyg. Senare gled fokus i den nationella dialogen över mot nya krav på svensk planläggning och behovet av ett svenskt fysisk-funktionellt utvecklingsperspektiv.

I allmänhet visar emellertid utveckling rörande ESDP och regionalpolitik och framväxten av regioner i Sverige hur svensk politikuppläggning intensivt hämtar stoff från den europeiska debatten. Huruvida detta är ett avsiktligt drag eller bara svårt-att-förutsäga sidoeffekter av diskurser inom politiska sfärer, så uppvisar Sverige ett högt europeiserande rörande anpassandet till trender igångsatta av kommissionens politik. Då dessa resultat mest återfinns inom den svenska politiska sfären är de ofta inte lätta att utskilja för en utomstående. Ur denna synvinkel åskådliggör Sveriges hantering av ESDP den nordiska dualismen mellan (fysisk) planläggning och (ekonomisk) regional utveckling. Konceptet fysisk-funktionell planläggning utmanar denna separation av sektorer och leder till intensiva debatter innan åtgärder kan vidtas.

Formellt sett kan anpassningen vara obetydlig; i fallet ESDP har det till och med ansetts icke existerande. Detta beror emellertid huvudsakligen på att arbete är på gång rörande anpassningen av grundläggande strukturer. Här går integrationen djupare än i länder som bara behöver ta i bruk nya politiska modeord.

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kommissionen och etablerandet av institutionella strukturer. En initierad/avancerad gissning vore därmed att den huvudsakliga diskursiva europeiska integrationen genom nätverksförvaltning kommer att leda till harmonisering av fysisk-funktionell planläggningspolitik.

Därtill måste man vara medveten om att diskursiv integration inte säkerligen är ett stabilt utan snarare ett övergångsstadium i en lång process för att etablera ett nytt europeiskt politikområde. Detta är redan antytt i den teori på vilket detta är baserat, teorin om styrening genom nätverk (Kohler-Koch) som beskriver hur kommissionen arbetar för att utvidga sitt ansvarsområde. Vidare leder tvunget strategin om "lösa strukturella kopplingar" (Benz) till en diskussion om de formella strukturerna och stödjer således Kohler-Kochs tes att europeiska nätverk är igångsatta med avsikten att så småningom utvidga EU:s kompetens.

Mot denna bakgrund skulle diskursiv integration som ett sätt att påverka europeisk fysisk-funktionell planläggning, såsom illustrerats i denna studie, bara vara en passerande fas i processen att etablera fysisk-funktionell planläggning som ett europeiskt politikområde. Må det vara hur det är med den saken, denna studie åskådliggör att europeisk integration genom nätverksarbete och politiska diskurser är möjligt.

Malin Hansen var så vänlig och översatte sammanfattningen från engelska till svenska.

YHTEENVETO

Eurooppalaisen alueellisen suunnittelun (European spatial planning) syntyminen on esimerkki verkostojen ja politiikkadiskurssien kautta etenevästä Euroopan yhdentymisestä. Pohjoismaiden (Tanska, Suomi, Islanti, Norja ja Ruotsi) viimeaikaisesta kehityksestä löytyy tästä hyviä esimerkkejä. Kansallisten suunnittelujärjestelmien ja kehittämislinjausten muutokset osoittavat, että diskurssitasolla tapahtuva Euroopan yhdentyminen voi tuottaa tuloksia. Edellytyksenä on, että eurooppalaisella ja kansallisella tasolla on olemassa vahvoja kehittämispoliittisia yhteisöjä ja että näiden tasojen välillä on suorat yhteydet.

Uusien politiikkalohkojen perustaminen on osa Euroopan yhdentymisprosessia. Virallisen yhteiseurooppalaisen toimivallan perustamisen vaihtoehtona on luoda kehittämispoliittisia verkostoja. Verkostot muodostavat usein omia diskurssejaan edistämään omia ideoitaan. Menestyksekäs verkostollinen hallinta Euroopan tasolla johtaa täten diskursiiviseen eurooppalaiseen yhdentymiseen.

Tanskaa voidaan epäröivän EU-jäsenen maineestaan huolimatta ainakin alueellisen suunnittelun (spatial planning) alalla kutsua miltei intomieliseksi pohjoismaisessa vertailussa. Yleensä ottaen Tanska on sekä aktiivinen kansallisen tason suunnittelussa että kiinnostunut osallistumaan kansainvälisiin projekteihin. Kansalliset alueellisen suunnittelun raportit vuosilta 1992 ja 1997 ovat uudistaneet kaupunkien kehittämisen ja kansallisen suunnittelun lähtökohtia; tuloksena on yhdistelmä kansallisesta ja eurooppalaisesta näkemyksestä. Vuonna 1991, kun VASAB- ja ESDP-prosessit käynnistettiin, ympäristö- ja energiaministeriö esitteli kansallisen aluesuunnitteluraportin, jolla oli selvä eurooppalainen profiili ja jonka päämääränä oli määrittää Tanskan paikka laajemmassa eurooppalaisessa kokonaisuudessa. Paikanmäärityksen kunnianhimo oli suurimmillaan seuraavassa, vuonna 1997 julkaistussa kansallisessa suunnitteluraportissa nimeltään 'Tanska ja eurooppalainen alueellinen kehittämispolitiikka'. Kolme kuukautta ennen ESDP-asiakirjan ensimmäistä, Noordwijkissa esiteltyä luonnosta Tanskan raportti loi metaforan Tanskasta eurooppalaisen talon "vihreänä huoneena" ja peilasi hyvinkin tarkoin ESDP:n tavoitteita. Tanskaa voidaan siten pitää ensimmäisenä ESDP:n omaksuneena maana.

Yleisesti ottaen suunnittelulla on Tanskassa muihin Pohjoismaihin verrattuna vahva asema aluepolitiikan ja maankäytön suunnittelun keskinäisen kilpailun haarukassa.

Juuri verkostoituminen ja diskursiivinen integraatio ovat eurooppalaisen aluesuunnittelun valitsemia toimintatapoja. Yhteisötoimivaltaan pyrkiminen tai erityisten tehokkaiden kehittämisinstrumenttien ja – varojen kokoaminen eivät vaikuta nykytilanteessa varteenotettavilta vaihtoehdoilta.

ESDP:n tarina on tästä selvä osoitus. Aluesuunnittelukomitean (CSD) perustaminen synnytti kehittämispoliittisen yhteisön. Vaikka virallisia välineitä ei ollutkaan käytettävissä, yhteisön onnistui käynnistää ESDP-prosessi "hegemonisena projektina" laajemmassa eurooppalaisen suunnittelun ja alueellisen kehittämispolitiikan kontekstissa. Se käytti tällä tavalla politiikkadiskurssille ominaista hienovaraista valtaa levittäessään ESDP:n keskeistä käsitteistöä.

Tässä tutkimuksessa analysoidaan diskursiivisen lähestymistavan onnistumista tavoitteissaan. Esimerkkeinä käytetään alueellista suunnittelua Pohjoismaissa, joissa "spatial planning" oli käsitteenä aivan uusi. Suunnittelujärjestelmien ja –politiikkojen pohjoismaisessa t

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Suomen asenteet Euroopan yhdentymiseen ovat proaktiiviset – Suomi pyrkii innokkaasti vaikuttamaan eurooppalaiseen työjärjestykseen. Alueellisten kehittämispolitiikkojen kentällä Suomi on ottanut aktiivisen roolin pelätessään marginalisoitumista kansainvälisissä keskusteluissa. Tästä erinomainen esimerkki on 'Pohjoinen ulottuvuus', harvinainen yhdistelmä alueellista kehittämistä ja geopolitiikkaa. Se pyrkii sekä vähentämään erilaisia uhkia pohjoisen Euroopan turvallisuudelle että hyödyntämään alueen voimavaroja mahdollisimman tehokkaasti. Varsinaisen alueellisen suunnittelun alalla kansallinen asiakirja Suomi 2017 valmisteltiin tukemaan ESDP- ja VASAB-prosesseihin muodostettua kantaa.

Mitä tulee alueelliseen kehittämispolitiikkaan yleisesti ja Pohjoiseen ulottuvuuteen erityisesti, Suomi erottautuu yhdentymismyönteisellä asenteellaan eikä niinkään pyrkimällä tekemään – julkilausuttujen tavoitteiden mukaisesti - EU:sta "suomalaisempaa". EU-jäsenyys on vaikuttanut kehittämislinjausten ja hallinnollisten rakenteiden muotoilemiseen. Jo ennen liittymistään EU:n jäseneksi, Suomi loi vahvemmat maakunnalliset toimielimet, jotta voisi paremmin mukautua EU:n rakennerahastojen säännöksiin. Nämä tätä tarkoitusta varten perustetut maakuntien liitot ovat samalla merkki perinteisen kahtiajaon – (fyysinen) maankäytön suunnittelu vs. (taloudellinen) alueellinen kehittämistyö – ylittämisestä. Täten ne ovat Suomen kohdalla myös ensimmäinen selvä osoitus alueellisen suunnittelun syntymisestä merkityksessä "spatial planning".

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arkastelussa erottuu sekä yhteneviä että eriäviä piirteitä kansallisissa suunnitteluolosuhteissa, muodollisissa järjestelmissä ja kehittämispoliittisissa linjauksissa. Eurooppalaisittain nämä viisi maata muodostavat kuitenkin varsin yhtenäisen ryhmän. Yhtenäisyys ilmenee esim. kuntatason keskeisyydessä ja etenkin kaksijakoisessa tavassa ymmärtää suunnittelu toisaalta maankäytön suunnitteluna ja toisaalta aluepolitiikkana.

Kaksijakoisuus on vastakohta eurooppalaiselle käsitykselle alueellisesta suunnittelusta pyrkimyksenä sovittaa yhteen maankäytön suunnittelua, ympäristöpolitiikkaa ja alueellista kehittämistyötä. Pohjoismaiden välillä on myös huomattavia eroja, joita ei voida sivuuttaa. Eurooppalaisen aluesuunnittelun haasteisiin mukautuminen vaihtelee maittain suhteessa suunnittelujärjestelmiin ja kehittämispolitiikkoihin sekä suhteessa suunnittelun asemaan osana laajempaa kansallista poliittista toimintaympäristöä. Pohjoismaita yhdistää korporatistinen perinne, etenkin useilla kehittämispolitiikan saroilla nähtävissä oleva nykyinen neokorporatismin muoto. Korporatististen kehittämispoliittisten yhteisöjen olemassaolo alueellisessa suunnittelussa tekee Pohjoismaista vastaanottavaisia diskursiiviselle eurooppalaiselle integraatiolle.

Islanti edustaa monessa mielessä pohjoismaisia suunnittelukysymyksiä ja –lähestymistapoja pähkinänkuoressa. Tämä pätee sekä alueellisen epätasapainon kysymyksiin että lähestulkoon tabuina pidettyihin radikaaleihin ratkaisuihin, samoin kuin heikkoon, mutta vähitellen päätään nostavaan maakunnalliseen aluetasoon ja päätöksentekojärjestelmään.

Islanti ei ole EU:n jäsen, eikä se osallistunut ESDP-prosessiin. Lisäksi se sijaitsee niin kaukana Euroopan mantereelta, ettei huomattavaa kiinnostusta ESDP-prosessiin tai –asiakirjaan ole osoitettu. Vaikka kaupungin ja maaseudun kumppanuus ja monikeskuksinen kehitys voivat osittain kiinnostaakin, keskustelu on painottunut korostamaan muista Euroopan valtioista kiistämättä poikkeavia ääriolosuhteita. Alueellisen kehittämispolitiikan alalla keskustelu Islannin osallistumisesta Interreg III –aloitteeseen osoittaa, että olisi kuitenkin väärin luonnehtia Islantia tietämättömäksi ja eristyneeksi maaksi.

Myös maakunnallisen tason kehkeytyminen ja alueelliseen suunnitteluun kohdistuva kasvava kiinnostus osoittavat, että islantilaisesta suunnittelusta on tulossa yhä yhtenevämpää muiden eurooppalaisten suunnittelujärjestelmien kanssa. Tämä ei kuitenkaan ole seurausta Euroopan unionin suorasta vaikutuksesta vaan yleisemmästä "ajan henkeä" heijastavasta kehityksestä.

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Pohjoismaat ovat korporatistisen traditionsa myötä siis hyvin virittyneitä osallistumaan diskursiiviseen yhdentymiseen, millä on ollut huomattavia vaikutuksia maiden suunnittelujärjestelmiin ja kehittämispolitiikkoihin - maakunnallisen tason vahvistaminen ja vakavat pyrkimykset ylittää sektorirajoja ovat tästä edustavia esimerkkejä. Siinä missä diskursiivinen integraatio on onnistuneesti auttanut Pohjoismaita mukautumisessa eurooppalaiseen kehittämispolitiikkaan, Pohjoismaiden EU-jäsenet ovat olleet varsin kyvyttömiä ja/tai haluttomia käyttämään hyväkseen mahdollisuuksia, joita diskursiivinen integraatio eurooppalaisen keskustelun aktiiviseen muotoilemiseen olisi tarjonnut. (Lisätietoja kansallisen ja eurooppalaisen alueellisen suunnittelun suhteesta Pohjoismaissa tekstikehyksissä)

Katsaus alueelliseen suunnitteluun Pohjoismaissa tunnistaa ratkaisevia eroja maiden tavassa osallistua eurooppalaiseen keskusteluun. Yksi avainhavainto on eurooppalaisten ja kansallisten kehittämispoliittisten yhteisöjen institutionaalinen ja henkilötason limittäisyys. Nämä yhteydet määrittyvät pitkälti kansallisen tason suunnittelun muodollisten järjestelyjen kautta ja niistä riippuvat myös erot pohjoismaisten EU-jäsenten tavoissa mukautua ESDP:hen.

Norja on toinen Pohjoismaa, joka ei ole EU:n jäsen. Toisin kuin Islanti, se käyttäytyy kuitenkin usein jäsenen tavoin. Norja seuraa tarkasti alueellista suunnittelua ja kehittämispolitiikkaa koskevia keskusteluja niiden teemojen osalta, joihin se on kiinnostunut osallistumaan omalla kustannuksellaan. Esimerkkejä tästä ovat Norjan panos laadittaessa ns. EU-Compendiumia suunnittelujärjestelmistä sekä aktiivinen osallistuminen Interreg-ohjelmiin. Eurooppalaiset tapahtumat ovat siis vaikuttaneet Norjaan monella tavalla. Norjalaisten eurooppalaisen osallistumisen rinnalla eurooppalaisia vaikutteita voidaan löytää myös norjalaisista kehittämispoliittisista asiakirjoista. Kiinnostava esimerkki ESDP:n soveltamisesta löytyy aluepolitiikan, ei maankäytön suunnittelun alueelta. Vuonna 2001 julkaistu hallituksen aluepoliittinen linjaus viittaa suoraan eurooppalaisiin alueellisen kehittämisen suuntaviivoihin. Osa viittauksista kytkeytyy ESDP:n inspiroimiin skenaarioihin viiden suurimman alueen kehityksestä. Vaikka norjalainen ESDP-tulkinta sisältää kenties omaperäisiä tulkintoja, ESDP:ssä nähdään lisäarvoa norjalaisen keskustelun kannalta. Näistä mukautuvaisista lähestymistavoista huolimatta kehitys vie Norjaa ja EU:ta eri suuntiin, mistä julkishallinnon kolmen tason työnjaon uudistaminen oli selvä osoitus. EU haluaa vahvistaa maakunnan tasoa, mutta norjalainen keskustelu kyseenalaistaa väliportaan tarpeen ja haluaa heikentää sitä tai jopa hävittää sen kokonaan.

Eriävyyksistään huolimatta kaikki Pohjoismaat Islantia lukuun ottamatta ottavat kuitenkin ESDP:n huomioon. Vahva eurooppalainen vaikutus saa pohtimaan, missä määrin kansallisten suunnittelulinjausten ja – järjestelmien yhtenäistämistä Euroopassa tapahtuu. Loppupäätelmä on, että diskursiivinen integraatio todellakin johtaa suunnittelulinjausten yhtenäistämiseen – suunnittelujärjestelmien osalta kehitys jää vielä nähtäväksi. Yhtenäistäminen seurannee klassista ratkaisumallia pyrkien virallisen toimivallan siirtämiseen jäsenvaltioilta yhteisötoimivaltaan ja institutionaalisten puitteiden luomiseen. Valistunut arvaus olisi täten, että eurooppalainen verkostopohjaiselle hallinnalle rakentuva diskursiivinen integraatio johtaa suunnittelujärjestelmien harmonisointiin. Lisäksi on pidettävä mielessä, että diskursiivinen integraatio ei välttämättä ole vakaa tila vaan muodostaa pikemminkin välivaiheen uuden eurooppalaisen

Ruotsissa ESDP:n käsittely oli aluksi lähempänä Norjan kuin Pohjoismaiden EU-jäsenten lähestymistapaa. Ruotsi ei pyrkinyt aktiivisesti vaikuttamaan eurooppalaiseen keskusteluun, vaan ryhtyi sen sijaan keskusteluttamaan asiakirjaa kansallisella tasolla. ESDP:tä pidettiin aluksi uutena suunnitteluvälineenä. Myöhemmin kansallisen keskustelun painopiste on siirtynyt kohti uusia ruotsalaiseen suunnitteluun kohdistuvia vaatimuksia ja tarvetta laatia ruotsalainen alueellisen kehittämisen asiakirja.

Yleensä ottaen kehitys liittyen ESDP-prosessiin, aluepolitiikan kehittämiseen ja maakuntatason kehittymiseen kuitenkin osoittaa, että ruotsalainen politiikanmuodostus tukeutuu merkittävästi eurooppalaiseen keskusteluun. Olipa tässä sitten kyse tietoisesta siirtymästä tai vain vaikeasti ennakoitavissa olevista kehittämisyhteisöjen diskurssien sivuvaikutuksista, Ruotsi on selvästi eurooppalaistunut mukautuessaan EU-yhteisön kehittämispoliittisiin trendeihin. Nämä muutokset näkyvät pääasiassa vain ruotsalaisessa kehittämisympäristössä eivätkä siten useinkaan ole ulkopuolisten havaittavissa. Tässä mielessä ruotsalainen suhtautuminen ESDP:hen ilmentää parhaiten pohjoismaista kahtiajakoa maankäytön suunnittelun ja aluepolitiikan välillä. Alueellisen suunnittelun (spatial planning) käsite haastaa tämän sektorien välisen jaon ja johtaa laajoihin keskusteluihin ennen kuin varsinaiseen toimintaan voidaan ryhtyä.

Muodollisella tasolla mukautumisaste voi olla vähäistä, ESDP:n osalta ehkä jopa olematonta. Tämä johtuu kuitenkin pääosin siitä, että työ keskeisten rakenteiden mukauttamiseksi on yhä käynnissä. Näin yhdentyminen on menossa pidemmälle kuin niissä jäsenmaissa, joita ohjaa tarve omaksua uusimpia kehittämispoliittisia muotisanoja.

politiikkalohkon perustamisessa. Tätä on jo ennakoitu teoriaperustassa: verkostohallinnan teorialla (Kohler-Koch) kuvataan EU-komission työtä oman vastuualueensa laajentamiseksi. Myös löyhien rakenteellisten yhteenliittymien strategia (Benz) johtaa väistämättä keskusteluun muodollisista puitteista ja tukee täten Kohler-Kochin väittämää siitä, että eurooppalaisia verkostoja perustettaessa perimmäisenä tavoitteena on yhteisökompetenssin laajentaminen.

Tätä taustaa vasten diskursiivinen integraatio tapana vaikuttaa eurooppalaiseen alueelliseen suunnitteluun saattaa olla – kuten tässä tutkimuksessa esitetään - vain välivaihe prosessissa, joka johtaa lopulta alueellisen suunnitteluun kehittymiseen omaksi eurooppalaiseksi politiikanlohkokseen. Riippumatta kehityksen lopputuloksesta tämä tutkimus kuitenkin osoittaa, että Euroopan yhdentyminen verkostoitumisen ja kehittämispoliittisten diskurssien kautta on mahdollista.

Kaisa Schmidt-Thomé suostui ystävällisesti kääntämään yhteenvedon englannista suomen kielelle.

ANNEX – DESCRIPTION OF ACTORS AND INSTRUMENTS

Denmark

Danish Actors in Spatial Planning

The review of Danish underlies that spatial planning in Denmark is an activity exercised at all three administrate tiers. In parallel it gives an picture of how the principle of framework control shapes the interplay between the various levels and recent developments at national level concerning claims to act as overall spatially co-ordinating instance.

National level

The main actor in the field of spatial planning is the Ministry of Environment and Energy, which is ultimately responsible for both environmental and physical planning and national policy. Regarding regional policies, which are, as pointed out earlier, rather weak in Denmark, the Ministry of the Interior is the responsible actor since 1999; prior to that the Ministry of Trade and Industry was in charge of regional policy issues. With regard to urban policies, building and construction, the Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs was[76] until 2001 an important actor, even though urban policy was also addressed by the Ministry of Environment and Enregy as part of its tasks in the field of planning. Other ministries in charge of tasks relevant for spatial planning and development are, e.g. the Ministry of Transport or the Ministry for Foodstuffs, Agriculture and Fishery.

Ministry of Environment and Energy
(Miljø- og energiministeriet)
The Ministry of Environment was founded in 1971 and merged with the Ministry of Energy in 1994.[77] Today, the Ministry consists of a relatively small department, with the Spatial Planning Department as an important part, and three relatively large administrative agencies, namely the Environmental Protection Agency (*Miljøstyrelsen*), the Energy Agency (*Energistyrelsen*) and the Forest and Nature Agency (*Skov- og Naturstyrelsen*), In addition, three research agencies are under the domain of the ministry.

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[76] The present government has closed down the Ministry and divided its task between a series of other ministries.

[77] The ministries were merged in 1994, mainly because climate policies required more and better co-ordination between environmental and energy policies. (Andersen 1997a:259)

The establishment of the Ministry of Environment in 1971 was carried out through a merger of existing administrative units from other ministries. Planning regulation, for instance, was transferred from the Ministry of Housing (Andersen 1997a:259). Today the ministry is in charge of administrative and research tasks in the area of environmental protection, energy and planning.

The Spatial Planning Department is Denmark's national administrative authority for spatial planning and looks after national interests in decentralised planning decisions. It also advises the Minister of the Environment on planning issues and prepares legislation on planning as well as the national planning reports.

At international level, the ministry (primarily the Spatial Planning Department) represents Denmark, for instance, in the ESDP, VASAB and NorVision processes, as well as in Interreg IIC and IIIB co-operation. Here, the ministry co-operates partly with the Ministry of Trade and Industry and representatives from the regional level.

As the ministry is both responsible for environmental policies and planning policies, a high degree of incorporation of environmental issues in planning is to be expected.

Ministry of the Interior
(Indenrigsministeriet)

This ministry was one of the first Danish ministries, established in 1848. Today, the ministry is in charge of a large number of varying tasks, e.g. tasks related to local and regional level and their administration and self-government.

The ministry has a department for financial and economic matters (økonomisk afdeling) which is, for instance, responsible for financial regulation and conditions, as well as for the division of tasks between national, municipal and county authorities. As part of this work, it has been in charge of the preparation of the national regional policy reports since year 1999. With the transfer of regional policy from the Ministry of Trade and Industry to the Ministry of the Interior, regional planning acquired new impetus and may challenge the position of national planning policy.

Ministry of Trade and Industry
(Erhvervsministeriet)

The Ministry of Trade and Industry aims at providing improved conditions for Danish trade and industries, as well as a healthy framework for trade and industries and improved development of society.

Until 1999 this also included regional policy. However, as pointed out earlier, between 1991 and 1999 the main components of regional or spatial economic policy were a host of regional and local initiatives supplemented by EU structural funds. (Halkeir 2000)

Because of its responsibility for Structural Fund tasks, the Ministry of Trade and Industry was and is both involved in the Interreg IIC and IIIB processes, where it is part of the Danish delegation to the trans-national steering and monitoring committees, in the Baltic Sea Region and the North Sea Region. With the establishment of the working group on "territorial and urban development" under the CDCR, the Ministry of Trade and Industry will again participate in the ESDP related issues. Furthermore, the ministry took part in the early stages of the European ESDP process. The Ministry of Trade and Industry was, however, mainly responsible for the administrative funding aspects, whereas the Ministry of Environment and Energy took care of content matters.

Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs
(By- og Boligministeriet)
The Danish Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs is responsible for urban affairs, housing and building. The ministry's urban policy is aimed at creating the greatest possible cultural, social, environmental and commercial growth and welfare in cities and large towns. The ministry's housing policy is aimed at ensuring that people have functional, healthy and safe dwellings to live in.

Within its field, the ministry administers a number of acts related to the process of spatial planning its implementation, e.g. the Act on Urban Renewal, the Act on Subdivision and Land Registration and the Building Act. (EC 1999b:33)

Regional level

The Danish system of government is highly decentralized. At regional level there are 14 counties (*amter*) plus the two municipalities which have the status of counties, namely Copenhagen and Frederiksberg, both located in the centre of Greater Copenhagen. County Councils as well as municipalities are ruled by directly elected governments which have the right to levy taxes.

County Council,
(Amt, amtskommune)

> The main field of activity of county authorities is hospital services, which covers about 50% of the total expenditure. Other important fields are: high schools and adult education; health insurance and

social welfare; public transport; major roads; environmental
protection; and, finally, regional planning and rural land-use
administration. (EC 1999b:34)

Because of Denmark's emphasis on local and regional self-government,
county and municipal authorities are responsible for more than half of the
total public expenditure. The activities of the county authorities are based
on the right to levy taxes. The average rate of income tax paid to the
county is about 10%. (EC 1999b:34)

The county authorities are, because of the high degree of
decentralisation, also the main actor regarding spatial economic
development and regional policies, together with the European level and
its Structural Funds.

Denmark would, in other words, seem to be an extreme example of
the overall trend in European regional policy, namely the shift
away from national programmes towards regional and supra-
national schemes. (Halkeir 2000:221)

With regard to spatial planning the main tasks at regional level lie with
the county authorities, which are, for instance, responsible for regional
planning, planning for the countryside (while the municipalities are in
charge of planning tasks in urban areas) and regional economic
development (regional policy).

On the international scene, the county authorities are also active,
certainly as regional partners in Structural Fund and Interreg programmes
but also as representatives of the Danish regional level e.g. in Interreg IIC
and IIIB steering and monitoring committees.

In addition to the county councils, there is also the county
administrative board, which plays no political role, however, nor serves
as a conduit for national influence on the municipalities nor for pursuing
local political demands on the national level. (Henning 2001:12)

Municipal level

Even in the country's first Constitution of 1849, local government
was affirmed as a principle of the modern Danish administrative
fabric. (Albæk 1996:17)

Denmark has 275 municipalities and a long tradition of delegating
responsibility and decision-making power to local and regional councils.
With regard to spatial planning and development, municipalities are
important actors, as they are responsible for physical planning in urban
areas and a wide range of environmental tasks. Andersen (1997b) gives
an actor-oriented explanation of why the municipal level became in

Denmark a main actor for the implementation of both planning and environmental policies. To his mind a crucial turning point was the establishment of the Ministry of Environment in 1971:

> Most of the officials of the Ministry of the Environment came form the Ministry of Interior, and brought with them a way of thinking about relationships between national and local authorities, which made it natural to entrust considerable powers to local authorities […]. (Andersen 1997b:159)

If we look at local self-government in general and not only regarding spatial planning, another development during the early 1970s is of utmost importance, namely the local government reform in 1970, followed by a number of other reforms affecting the municipal sector. These territorial and administrative reforms shaped the basis for decentralizing more functions to local authorities and allowing them to exercise increased independence both substantially and fiscally. Administrative functions were decentralised to authorities located as close as possible to the actual tasks and the citizens affected, i.e. to the municipal and county authorities. Only a small number of administrative functions had to remain with the central government. (Albæk 1996:45) The basic idea was that (A) the democratic interplay of local administrative authorities and the local population would ensure the development of a smoothly functioning system of government, and (B) decisions made by authorities located as close as possible to the citizen concerned would solve problems both more effectively and more efficiently. (Albæk 1996:18) Today, this concept would likely called subsidiarity.

> Even though no clear interest were ever formulated, the reform seems to have held out two main types of prospects: the democratization of the public sector and a more efficient and effective public sector. (Albæk 1996:17-18)

With regard to spatial planning, the municipal level is the cornerstone of the Danish planning system. Further development and changes of the physical infrastructure underlie municipal planning in urban and recreational zones. Therefore the strategic municipal plan and the local plan are the main instruments for applying national as well as regional development aims and thus important instruments for applying European spatial planning policies.

Danish Instruments and Policies

Planning legislation in Denmark is based on the principle of framework management and control. This means that planning at any level must be in agreement with the framework established at the next superior level.

As shown in the review of Danish actors in spatial planning, all three administrative tiers take an active part in spatial planning and have a clear function in the physical planning system. Added to regulations on who does what, is the regulation of when. The timing of the various planning activities is regulated in relation to election periods for the national, regional and local governments. After each national election, the national government is to present their planning policy in the form of national planning reports. In relation to this the Ministry of Environment and Energy elaborates governmental announcements in which it presents the framework which national authorities will use when reviewing regional plans. This announcement (*statlig udmeldning til regionplanrevision*) combines and organises the existing terms of reference for regional planning of various national authorities. This is done in form of goals and demands/claims where all relevant changes of laws, national actions plans and sector policies are collected. The announcement is binding on the various ministries and boards.

Regional plans are to be prepared to accord with the announcements of the government and have to take municipal proposals into consideration. Collectively the regional plans form a land-use plan for Denmark, which is a base for national planning policy.

According to changes to the Planning Act in the year 2000, the municipalities are to publish their strategies during the first half of their election term, which means between the "recent" regional plan and the up-coming regional plan. The municipalities can thus implement the existing one while at the same time preparing proposals for the next regional plan.

National level

Newman and Thornley (1996) present Danish national planning, in the light of the principle of framework control and the global planning approach, in a nutshell:

> The national government controls issues of national significance and has a number of means of doing this. It formulates regulations over the way in which the planning legislation is implemented and can also issue binding directives on lower tiers. These directives cover issues of national importance such as infrastructure and landscape protection. National government has a power of veto over regional plans, and state authorities can veto local plans in matters over which they have responsibility. Central government can also call in plans for its own consideration. It also stimulates interest through its information role and through financial support for pilot planning projects. Central government has to prepare a

national planning report after each four-yearly national election. (Newman and Thornley 1996:63-64)

Denmark is the only Nordic country, where the government regularly presents its planning policy. As compared to Finland (*Riksomfattande målen för områdesanvänding*), the Danish national planning report is much more comprehensive and policy oriented and as compared to Norway (Reports to the *Storting*) it is much more directed towards spatial development and planning. As is elaborated in the chapters on Sweden and Iceland, there is currently no approach to spatial planning policy in these countries. The Ministry of Environment and Energy has three different instruments for expressing national planning policy, plus the possibility of financing pilot projects and vetoing regional and municipal plans in case they are not in coherence with national policy. It has, however, to be kept in mind that of the three instruments, described below, the national planning report and the national planning perspective are actually only one report which may consist of two parts.

National planning report
(Landsplanredegørelse)

The national planning report is a mandatory document, which is prepared by the Ministry of the Environment and Energy, in co-operation with other ministries, after each national election. As the government adopts the national planning report, it presents Denmark's general planning policy. The report provides guidance for the regional and local authorities in a persuading way, as it is not binding.

National planning perspective
(Landsplanperspektiv)

The national planning report (*landsplanredegørelse*) can consist of visions for spatial development in Denmark. These are called a national planning perspective *(landplanperspektiv)*. The national planning report for the year 1992 has been issued as a national planning perspective (Denmark heading towards the year 2018), but the national reports of 1997 (Denmark: A green room in the European House) or 2000 (Denmark 2025) also include such visions.

> The national perspective is a reference framework for the decisions that have spatial effects, It is not binding for the country and municipal authorities, but it is intended to inspire counties, municipalities and the private sector to promote high quality development. The Danish interest in international cooperation with spatial planning and development are based on this national perspective. (EU 1999b: 37)

National planning directive
(Landsplandirektiv)
The preparation of a national planning directive is optional, but such a document may be prepared and adopted by the Minister of the Environment. In contrast to the national planning report, this is binding for the regional and local authorities. The statutory directives provide binding regulations on specific issues of national interest, e.g. locating of major transmission lines.

Examples of these national planning instruments are discussed in the chapter on spatial planning in Denmark. Here the focus is especially upon the national planning reports of 1992, 1997 and 2000 .

Apart from those activities mainly related to physical planning, a number of other national policy areas are of relevance for spatial planning and development in Denmark as well. The most prominent examples here are environmental policy, which also is prepared by the Ministry of Environment and Energy, and regional development policy which is prepared by the Ministry of the Interior.

Regional development policy
The nature of regional challenges in Denmark reflects the economic history of that country; a history that sets it somewhat apart from its neighbours. In contrast to the other Nordic countries, no large, sparsely populated areas dominated by primary production existed.

For a long time, Denmark witnessed a demise of centrally implemented regional polices and downgrading of the role of direct subsides to firms. Nonetheless, in 1999, Aalbu et al. point out that:

> There is still a budget line for regional policies with funding for measures directed towards the weakest parts of the country and co-funding from EU Structural Funds and a zone for business aid is defined, but there are no permanent, geographically differentiated schemes for business. Regional policy in Denmark is closely linked to EU regional policy. (Aalbu et al. 1999:26)

In that same year, 1999, the Danish parliament decided that the government should each year account for how activities carried out regarding legislation and administration affect the economic and sustainable development in Danish regions, and what activities might be possible for influencing/correcting possible uneven/unwanted developments (Indenrigsministeriet 2000). This decision may have given birth to a new Danish regional policy. However, following up on this decision, the government presented its first regional policy report in the

spring 2000. Here two main aims for regional policy are formulated (Indenrigsministeriet 2000):
- Regional development shall in the long run lead to less differences regarding the sustainable and economic conditions in the regions.
- Regional development shall contribute to achieving a geographical (even) distribution of population and economic development.

In February 2001, a second regional policy report was presented, in which the formulation of aims is presented slightly differently (Indenrigsministeriet 2001):

It is a central aim of the government that the Danish population have good and equal living-conditions regardless of where in the country they live. It is the aim of the government, that all areas of the country should be attractive areas for development and living, so that an even geographical distribution of population and economic activities can be achieved. It is, furthermore, an aim that regional development in the long run should lead to less differences regarding services, employment and economic conditions in the regions.

The 2001 report refers, furthermore, to a strategy for development during the next 10 years presented by the government in January 2001: A Sustainable Future – Denmark 2010.

In conclusion it can be said that the aims of the "new" Danish regional policy are quite in line with the ESDP document when focusing on balanced development.

Nature and Environmental Policy Report
(Natur- og miljøpolitisk redegørelse)

> Denmark has many sectoral "action plans" rather than an all-embracing National Environmental Policy Plan (the Dutch model). [...] An attempt to establish a more comprehensive environmental planning was made with Denmark's Nature and Environmental Policy Report released in 1995 (Miljø og Energiministeriet, 1995). The report itself is a parallel to the annual reports of the key economic ministries. (Andersen 1997b:169)

The Ministry of Environment and Energy published in 1999 another Danish nature and environmental policy report (natur- og miljøpolitisk redegørelse) which presents a complete status assessment of Denmark's environmental policy and the initiatives of the state since 1995, when the first complete environmental policy report was published. Its declared aim was to protect and improve nature and the environment (Miljø- og Energiministeriet 1999m). One must, however, keep in mind that even though the Ministry of Environment and Energy is a relatively important

ministry, most of the sector-specific policies remain in the hands of the sectoral ministries. (Andersen 1997a:258)

The Danish nature and environment policy and the national planning report (*landsplanredegørelse*) are the overarching national documents which are to form the basis for physical planning and support work for achieving sustainable development in Denmark.

However, the influences of Danish nature and environment policy are not on spatial planning directly, but on a large number of sector activities at national, regional and local level as well as at international level. E.g. in the EU, Denmark is working for the implementation of a thorough integration of environmental considerations into agricultural policy, energy and transport policy and subsequently also into other policy areas. Perhaps the most prominent example of Danish environmental policy is the environmental assessment of the Danish Finance Act. Denmark is one of the pioneer countries with respect to demands for environmental impact assessment of parliamentary bills, etc. including the annual environmental assessment of the Finance Act.

The various national pre-conditions for and tasks of regional planning are collected in a governmental announcement on the revision of regional plans (*statlig udmeldning til regionplanrevision*).

Regional level

Regional planning implements common national interests, as it establishes the main guidelines for land use and infrastructure outside the urban zones in each region. Regional plans are an important means of political control, ensuring a sustainable balance between economic development and environmental improvement, while utilizing public expenditure and services keeping a sustainable balance between benefits and costs. (EU 1999b:41) Since 1979, Danish county councils have elaborated regional plans every fourth year.

Regional plans
(Regionalplaner)

Each county must have a regional plan covering the total county area and establishing the overall development goals for a 12-year period. Once during each election period of the regional parliament (4 years), the county council must prepare and adopt a revised regional plan.[78] The plan coherently balances and sets priorities for numerous sectoral

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[78] The process of revising the regional plans every four years is based on their relation to the national planning report. This procedure shall prevent the need to veto the regional plan proposals as the national interest are considered and dealt with in advance. The adopted regional plans have a connecting function between national policy (presented in the non-binding national planning report) and planning at local level.

considerations and interests. It also clarifies the aspects of planning that affect more than one municipality. Regional plans work in three directions:
- Regional plans reflect national goals and decisions. Collectively the regional plans comprise a land-use plan for Denmark.
- Regional plans determine goals and guidelines for regional development in the respective county.
- Regional plans transfer national policy to the local level. Regional plans may not contradict national spatial planning policy and ideally shall apply/implement national policy at regional level and so transfer it to the municipal level.

In addition, regional plans form a basis for national policy. When taken as a whole, Danish regional plans make a nation-wide plan for land-use in Denmark, and therefore form a comprehensive foundation for the national planning reports.

Regional plans have binding effects for planning at municipal level. However, the focus of both these plans varies, as counties are mainly responsible for countryside planning and municipalities for planning tasks in urban areas. In Copenhagen and Frederiksberg, the municipal plan serves as a regional plan.

Municipal level

Municipal planning comprises structure and land-use planning for an entire municipality with a special focus on urban zones. The municipal plans constitute the framework for the more detailed local plans for smaller parts of the municipality. A local plan must be prepared before major development projects are carried out.

Municipal and local plans must be conform to the regional plans.

(Strategic) Municipal plans
(Kommunplaner)

The first formal municipal plan was adopted in 1981. (Miljöministeriet 1989:53) Since that time several hundred physical municipal plans have been elaborated until, in February 2000, the Parliament passed a change in the Planning Act concerning municipal planning. Now the municipal council must elaborate a strategic municipal plan to be published in the first half of the election period. Previously, a municipal plan was to be elaborated once in each local election period. Furthermore, the new provision states that the municipal council must publish a strategy of the implementation of the local Agenda 21 in the same period as the strategic municipal plan.

Municipal plans must not contradict binding planning guidelines adopted by the counties or any national planning directive. The municipal plan is elaborated by the municipal authority, approved by the county authority and adopted by the municipal council.

The municipal plan is also an important instrument for applying national and European planning polices. Thus the 1997 municipal plan for Copenhagen, for example, gave a comprehensive introduction to European planning co-operation and even included maps presented early in the ESDP-process.

Local plan
(Lokalplan)
Indeed, local plans are the cornerstones of the Danish planning system. The polices and regulations established in municipal plans are implemented by providing detailed land-use plans which are legally binding on the land owner. These plans only regulate future trans-actions and thus do not require property owners to act.

Local plans have numerous uses and therefore their content and extent vary widely. Generally, local planning provides detailed planning regulations for a small area in order to implement specific development projects. The plans may also be provided for other reasons, for example, to issue detailed regulations for protecting and preserving valuable architectural features in the centres of e.g. provincial towns.

The national and regional level can veto a local plan.

Finland

Finnish Actors in Spatial Planning

There are three different administrative levels in Finland, a national level, a regional level, which differs according to the various policy fields, and a local level which is represented by the municipalities. When it comes to spatial planning the municipalities are the main actors. The regional level becomes increasingly more active in this field, on the base of a mandate given to it by the municipal level.

Concentrating on the question of spatial planning and development as an integrated task covering both regional (economic) development, land-use planning and environmental aspects, there are a number of key characteristics, which are of major interest for reviewing the planning institutions and policy instruments in Finland:

At the national/state level the crucial point seems to be the division of labour between the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of the Environment. The Association of Finnish Local Authorities is an

additional actor at this level, claiming the competence to mediate between both ministries on crucial issues. At the same time tight co-operation between tehse three give a sense of corporatist policy community.

At regional level the Regional Councils, which actually are secondary municipal authorities, deal with both development and planning tasks. These "bottom-up" organs merge both aspects.

As already reflected at the regional level, the local level has a very strong position in Finland.

National level

There is no national spatial plan in Finland. The involvement of the national level in spatial planning, apart from legislation and policy statements, is mainly restricted to the formulation of national policies and national land use goals.

Apart from the Ministry of the Environment, which takes care of land-use planning and environmental issues, and the Ministry of the Interior, which deals, as regards spatial planning, mainly with regional development issues, there is an important third actor in the field of spatial planning and development. The Association of Finnish Local Authorities does not represent a typical pressure group. In fact, it is more a quasi-official organisation having a co-operative relation to the state.

An other actor that has been drawn into the field of spatial planning rather unintentionally is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. As discussed previously, the Northern Dimension is a non-negligible to Finnish and European spatial planning. However, as the Ministry has neither a formal task within spatial planning, nor the intention of becoming an actor in this field, its role is not further discussed here.

Ministry of the Environment
(Ympäristöministeriö / miljöministeriet)

At the level of national government, tasks such as land-use planning, land policy, building housing, nature protection and recreation and architectural heritage lie with the Ministry of the Environment. The main activities of the Ministry of the Environment in relation to spatial planning include the preparation of national legislation, EU issues, national guidelines, promoting research, training, education, pilot projects, producing publications and other means of information dissemination. (EC 1999c) The Ministry of the Environment is also supervisor of the 13 Regional Environment Centres.

Despite the fact that the national level does not have a direct spatial planning competence, the Ministry of the Environment has prepared strategic principles for national spatial development, *Finland 2017 –*

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Spatial Structure and Land Use, published in 1995. The aims of this document have later been transferred into the National Land Use Goals.

It is worth recalling that the Ministry of the Environment is a rather young ministry. In 1983 new environmental policy was firmly entrenched with the fusion of land-use planning and environmental protection into the new Ministry of the Environment. (Eskelinen et al. 2000:46) Previously land-use planning was handled by the Ministry of the Interior. This fact might contribute to the close co-operation of both ministries regarding spatial planning, but it also illustrates the fragmentation of spatial planning in Finland. As regards European spatial development policies, the Ministry acts at European level in co-ordination with the Ministry of interior.

Ministry of the Interior
(Sisäasiainministeriö / inrikesministeriet)

The national responsibility for regional development policy and allocation of EU Structural Funds lies with the Ministry of the Interior. In the field of European Spatial Development covering e.g. ESDP, Interreg, etc. representatives of both the Ministry of the Interior as well as the Ministry of Environment take part in international debate and meetings. EU work is characterised by close co-operation of both ministries. The Ministry of the Interior plays a stronger part at the European level also regarding e.g. the ESDP Action Programme and Urban Initiative, as the Ministry of the Environment mainly represents physical planning aspects.

The dominant position of the Ministry of Interior, not in planning but in development, can also be illustrated in the field of urban policies, which lies with the Ministry of the Interior, even though one might expect it under the Ministry of the Environment:

> In practice the so-called Centre of Expertise Programmes and City Programmes are the most distinctive measures for promoting urban development (Urban Exchanges Initiative III, 1999). The former were launched in the name of regional policies as early as 1994, but their focus is understandably on cities, as they aim at channelling regional and national resources into developing selected internationally competitive areas of expertise. (Eskelinen et al. 2000:49)

The Ministry of the Interior is an important promoter of regional development as it manages relevant funds. These resources are allocated to the Regional Council and are important for the implementation of regional plans.

Association of Finnish Local Authorities
(Suomen kuntaliitto / Finlands kommunförbund)

The role of the Association of Finnish Local Authorities[79] could be seen as primarily that of a lobby- or pressure-group taking care of municipal interests at national level. In actual fact, even though the association is deeply integrated in discussions at national level, its status resembles that of a quasi-official organisation. (Ståhlberg and Oulasvirta, 1996:117) The association not only provides expert services to the state in matters concerning municipalities, it is also involved in the ESDP and Interreg processes, etc. The most outstanding function the association assumes is that of a mediator between the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of the Environment. As illustrated earlier, both Ministries are involved in spatial planning and development tasks and generally co-operate in matters regarding both fields of competence. If such co-operation is hampered, for instance due to differing interests, etc., the Association of Finnish Local Authorities can act as a mediator for finding an appropriate solution. (Pakarinen) This fact shows how well the association is integrated and that its relationship to the state is generally one of a co-operation partner, which makes the association a natural third actor in the field of spatial planning and development at national level.

The Finnish system of governmental advisory commissions is an other example of the influence of the Association of Finnish Local Authorities:

> This advisory system consists mainly of a large number of temporary advisory groups preparing policy proposals for the Cabinet or for the ministries. In a recent study we found that beside pure state representatives, the national associations of communes had the largest share of seats within the commissions. (Ståhlberg and Oulasvirta, 1996:117)

The unique position of the Association of Finnish Local Authorities raises the question of the influence of municipal interests on national policy. Unfortunately, there have been no studies made of the influence of communes on national policy. (Ståhlberg and Oulasvirta, 1996:116)

The Association of Finnish Local Authorities was involved in the programming of Interreg IIIB Baltic Sea as a representative of both the local and regional level in Finland. The hearing procedures, however, illustrated that the local and regional level did not see its interests

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[79] At state level, municipalities were previously organised into three federations of municipalities, one for urban municipalities, one for Finnish-speaking rural municipalities and one for Swedish-speaking rural municipalities. The three federations merged to form the Association of Finnish Local Authorities, in 1993.

represented in the trans-national programming process. The reason for this is not to be a result of the specific position represented by the Association of Finnish Local Authorities in the process, but very much in the fact that the local and regional level looks upon Association as a "national representative" and not as their own representative.

Certainly, the association is not only an actor at state level, but also provides services to their members, in the form e.g. of both education and advice

Regional level

At the regional level, Finland diverges from the other Nordic countries by the absence of an autonomous self-governing regional level. Autonomy of municipalities is high, as is the tradition of municipalities joining together and forming various co-operation bodies for different tasks. So-called restricted joint municipal boards fulfil almost the same functions as regional self-governance in other Nordic countries. (Mäki-Lohiluoma 1999:72)

Basically, one can distinguish between three types of regional actors:
- State representatives at regional level;
- statutory municipal co-operation at regional level;
- voluntary municipal co-operation at regional level.

As pointed out earlier, the various actors have different regional divisions, and the number and size of the regions included varies. However, the main observation is that both municipalities and the state are entrusted with for regional development, according to the Regional Development Act (No. 1135/93). Specific responsibilities for regional development and planning are split between state und municipalities.

State representatives at regional level

In the field of spatial planning and development there are basically two such actors, the Regional Environment Centre and the T&E Centre. Formerly, the County Administrative Board had an important role in this field but, as described earlier, its role has been reduced to regional security and general administration tasks.

Regional Environment Centre

(Alueellinen ympäristökeskus / regionala miljöcentral)

The 13 Regional Environment Centres are part of the state (Ministry for the Environment) regional organisation. They are administratively linked with the Ministry of the Environment. The reasons for establishing Regional Environment Centres was to gather together environmental research, monitoring, policy tools, etc. from different actors. (EC 1999c)

Within respective region the Regional Environment Centres are public units responsible for environmental protection, nature conservation, environmental permits of regional significance, grant subsidies, land use, building, protection of the built environment, and use and management of water resources. The Centres also provides information on the state of the environment, and work with raising the awareness of environmental issues. Among others they deal also with land-use planning and construction issues. This work involved the co-operative supervision and monitoring of local authority land-use planning.

T&E Centre - Employment and Economic Development Centres
(TE keskus - työvoima- ja elinkeinokeskus / TE centralen - arbetskrafts-och näringscentralen)
The Ministry of Trade and Industry, the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, and the Ministry of Labour have jointly combined their regional forces in the Employment and Economic Development Centres (T&E Centre). The principal function of the 15 T&E Centres is to serve the needs of small and medium-sized enterprises with the object of promoting the establishment, expansion, and development of those with competitive potential. The wide range of activities comprises among others tasks regarding the implementation of regional labour policies and influencing and participation in regional development in general. Both, aid granted by the Finnish State and funds provided by the European Regional Fund are also channelled through them. As a consequence of the funding functions and the activities in the field of internationalisation they are relevant actors in spatial planning and development.

County Administrative Board
(Lääninhallitus / länsstyrelsen)
There are five County Administrative Boards, often also referred to as Provincial State Offices. Each of them represents multi-sectoral expertise in its respective county/province. They represent the joint regional authority of seven different ministries. The Provincial State Office promotes national and regional objectives of the central administration. It assumes the following tasks: social and health administration; educational and cultural administration; police administration; rescue administration; consumer affairs, competition and food administration; veterinary services and animal protection; judicial administration; and sport and youth affairs.
Earlier the Boards also held the responsibility for regional development tasks, planning and environmental protection. In 1994, regional development tasks were transferred to the regional council. In 1995,

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planning and environmental protection was transferred to the Regional Environment Centre as well as regional tasks in the field of housing.

Statutory municipal co-operation at regional level
Finland has a form of statutory joint municipal authorities: The Regional Councils, sometimes also referred to as provincial federations. These are joint, inter-municipal authorities holding the statutory responsibility for regional development and planning. The administration boundaries of Regional Councils roughly coincide with those of the counties/provinces. There are 11 counties/provinces, on the mainland but 19 Regional Councils, plus one for the autonomous Åland islands.

Regional Councils
(Maakunnan liitto / landskapsförbund)
The 20 Regional Councils are formed of municipalities in a bottom-up approach. As the Regional Councils are comprised of municipal representative, there are no Regional Council elections in Finland. The members of the decision-making body of the Regional Council are nominated by the political parties usually from among the councillors of the member municipalities. The member municipalities of the Regional Councils cover all administrative expenditures of the Council. Each municipality has to pay a member fee related to the size and economic situation of the municipality. Municipalities receive state subsidies covering 20% of those expenditures. (Mäki-Lohiluoma 1999:73)

The Regional Council is so the main actor in the field of spatial planning and development at regional level. On the basis of a mandate given by the state (§ 2 Regional Development Act, No. 1135/93) the Regional Council is active as an authority (A) for regional development according to the Regional Development Act and (B) for projects financed under the Structural Funds. The outstanding fact is, that although its engagement in this field is statutory, it is based on the municipal co-operation. This statutory joint municipal action is furthermore directed towards both regional planning and development. According to the law, the planning authority is to operate as regional development authority.

The merging of responsibility for spatial development and planning in one actor, combined with a statutory bottom-up approach is unique in the Nordic countries. Somehow it reflects a combination of the Nordic strong municipalities and the European demand for stronger regions and a combination of spatial planning and development.

The Regional Council is in two aspects a result of Finland's EU membership:
- establishment of regional self-government level;

- integration of regional development and land-use planning as an answer to the European idea of spatial planning.

Voluntary municipal co-operation at regional level

Finland has a tradition of joint municipal co-operation. Apart from the Regional Councils there are other voluntary forms of municipal co-operation. The Finnish Local Government Act has a specific chapter, Chapter 10, on inter-municipal co-operation. Regarding the co-operation form it states:

> *Section 76, Chapter 10, Finnish Local Government Act*
> *Forms of cooperation*
>
> By virtue of an agreement, local authorities may perform their functions jointly.
>
> Local authorities may agree to have a function performed by one local authority on behalf of one or more other local authorities, or that a function will be performed by a joint municipal board.
>
> Local authorities may also agree that a function prescribed by law as resting with a local authority or one of its authorities, in which power can be delegated to an officeholder, shall be delegated with public liability to an officeholder in another local authority.
>
> A local authority's duty to belong to a joint municipal board in a given sector and in some specified area is provided for separately.

The size of the co-operation areas depends mainly on the co-operation task concerned. Some co-operative bodies, covering smaller co-operation areas, act as restricted joint municipal federations, also referred to as a local joint municipal board or local federation of communes. Others, covering larger areas, are regional joint municipal boards. The expenses of joint municipal boards have to be financed by the member municipalities. Joint municipal boards cannot tax inhabitants directly. The municipal co-operation is almost entirely free to organise internally as it pleases and tasks carried out within this co-operation are not mandated by special acts.

Regulations regarding restricted joint municipal boards are as old as the legislation on municipalities. The first specific acts providing for restricted joint municipal boards came into force in 1932. (Mäki-Lohiluoma 1999:72)

Co-operation within joint municipal boards eliminates many of the problems faced by small municipalities. Such co-operation is often carried out in the field of social and health care. An more extensive example of a multi-function joint municipal authority is the Helsinki Metropolitan Area Council, consisting of four independent cities: Helsinki, Espoo, Vantaa and Kauniainen. This Council has the

responsibility for e.g. waste treatment, public transport and air pollution control.

Municipal level

Finland is divided into 448 self-governing municipalities. The municipalities have a high degree of autonomy. In the Finnish Local Government Act it is stipulated that Finland is divided into local authorities where the autonomy of residents is safeguarded in the constitution. Furthermore, the act underlines that the local authorities have the task to promote the welfare of their residents and sustainable development in their areas.

The general mandate of municipal authorities includes basic administration functions, such as land-use planning, education and cultural services, health care, social welfare, environmental protection, public housing, building control, fire and rescue services, civil defence, as well as air and noise-pollution control. The right to levy taxes is the cornerstone of municipal self-government. Municipal taxes consist of an income tax, a tax on real estate and a dog tax. The central state redistributes As regards corporate income taxm according certain keys considering also the number of employees in municipality.

As pointed out earlier, the municipal level of major importance, both as an implementation base for the welfare state and as a counterbalance to the national level.

Regarding spatial planning and development the municipal level is of importance as it also forms the regional level (see Regional Council) and holds the responsibility for spatial planning and development at local level. Here, sustainable development is meant to be a guiding principle, as pointed out on the Finnish Local Government Act.

The municipal power in the field of land-use planning has recently been extended by the new Land Use and Building Act, which has been in force since the beginning of year 2000. The Act gives local authorities more extensive powers to make independent decisions in land-use planning matters. Central government control will be reduced by abolishing the requirement that land use plans approved by local authorities be submitted to the Ministry of the Environment or the Regional Environmental Centres for ratification. At the same time, the local authorities are to adopt a more open and interactive approach to planning.

Finnish Planning Instruments and Policies

As mentioned above, the system of regulating land-use planning and building is currently being reformed. The new system has three levels of

land-use planning with a clearer division of labour between them: the regional land-use plan, the local master plan and the local detail plan. In addition, the Government defines national land-use goals which are supervised by a central government or regional environmental authority when implemented in land-use planning. The goals may apply to regional structure, the quality of the living environment, infrastructure, ecological sustainability and natural and cultural heritage of national importance.

However, it has to be kept in mind that spatial planning needs not be limited to physical planning, even though there is a strong tendency to do. Considering a wider range of policy fields, the regional level occurs to be of importance at least in two respects. Firstly does national urban and regional policy put a strong emphasis on regional centres and regional innovation. Secondly, turning to regional planning and regional development, we find a new set of instruments introducing spatial planning.

National level

As already pointed out neither the Ministry of the Environment nor the Ministry of the Interior develop national spatial plans. The main instrument at national level is the legislative competence. Apart from this, the Ministry of the Environment develops guiding principles for spatial planning. Those are e.g. incorporated in "Vision 2017" and the "Environment Programme 2005", both published by the Ministry.

The Ministry of the Environment has published a number of policy documents reflecting the national perspective for land-use planning and development. Even though those documents have no binding character for plans and programmes at regional or local level they are national guidelines for land-use planning. In addition, there are also the national land use goals, a new and binding instrument for national planning policy.

Finland 2017 Spatial Structure and Land Use
(Alueiden käyttö ja aluerakenne vuonna 2017, Kehityskuva / Finland 2017)
The "Vision 2017", published in 1995, is based on research and the estimates of experts, and forms a concept for directing the regional and settlement structure and land use towards human settlements based on sustainable development. The report is also prepared as a basis for a Finnish position in the European debate, as pointed out earlier.
The national spatial planning principles incorporated in "Vision 2017" are non-binding for statutory spatial plans. The Ministry will support regional and local development projects promoting the goals of the

vision, e.g. the guidance of urban development towards more coherent patterns. Later the issues of this report were transferred into the national land use goals.

National land use goals

(Valtakunnalliset alueidenkäyttötavoitteet / de riksomfattande målen för områdesanvändning)

The land use planning system includes the regional and municipal levels. The land use and building act which came into force in year 2000 give the Council of State the possibility to set out national land use goals. This means in more concrete terms that the Ministry of Environment specifies the general aims of the land-use and building act and the act's requirements concerning the content of plans. This is done in the scope of an overall national perspective. The goals comprise the fields, functional regional structures, integrated societal structure and high quality of the living environment, cultural and natural heritage, outdoor recreation and natural resources, functional infrastructure networks and energy supply and special issues regarding the region of Helsinki.

This instrument has e.g. been used for translating the ESDP into national policy.

Government Programme for Sustainable Development

(Hallituksen kestävän kehityksen ohjelma / regeringens program för en hållbar utveckling)

In 1998, the Finnish Government adopted a national Programme for sustainable development. This is the third comprehensive document outlining national measures to be taken to promote sustainable development.[80] The government programme analyses ecological, economic, social and cultural aspects of sustainable development in Finland. Based on these it provides guidelines for sector-specific actions such as production and consumption, transport and human settlements, rural development and energy.

The overall effort was co-ordinated by the Ministry of the Environment, having the Finnish National Commission on Sustainable Development as advisory capacity, introducing the views of major groups in society.

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[80] The two preceding documents were the report on Sustainable Development in Finland (1990) and the Finnish Action for Sustainable Development (1995).

National Environmental Policy Programme 2005
(Ympäristöohjelma 2005 / nationellt miljöprogram 2005)
This programme, adopted in 1995, is Finland's first comprehensive environmental planning effort: Actions needed to achieve a sustainable society are examined by focusing on sectors with a particularly significant impact on the environment. The programme aims at

- promoting urban policies which aim to create balanced regional development,, more coherent settlement patterns and the improvement of residential environments,
- supporting ecologically sound solutions in spatial planning, including the improvement of suburban pre-fab housing and experimental building projects,
- developing the knowledge and financial means needed for the care of culturally valuable environments,
- producing and disseminating environmental information and data on the state of human settlements and
- seeking to improve participation in spatial planning and environmental decision-making.

The objectives mentioned in the "Environment Programme" are to be integrated in spatial planning and other regional and local decision-making.

In Finland, differences in regional development are to be ironed out through national regional policy and with the help of European Union regional and structural policies. In general, international competitiveness and innovation are important aspects in this respect. Regions no longer compete with each other exclusively at the national level but also in the open international market. Thus regional policy is increasingly aiming at promotion of independent development of different areas on the basis of their own needs and strengths. A first step towards that direction was the Centre of Expertise Programme and the recently launched Regional Centre Development Programmes strengthens this line.

Centre of Expertise Programme
(Osaamiskeskusohjelma / programmet för kunskapscentra)
The national Centre of Expertise Programme supports regional strengths, specialisation between regions and co-operation between various Centres of Expertise. The Centre of Expertise Programme was created in accordance with the Regional Development Act seeking to pool local, regional and national resources to develop selected internationally competitive fields of expertise. Initial implementation of the programme over the period 1994 to 1998 was based on eleven Centres. The Council

of State has extended the programme by nominating new fields of expertise and new Centres of Expertise to implement a second national programme over the years 1999-2006. 14 regional Centres and two nationally networked Centres of Expertise have been appointed for this purpose.

Thus the Centre of Expertise Programme seeks to identify regional strengths and create economic growth, to increase the number of competitive products, services, enterprises and jobs based on the highest standard of expertise, to attract international investment and leading experts, and to continually reinforce and regenerate regional expertise.

Regional Centre Development Programme
(Aluekeskusohjelma / utvecklingsprogram för regioncentra)
The Regional Centre Development Programme aims at balanced regional development. It promotes the development of urban regions of different sizes into stronger regional centres. Furthermore it emphasises on co-operation between municipalities, enterprises, educational institutions and research centres, and non-governmental organisations. The whole idea behind the programme and the regional centres lies in acknowledging that regions need strong centres to address their specific problems. Accordingly, the key to understanding the Programme focuses on the idea of promoting co-operation between urban centres and their respective surrounding rural areas.

The Regional Centre Development Programme is carried out in cooperation with various ministries, regional state administration authorities, Regional Councils, municipalities and their co-operation partners. The Programme, which runs to the end of year 2006, is co-ordinated by the Ministry of the Interior.

Regional level

At the regional level there is a clear approach to spatial planning, as the regional council is responsible for both physical regional land use planning and regional development. The emphasis in planning and regional development is on vision and strategic matters. In consequence, the key task is the creation of a comprehensive development strategy for the region, bringing together physical planning and economic development.
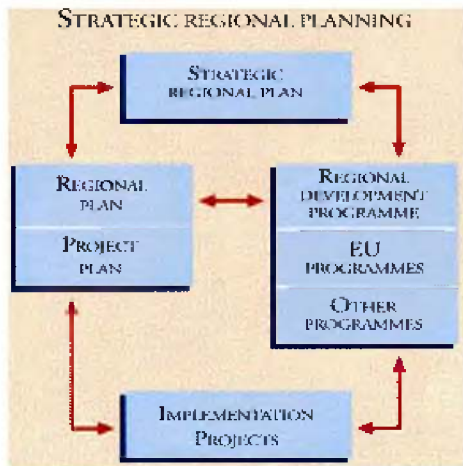
(Source: Association of Finnish Local Authorities)

Regional land-use plan
(Maakuntakaava / regionplan)
The regional land-use plan transfers national and regional land-use goals to land-use planning at the local authority level. It consists of a regional survey, a regional plan which steers other territorial planning, and a regional development programme. When the plan is drawn up, special attention is given to ensuring that there is an appropriate regional and community structure, to preserving landscape values and ecological sustainability and to providing the proper operating conditions for business and industry. The plan is compiled by a regional council made up of local authorities and confirmed by the Ministry for the Environment. The plan has a guideline function for authority decisions which have territorial effects, as well as for municipal planning, but is in general not binding for areas for which a binding master plan or a detailed plan has been approved.

Regional development programme
(Aluekehitysohjelma or maakuntaohjelma/ regional utvecklingsprogram)
The regional development programme is based on the special features, problems and needs of the area. The objective of the programme is to promote production and to improve the production structure, employment prospects and occupational skills of the inhabitants, and to reduce the disadvantage to business and industry occasioned by location and natural conditions in the area.

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The administrative procedures and functions are comparable to the ones for the regional land-use plan.

Ideally both instruments, the regional land-use plan and the regional development programme are brought together in the strategic regional plan.

Another land-use plan which is not truly regional but is characteristic for Finland, is the joint master plan. The Finnish planning system encourages inter-municipal co-operation. As part of this philosophy, it allows municipalities to assign the responsibility for municipal master planning either to the regional council or to a restricted joint municipal federation. This instrument is of special importance for the improvement of opportunities of the development of urban regions.

Joint master plan
(Yhteinen yleiskaava / gemensam generalplan)
The same procedures apply concerning the approval of a joint master plan as for regional land-use plans. In any other matters, the joint master plan is subject to the same guidelines and regulations as the municipal master plan.

Municipal level
In Finland the main planning responsibility lies with the municipalities. As in the other Nordic countries the municipal planning level has two types of plans, the master plan and the detail plan.

Local master plan
(Yleiskaava / generalplan)
Within a local authority, the local master plan is an instrument for guiding and co-ordinating land use at a general level. It can be either a very general, strategic plan or a more detailed one for direct regulation of building, depending on the need. The local master plan is used to resolve questions concerning the functionality and economics of the community structure, the accessibility of services, the preservation of natural and cultural values, the quality of the living environment and the reduction of the environmental hazards. The plan serves as a guideline for authority decisions which have territorial effects as well as for detail planning.

Local detailed plans
(Asemakaava / detaljplan)
According to the new land use and building act , town-plans, building-plans and strand-plans are combined in a so-called detailed plan. Detailed plans, such as town plans, are used for regulating building and the formation of the physical "townscape". The emphasis is on taking local

conditions into account and promoting the use of the existing building stock. Special attention has be given to ensuring that there are enough parks and local recreation areas, and detailed plans must not reduce the quality of anyone's living environment without very good reason. In addition, every local authority has its own building ordinance, the content of which is defined according to local needs.

The detailed plan is the only land-use plan which develops / has a strong binding character regarding the implementation of land use, e.g. building permits.

Iceland

Icelandic Actors in Spatial Planning

Iceland's territorial administrative system has two levels: the central government and the municipalities. Regarding spatial planning and development, there are, however, also activities at regional level. At regional level the role of committees in Icelandic planning becomes even more obvious than at national or municipal level. This is mainly because Iceland has no administrative regional level and consequently regional issues are dealt with ad-hoc or in committees.

National level

At national level, physical planning activities lie mainly with the Ministry for the Environment and the Planning Agency, which is under the auspices of the Ministry. Regional development, however, is a task for the Ministry of Industry and Commerce and the Institute for Regional Development has since 1999 been under the control of this Ministry and previously belonged to the Prime Minister's Office. Because of Iceland's NATO membership and the American presence (rule of certain designated areas), even the Ministry for Foreign Affairs is partly involved in spatial planning and development.

Ministry for the Environment
(Umhverfisráðuneytið)
The Ministry for the Environment was founded in 1990 and is the youngest ministry in Iceland. The Ministry's establishment created the requisites for the government to formulate and enforce an integrated policy for environmental affairs. In addition to physical planning and settlement affairs, the Ministry supervises mainly affairs pertaining to nature in Iceland, conservation and outdoor recreation, the protection of animals, the hunting of wild animals, pollution prevention, hygiene and food, fire prevention, avalanches, surveying and cartography,

environmental studies and surveillance, training and information activities in the field of environmental affairs.

During the latest revision of the Planning and Building Act, the Ministry had considerable ambitions and wanted to introduce a national spatial plan, to be elaborated under the responsibility of the Ministry for the Environment. However, this ambition was thwarted by the Prime Minister and the attempt was reduced to gathering information, a co-ordination function expressed in Article 11.

In the field of spatial planning the Ministry for the Environment oversees physical planning and settlement affairs, environmental impact assessments, land surveying and cartography. Among the projects in this field there is still the ambition to elaborate a general plan for the entire country, the preparation of land utilisation plans, development of a national information system and preparation of a digital map database for all Iceland. The agencies of the ministry in this field are the Planning Agency, the National Land Survey of Iceland and the Icelandic Fire Authority.

Planning Agency
(Skipulagsstofnun)
The Planning Agency, which operates under the auspices of the Ministry for the Environment, elaborates proposals on regulations covering the whole country concerning the preparation of development plans. Based on these proposals and the comments prepared by the Association of Local Authorities, the Ministry for the Environment then publishes these as regulations.

The Planning and Building Act regulates both the role and the financing of the Planning Agency. According to the act, the state shall operate the Planning Agency which has the tasks:
- to monitor the application of this Act and regulations issued hereunder;
- to give advice on planning and building;
- to monitor the planning situation in the municipalities;
- to assist the local authorities and guide them in preparing development plans;
- to issue statements on matters of dispute regarding planning and building;
- to ensure that data is available on land-use plans on the national level, and to ensure coherence between them;
- to carry out and encourage planning and building research in collaboration with the relevant institutions and interested parties, and

also to carry out or encourage the publication of information on these matters;
- to monitor and provide information on access for the disabled;
- to implement law on environmental impact assessment.

In order to meet the costs incurred by the Planning Agency and the local authorities in connection with planning and building, the State Treasury collect a special levy on structures, which is referred to as a planning levy.[81]

Planning and Building Tribunal
(Úrskurðarnefnd skipulags- og byggingarmála)

The Minister for the Environment shall appoint a Planning and Building Tribunal for terms of four years at a time. The tribunal shall deliver rulings in cases of dispute in planning and building matters under the planning and building act. The tribunal shall consist of three persons, one appointed without nomination and two nominated by the Supreme Court. The minister shall issue regulations setting forth further provisions on the work of the tribunal, the matters with which it deals, its sphere of influence, working conditions, etc.

Ministry of Industry and Commerce
(Iðnaðarráðuneytið)

The Ministry of Industry and Commerce is responsible for regional development in Iceland. It shall submit a draft parliamentary resolution concerning a policy formulating a regional development plan for a four-year period to the parliament. The regional development plan is mainly prepared by the Institute for Regional Development which lies under the Ministry.

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[81] On new buildings which are assessed for fire-insurance purposes, a planning levy shall be paid once amounting to 0.3% of the fire-insurance value of each real-estate ownership unit. The term "new building" applies to any newly constructed building which is assessed for fire-insurance purposes, and also to extensions to older buildings if the assessed value of the new extension amounts to at least 1/5 of the value of the older building. The planning levy on structures which are not assessed for fire-insurance purposes shall amount to 0.3% of their foundation cost. On structures which are not subject to a building permit under Article 43, a planning levy shall only be paid on the main distribution and transmission systems of electricity, district heating, water and telecommunications utilities outside urban areas. Planning levies shall be due for payment when they have been assessed and the Valuation Office of Iceland has announced the result to the State Treasury's collection officer. They shall be accompanied by a statutory lien on the property, which shall take precedence over all other mortgage liens on the property. The levy may be collected by an enforcement proceeding. In addition to the planning levy referred to in paragraphs 1-3, the State Treasury shall each year pay to the Planning Agency an amount equivalent to not less than one half of the planning levies for the previous year. The minister shall issue regulations setting forth further provisions on the imposition, collection and disposition of these levies.

Institute for Regional Development
(Byggðastofnun)

The Institute of Regional Development is a non-profit organisation funded by the government and under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce. However, the Institute is not ruled by the Ministry but has its own board of directors elected by the parliament.

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 are aimed at strengthening settlements in rural areas through the support of viable, long-term projects with diverse economic bases.

The Institute supports and strengthens local development by the provision of credit and other forms of financial support, with the aim of improving economic and living conditions particularly in those regions threatened by depopulation. As part of these activities the Institute was responsible for the preparation of Iceland's participation in Interreg III.

Furthermore, monitoring and research in the field of Icelandic regional development belongs to the tasks of the Institute. It also implements governmental policy by introducing regional strategies in co-operation with the Minister of Industry and Commerce. The Institute consults with ministries, local authorities, and other relevant parties while drawing up regional strategies. Regional policy is revised every two years.

As part of a new organisation of ministries, the Institute was moved from the Prime Minister's Office to the Ministry of Industry and Commerce in 1999. This change was accompanied with at least a partial relocation from the Icelandic capital of Reykjavik to the small town of Sauðarkrokur in north Iceland.

Minister for Foreign Affairs
(Utanríkisráðuneytið)

As a consequence of Iceland's NATO membership and the presence of American forces, the Minister for Foreign Affairs shall be in charge of planning and building matters in the advertised agreed areas in accordance with the provisions of the Act No. 106/1954 (cf. also Act No. 110/1951). According to the Planning and Building Act, the Minister for Foreign Affairs shall appoint a Planning and Building Committee. In practice, it seems that this regulation has only minor implications.

Planning and Building Committee in designated areas
(Byggingar- og skipulagsnefnd)
The Minister for Foreign Affairs appoints, according the Planning and Building Act, a Planning and Building Committee, which shall administer planning and building matters in the advertised agreed areas in accordance with the provisions of the Act No. 106/1954 (*cf* also the Act No. 110/1951). The Minister may also entrust the Committee with other related matters in the agreed areas. In carrying out its work, the committee shall collaborate closely with the Planning Agency and the local authorities which may be involved, such as those in the Suðurnes region.

Regional level

Iceland has a bi-polar government structure, consisting in central state and municipalities. Accordingly actors at regional level need to be constructed by the other two tiers. In consequence, at regional much more than at national level, committees are major actors in the field of spatial planning. Unlike the committees at municipal level, at regional level committees are often more politicised, e.g. the Committee for Planning of the Central Highlands or the one for planning in the region of Reykjavik.

At regional level, there is however, one actor which is not organized as a committee: the representative for the economic regional development sector.

Joint Committees for regional planning
(Samstarfsnefndir um svæðisskipulag)
As there is no regional tier and no natural actor for regional planning, the appropriate local authorities 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.

The most prominent examples of such regional committees are the one for the capital region and the one for the central highlands. The joint committee for planning of the central highlands is regulated separately by the Planning and Building Act.

Whereas these committees are responsible for the regional plans, similar committees exist for the preparation of regional development plans at regional level.

Joint Committee for planning of the central highlands
(Samstarfsnefnd um svæðisskipulag hálendisins)

After each general municipal election the Minister appoints a joint committee of the central highlands to serve for four years. The committee makes a regional plan proposal for the central highlands.

In May 19999 the first plan was published. It was dealt with in parliament several times.

As not so much the actual plan, but the process and committee work is of major importance, the composition of the committee is crucial, especially with regard to the incorporation of Reykjavik.

The committee is comprised of 12 members[82] and the Minister for the Environment sets rules for the operation of the joint committee after consulting the committee and the Planning Agency.

The joint committee of the central highlands or the relevant municipalities can, after a consultation with one another, make a proposal to the Minister on changes of the boundary of the central highlands. The Minister takes a stand on such proposals and decides whether changes to the boundary shall be made.

Industrial regional development agencies
(Atvinnuþróunarfélög)

The industrial regional development agencies are the actor at regional level which is not organized as committees. The main function of these development agencies is to increase the competitiveness of industry in provincial regions. They assist local enterprises by searching for contacts and projects both at home and abroad. In order to further strengthen this support, co-operation will be requested from universities and research laboratories. In order to assure the competence of consultation concerning innovation in provincial areas special contractual agreements will be made between the industrial regional development agencies and institutes that work in the field of regional development and innovation.

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[82] Of the 12 committee members, one is appointed by each electoral district, one by a union of outdoor recreation societies, one by the Minister of Social Affairs and two without appointment; one of them shall be the chairman of the committee and cast the deciding vote in the event of a tie vote; the other shall be from an electoral district which is adjacent to the central highlands but from a municipality which is not adjacent to it. The representatives of the districts which are adjacent to the central highlands shall be appointed by the district's municipalities which own land adjacent to the central highlands. The Association of Local Authorities in the West Fjords appoints the representative for the West Fjords district, the City of Reykjavik appoints the representative for the Reykjavik constituency and the Association of Municipalities in the Capital Area and the Federation of Suðurnes Municipalities appoint the representative for the Reykjanes constituency. The Minister can appoint up to four non-voting representatives to the committee, who have freedom of speech and a right to put proposals forward.
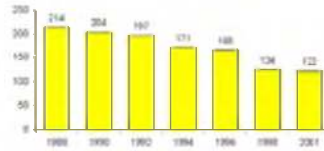
Municipal level

As of 1 January 2001 Iceland had 122 municipalities, ranging in population from 27 to approximately 1008 inhabitants, 74% of them with less than 1000 inhabitants. Due to the fact that local authorities are numerous and relatively small, the division of power and responsibility between the government and local authorities in Iceland is different from that in neighbouring countries. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1996:14) However, since 1993, Iceland has been undergoing a district reform or amalgamation process. The aim is to reduce the number of municipalities from their previous number of approximately 200 to only 50-60, with smaller municipalities amalgamating on a voluntary[83] base. (Hartthaler 1999:66) In parallel to this process, the area of the central highlands, which previously was not divided into areas controlled by municipalities, became subject to allocation to municipalities. This means Iceland, which traditionally is a country of small communities or a "township country" as Hrafn Hallgrimsson, from the Ministry of the Environment, expressed it, is for the first time completely (not counting the glaciers) divided into municipalities. The traditional settlement or community centres, are mostly located closely to the coast and there were no community in central highlands did not have. In consequence, allocating the central highlands to existing municipalities results in a cake-like picture, where most municipalities are in effect extended up into the central highlands.

Because of the strong local traditions, and emphasis on townships, the local level and local self-governance have a strong position. The role of the local authorities has also changed and become more complex, now embracing compulsory schools and social services in addition to local traffic infrastructure, culture, planning and constructing. All administration of compulsory schools was taken over by the local authorities on 1 August 1996, and now comprises the largest single aspect of their work.
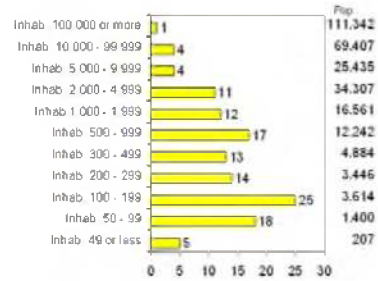
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[83] There is however, a regulation that in case a municipality has below the minimum number of inhabitants for three years, the municipality will be merged with a neighbouring municipality. In 1998 the minimum number of inhabitants of a municipality was 50.
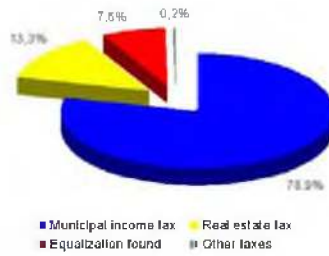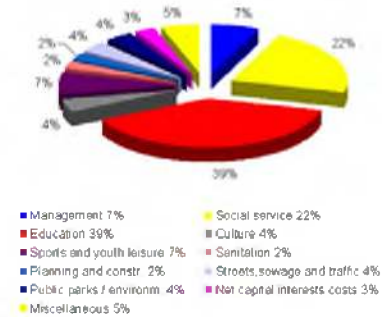
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Number of municipalities
1988 – 2001

Number of municipalities by
population size

Municipal tax revenue 1999

Municipal operating costs 1999

Source: Iceland's Association of Local Authorities (2001, website)

In the field of spatial planning the municipal level is the most important one for land-use planning, as it both forms the basis of regional planning and carries out local planning. For local planning, each municipality is to have one or two political committees.

***Building Committee** (Byggingarnefnd)* or
***Building and Planning Committee** (Byggingar- og skipulagsnefnd)*
In each municipality there is to be a building committee, elected by the local authority. Building committees are in charge of building matters under the supervision of the local authorities. The local authority may decide that the committee also deals with planning matters in the municipality, in which case it is called a planning and building committee.

Planning Committee
(Skipulagsnefnd)
If a local authority decides that the building committee should not deal with planning matters, a planning committee must be established. It is in charge of planning matters under the supervision of the local authorities.

Icelandic Instruments and Policies

As far as physical planning is concerned, the Icelandic planning system is based on land-use plans, primarily the municipal plan, where all land is allocated to different land classes. Planning activities at regional and national level are, however, emerging. The main emphasis regarding regional development lies with national policies and programmes.

National level

At national level not very much is done through issuing formal policy documents. Most of the national activities are to be found in the field of programmes and projects. According to Sigurður Guðmundsson of the National Economic Institute, policy-making in Iceland is a kind of a silent process. As a result of this regional policies e.g. have only a limited number of official tasks, such as communication, education and industrial development outside the capital region. As the review will show, spatial or planning policy is even more silent and less equipped with formal instruments.

Regional Development Plan at national level (Byggðaáætlun) and/or
Strategic Regional Development Plan at national level (Stefnumótandi byggðaáætlun)
The Minister of Industry submits to the Icelandic parliament a draft parliamentary resolution concerning a policy formulating a regional development plan for a four-year period. The plan is to describe the objectives and policy of the government in regional affairs, plans for action and the connections between the regional policy and general economic and industrial policy and plans concerning public services in Iceland. It states the manner in which individual actions are to be funded, the time when they shall be executed, and who shall be responsible for carrying them out. The regional development plan, furthermore, is to provide a description of the situation and prospects for regional development in the country.

　　The Minister of Industry prepares the regional development plan in co-operation with the Institute of Regional Development. In compiling the regional development plan the Minister of Industry consults with

other Ministries, local authorities and other parties as necessary. The regional development plan is to be reviewed at two-year intervals.

The plan covers topics such as improving economic diversity in the provincial areas through co-operation of the regional development institutions and the national support institutions, the creation of investment funds in these areas, improved communications, moving national institutions to the provincial areas, improving education in them, supporting cultural activities, equalizing living standards and the cost of living, and reducing telecommunication costs. In March 1999 the parliament passed a policy resolution on regional affairs for the period 1999-2001, based on the foregoing regional development plan.

The actual preparation of the plan is carried out by the Institute of Regional Development in Iceland. Previously, the plan was presented by the Prime Minister and approved by the parliament. As the Institute of Regional Development has been moved from the Prime Minister's Office to the Ministry of Industry, future plans will be presented by this Minister and not the Prime Minister, for the first time in 2002. It is to be expected that this will result in a debate where each ministry will defend its own interests, even though consulting with all related ministries is part of the planning process. However, the relocation is expected to lead to a weakening of regional policy. (Sigurður Guðmundsson)

In spring 2001 the Institute of Regional Development both reviewed the present plan and also started the preparation for a Regional Development Plan for the years 2002-2006.

The fact that the plan has two different names is a result of a reform attempt. By changing the name from regional development plan (Byggðaáaætlun) to strategic regional development plan (Stefnumótandi byggðaáætlun) the intention was to make the plan more interesting as well as to approach a co-ordination between the tasks of the regional plan and land-use planning. As it looks at the moment, this attempt at comprehensive spatial planning at national level has merely resulted in two names for one plan.

Plans on land use at the national level
(Áætlanir um landnotkun á landsvísu)
The attempt to establish national planning was not successful, but did result in an Article on plans for land use at the national level being included in the Planning and Building Act, Article 11. According to this Article, the Planning Agency shall gather information and have access to and preserve plans produced by other public entities on land use which apply to the country as a whole, e.g. regarding transportation, telecommunications, power structures and nature conservation. Should

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inconsistencies or other conflicts of interest be revealed in land use proposals as set forth in individual plans, the Minister for the Environment may (after consulting the Prime Minister and the Union of Local Authorities in Iceland) decide to appoint a special committee to make proposals on the co-ordination of the relevant plans. On receipt of the proposals of the committee, the Minister for the Environment may require the local authorities to incorporate the proposals in the development plans.

This article only found its way into the Act after a number of debates and re-draftings. It was originally intended to form a base for a national plan, comparable to the Danish National Plan, prepared by the Ministry of Environment. In order to prevent the Ministry of Environment from becoming "too strong", the approach was limited to the Article as phrased above. However, with this Article, Icelandic legislation acknowledges that national planning and co-ordination is of importance. According to the Planning Agency, the professional and political debate made the need for regional and national planning and development evident. Here the EU directive on Strategic Environmental Assessment, SEA, (directive 2001/42/EC) is regarded as a valuable contribution to the debate on the necessity of policy analysis.

Masterplan for hydro and geothermal energy resources
(Rammaáætlun um nýtingu vatnsafls og jarðvarma)
Iceland has extensive resources of renewable hydro and geothermal energy. Decisions on their exploitation have significant impact on nature, regional development, employment and society at large. Therefore, the government has initiated a process aiming at the development of a master plan for hydro and geothermal energy resources. In the process leading to the plan, a large number of proposed power projects will be evaluated and categorized on the basis of efficiency and economic profitability, as well as how they will benefit the economy as a whole. Also implications for employment and regional development, the environment, landscape, cultural heritage, traditional land use, out-door life, fishing and hunting will be taken into consideration.

Therefore, the Ministry of Industry, in co-operation with the Ministry of the Environment, has established a special Steering Committee for the project, which is supported by about 50 experts working in four different working groups. Working Group I will evaluate what impact proposed power projects will have on Nature, landscape, geological formations, vegetative cover, flora and fauna, as well as cultural heritage and ancient monuments. Working Group II will evaluate the impact on outdoor life, agriculture, vegetation, fishing in rivers and

lakes, and hunting. Working Group III will evaluate the impact proposed power projects can have on economic activity, employment and regional development. Working Group IV will identify potential power projects, both hydro and geothermal, and carry out technical as well as economic evaluation of the projects. The National Energy Institute and/or power companies will compile reports on project proposals they wish to have evaluated by the Steering Committee.

The result, which is expected in 2002, will be a proposed master plan for the utilisation of hydro and geothermal energy resources. Even though, the statues and effects of this plan are not clear at the moment, the process might leave marks in future debates. In terms of spatial planning this process is not only of interest because energy resources are crucial development topics on Iceland. It is especially of interest because the process follows a cross-sectoral approach and involves participants from various policy fields.

Iceland 2018
(Ísland 2018)
In 1996 the Planning Agency held an open competition on the future development of the country 'Iceland in 2018', as 75 years had passed since the first Planning Act came into force. The main ideas expressed in the competition were related to prevention of Iceland's unspoiled nature and the Icelandic culture. It also stressed that Iceland should take an active part in the global information society and take advantage of the country's location between two hemispheres.

To make use of the results in an anticipated planning at national level was one of the intentions behind this idea-competition. Assuming that there will be something like national planning, sometime in the future, the results of the Iceland 2018 may serve as a source for inspiration.

Regional level
Regional plans originally came into force as an instrument to deal with the unplanned and uncoordinated building of summer cottages in the rural areas. Here it should be borne in mind, that Iceland was not entirely divided into municipalities, and wide ranges the country were not covered by municipal planning. Furthermore, the rural areas were not subject to municipal planning until the new Planning and Building Act came into force in 1998.

Regional plans are prepared by two or more local authorities and are to deal with land use in the whole of their respective municipalities. Regional planning is voluntary and no corresponding administrative level

exists. As a result, regional plans are often much more joint municipal plans. As such, they often avoid dealing with difficult issues or conflicts of interest. According the Planning Agency, regional planning is necessary from a national perspective, as there is no national planning. The importance is e.g. illustrated by the regional plan for the central highlands. This describes a shift from regional planning as co-ordinating local needs to a forum for debate on national challenges.

Regional plan
(Svæðisskipulag)

A regional plan is a development plan covering more than one municipality. The role of a regional plan is to co-ordinate policies regarding land use, transportation and service systems, environmental matters and the development of settlement in the region during a period of not less than 12 years. Regional plans are to be prepared at the initiative of the relevant local authorities or the Planning Agency with the aim of co-ordinating the policy of local authorities on development of settlement and land use over a period of at least 12 years. The regional plan must be approved by the Minister for the Environment. After each local government election, the local authorities involved shall assess whether there is a need to revise the regional plan.

Regional plans are implemented through the municipalities which are not obliged to implement them. However, municipal plans and regional plans must be in agreement. Thus, municipalities face difficulties when carrying out measures which stand in conflict with the regional plan. In consequence the municipalities try not to become too committed to a regional plan.

The most prominent examples of regional planning are the plans for the capital area and the one for the central highlands. As the regional plan for the central highlands can almost be considered a national plan it will be presented more in detail.

Regional plan for central highlands
(Miðhálendi Íslands, Svæðisskipulag 2015)

The regional plan for the central highlands is a special form of regional plan. After each general municipal election the minister appoints a joint committee of the central highlands which has the task of ensuring that the municipal plans of individual municipalities in the central highlands are in co-ordination, as well as that the municipal plans in general fit in with the regional plan for the central highlands.

The plan for the central highlands, which was published in 1999, is an enormous document aimed at a co-ordinated use of natural resources

and land as well as the protection of the unique landscape. The process is actually much more important than the product and, despite the controversial discussions and extensive criticism of the actual planning document, the process is considered to be more important and will continue. Apart from content debates, the composition of the committee and especially the role of Reykjavik are also crucial for the process. [84] The plan has been extensively discussed in the Icelandic parliament.

The aim of the Regional Plan was to co-ordinate the use of natural resources and land in a sustainable way. One of the main reasons for undertaking the plan was the rapid growth of building and other structures in the Highlands. Of the at least 400 buildings in the region only about one-third have a valid planning permit. Because of its aim to protect the unique landscape, the plan is to limit buildings and other structures to certain zones, with the objective of combining interests such as power generation, development of tourist services and road building, and to leave as much untouched landscape and nature as possible for conservation.

The plan sets the framework which municipal and local plans in the Central Highlands have to adhere to. According to the Planning and Building Act, the Minister for Environment appoints the committee for the Central Highlands (after each general municipal election). The committee's task is to make sure that the municipal plans in the region conform with one another and are in co-ordination with the regional plan. It also assesses whether certain aspects of the regional plan need to be amended or whether the plan needs to be reviewed entirely.

Regional development plan for individual regions
(Byggðaáætlun)
Normally, the municipalities of a region commission either the Institute for Regional Development or a private consultant to prepare, in co-operation with the respective local authorities, a regional development plan. The plan presents a development perspective for the region. The topics covered by such a plan are more or less identical with the regional development plan at national level, namely economic development, employment, and general regional development.

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[84] The regional plan for the Central Highlands was drawn up by a planning committee established by the Ministry for the Environment, with representatives from associations of municipalities surrounding the Highlands. Because of the "cake-like" division of Iceland into municipalities, almost all municipalities except Reykjavik touch on the Highlands and in consequence have a member on the committee. As a result the regional plan for the Central Highlands, which covers ca. 40% of the total area of Iceland, or more than 40,000 km^2 has been developed without the participation of Reykjavik, which is home to 61% (region) or 40% (city) of the Icelandic population.

According to the law, each region (read: the involved municipalities) is to prepare a regional development plan every fourth year. As there is no real pressure on the municipalities to do so, they do not follow that regulation very strictly and there are still regions for which no regional development plan exists.

Regional and municipal plans are subject to approval by the Minister for the Environment, whereas local plans are adopted by local authorities. All development and construction must proceed in accordance with a municipal and a local plan.

Municipal level

Because of the importance of the municipal level and local self-governance, municipal planning has a strong position when it comes to land-use planning. Municipal land-use planning is, according to the Planning and Building Act, the only compulsory physical planning activity. All local authorities are to have completed municipal plans not later than July 2008.

Municipal plan
(Aðalskipulag)

A development plan for a specific municipality expressing the local authority's policy regarding land-use, transportation and service systems, environmental matters and the development of settlement in the municipality for a period of not less than 12 years. According to the law, they are to be revised every four years.

Local plan
(Deiliskipulag)

A development plan for specific areas within a municipality, based on the municipal plan and containing further provisions on its implementation. Local planning provisions apply equally to urban areas and to rural areas.

Norway

Norwegian Actors in Spatial Planning

> The government system in Norway is characterized by a division of tasks and responsibilities between a hierarchy of local government institutions based on local elections, on the one hand, and a hierarchy of decentralised state agencies on the other hand. Municipalities are not subordinate to the county councils. (Naustdalslid and Tombre 1997:6)

Thus, in governance terms Norway may be characterised as a decentralised central state: Central government holds a strong

responsibility for formulating policy objectives and for funding public development and services through its budget. For many of the policy areas, however, responsibility for service delivery and administration is shared between central and local levels of government or delegated altogether to local government together with transfer funds. Accordingly, spatial planning and regional development takes place in a close interplay between central government and municipalities and counties, but with most of the practical activities carried out at the local level. (Mønnesland and Naustdalslid 2000:61)

> When considering the Norwegian planning system it is important to keep in mind the distinction between local political institutions on the one hand, i.e. institutions based on local elections like the municipalities and the country municipalities, and the state agencies at local and county levels on the other hand. The responsibility lies with the political branch of government, whereas state administration is responsible for implementing central government policies within their more specific sectors and for monitoring local government performance in relation to national directive and norms. (Mønnesland and Naustdalslid 2000:65)

In the following we will discuss the main actors at national, regional and local level and conclude with a section on the ongoing debate on the division of labor and the role of the regional level.

National level

As Norway is a central state, although a decentralised one, central government is responsible for formulating national policy objectives for all sectors. More specifically central government is responsible for defence, education and research, national cultural institutions, national health institutions, communications and infrastructure relating to trunk roads, railways and post and telecommunication, national macro economic planning and all institutions relating to the judiciary. (Naustdalslid and Tombre 1997:6)

The central state (acting on behalf of His Majesty, the King of Norway) sets up general goals and frameworks, as well as laying down general guideline principles for physical, economic and social development in counties and municipalities. These are to underlie spatial planning.

The main administrative responsibility for spatial planning at national level lies with the Ministry of the Environment. It is responsible for ensuring that planning at local level takes place within the framework of national priorities. Furthermore, the Ministry of Local Government and

Regional Development holds the responsibility for certain parts of the Planning and Building Act. In addition the ministries responsible for agriculture, transport and communication, etc. are involved in spatial planning as the result of a certain passage. According to § 9-3 of the Planning and Building Act, all public bodies with special tasks concerning use of resources, protection and conservation, physical development, or social and cultural development within the municipality shall give the municipality the necessary assistance in the planning activity.

The Planning Act Committee is in favour of a further development and possibly strengthening of planning instrument at central state level. This, however, does not imply a weakening of the position of municipalities and local authorities. (NOU 2001:44) The central state is to safeguard national interests and consideration in planning. Although the planning task lies with the municipalities the state has the last word in disputes, etc. Therefore the central state administration today has a number of instruments for influencing and interfering in planning at local level. Apart from legislation, including various sector laws, two planning instruments exist at central state level, namely the National Policy Guidelines and the National Policy Provisions.

Despite these practical instruments, the main planning activities at central state level lie in the field of spatial planning and development policies. Such policy documents are mainly formulated by the Ministry of Environment, which formally is in charge of land-use planning, and the Ministry for Local Government and Regional Development, which is in charge of spatial economic or regional policy.

Ministry of Environment
(Miljøverndepartementet)
Norway established a Ministry of Environment as early as in 1972. Among others Gro Harlem Brundtland was Minister of the Environment (1974 – 1979). She was the second Norwegian Minister of the Environment and had to solve a number of troublesome conflicts during her time as minister. In 1983, four years after she had left the ministry and after her first period as Norwegian Prime Minister (1981), she was asked by the UN Secretary General to chair the World Commission for Environment and Development. The Commission's final report, also known as Brundtland Report (WCED 1987), were the point of departure for the success of the term "sustainable development". Both the early establishment of the ministry as well as strong ministers guiding it, such as Mrs. Brundtland, illustrate the importance accorded to the Ministry of Environment – which is not a "fig-leaf ministry".

The Ministry is divided into five departments, the department for organisational and economic affairs, the department for biodiversity, outdoor recreation and cultural heritage, the department for environmental data, pollution control and eco-efficiency, the department for international co-operation, climate and polar affairs, and the department for regional planning, land-use and geomatic policy. The last-named department is the one most directly involved in spatial planning, as it serves the highest planning authority in Norway.

As soon as the Ministry was established the task of physical planning was transferred from the processor of the Ministry for Local Government and Regional Development. Through policy guidelines and by monitoring the planning processes at county and municipality level, the Ministry is responsible for the broad framework of national policies. The concrete responsibilities of the Ministry regarding spatial planning are (Naustdalslid/Tombre 1997:16):

- administration and development of the planning and building act and related legislation,
- adopting county plans,
- preparing national policy guidelines,
- developing land-use policies,
- environmental impact assessments,
- co-operation with local communities and municipal authorities in order to develop laws and regulations.

Apart from its responsibilities in the field of physical planning, the Ministry is certainly responsible for elaborating Norway's environmental policy for a sustainable development.

Ministry for Local Government and Regional Development
(Kommunal- og regionaldepartemetet)
The Ministry for Local Government and Regional Development controls certain instruments for regional policy implementation, and also bears the responsibility for co-ordinating overall governmental activities influencing regional development.

In general, the Ministry is divided into six Departments: the Working Environment and safety Department, the Housing and Building Department, the Regional Development Department, the Department of Migration, Minority and Saami Affairs, the Department of Local Government and the Department of Planning and Administrative Affairs. Furthermore, the Ministry holds a number of subordinate institutions and agencies. Among the largest and best-known of the agencies administered by the Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development are the

Norwegian State Housing Bank, the Directorate of Immigration and the Directorate of Labour Inspection.

With regard to spatial development, the Regional Development Department and the Department of Local Government are of interest.

The Regional Development Department is the main actor within the Ministry and Norway as a whole and has the overall responsibility for regional policy. The Department is responsible for the administration of measures at regional and district level directed towards county and local authorities, industry and the research community. Its main strategy centres on the creation of sustainable and profitable employment in all parts of the country, based on the special characteristics and needs of each region. The Regional Development Department is also responsible for the co-ordination of regional policy with other areas of government policy which have a bearing on the economic conditions and quality of life in outlying districts. This includes, for example, the labour market, communications, agriculture, fisheries, education, research, etc.

The Department of Local Government is also of importance in the field of spatial development, as it embraces five main spheres of responsibility: local government finance – co-ordination of government measures relating to county and local municipalities – legal matters and the interpretation of legislation concerning municipalities – municipal boundaries – administration of elections. The Department is, for instance, responsible for development of financial management and the legal framework at county and local level. Furthermore, the Department oversees the distribution of revenues between local and county municipal authorities and is responsible for the development and implementation of the revenue system through which government grants are distributed between county and local municipalities.

NIBR - Norwegian Institute for Urban and Regional Research

NIBR is a national centre dedicated to applied local and regional research but which also carries out research into areas associated with the management of the environment. The centre has basically two national competence centres under its aegis: the EIA Centre (The Centre for Research and Development on Environmental Impact Assessment) and the Planning Centre (The Network Centre for Research Associated with the Planning and Building Act).

As regards the Planning Centre, its main tasks lie in the field of dissemination of information for administration and the research society. Furthermore it is active in the field of monitoring and assessments according to the Planning and Building Act.

Regional level

County planning was introduced by an amendment of the Building Act in 1973, according to which each county is to prepare its own county plan, consisting of the objectives and long-term guidelines for development. The planning is carried out by the planning authority at county level which has an elected county council as its responsible body. In addition the *fylkesmann*, who is an appointed regional representative of the Norwegian government, has a function in regional planning.

Regional planning is clearly of political nature and needs to be tied to popularly elected bodies (NOU 2001:7).

County Council (fylkesting) and
County Municipality (fylkeskommun)
Norway is divided into 19 counties. The main responsibilities handled at county level are education, health, job market, vocational training, cultural affairs, communication and regional planning and development. The three last mentioned are seen as important regarding spatial planning.

The county councils are popularly elected regional instances holding the responsibility for regional planning and development. As planning at regional level is only to a minor degree understood as physical planning, no clear distinction between planning and development is made.

Anyway, the county municipalities, which are the county administrative organs, play a central role in matters of regional policy. On the basis of existing plans (County Plan and Economic Strategy Plan), county municipalities work together with other bodies concerned, at county level and on an annual basis, to produce regional development programs setting out how the available support funds are to be used in those counties. These programmes, which cover funding for organisational measures as well as support for businesses, are submitted to the Ministry for Local Government and Regional Development for approval. In general, when the programme is represented in the county, its activities have to be in line with the programme strategy. In addition, the County Municipalities are also responsible for the administration of certain regional development funding which is not included in the regional development programmes.

Four aspects which limit the regional development activities of county municipalities can be identified, however (NOU 2000:22):
- The county plan in practice has only very limited binding effects.
- The county municipality has only a relatively slight influence through its industrial policy instruments.

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- The central state has, through road administration, most of the instruments connected to public infrastructure at its disposal.
- The regional arm of the central state and not the county municipality holds the main responsibility for solving problems in the field of land-use and environment which extend over municipal borders.

Following recent debates on the administrative organisation of Norway (NOU 2000:22, St.meld. nr 31, 2000-2001) some of these obstacles may be removed in the future. An important factor, however, is enduring democratic anchorage and publicly elected bodies at regional level. Even today, the county municipalities are subject to the county councils.

County Governor
(Fylkesmann)

The county governor is the highest representative of the Norwegian government at county level, inter alia he or she is to elucidate steering-signals/goals of the government and ensure that departments and public administrations in the county are working according to these goals. According to § 13 of the Planning and Building Act responsibilities in the field of spatial planning have been transferred from the ministries to the County Governor who is also responsible for providing technical expertise for the municipalities and the County Council. For the County Governor has several departments dealing with questions of municipalities and co-ordination, social and family matters, security preparedness, environmental protection, agriculture and maps. All of these departments are to ensure that national public bodies fulfil their obligations to provide assistance in the planning process.

The county governor has control of most of the funds for rural development which are an integral part of the agricultural policy instruments. The aim is to use these funds to develop profitable workplaces in agriculture-related industries. Good interaction between county authorities, the county governor and the local office of the Norwegian Industrial and Regional Development Fund will bolster efforts to achieve an effective commercial and industrial development (St.meld. nr 29, 1996-s97e:9).

A number of county routines have been established which bring the most important regional authorities together in a planning forum for discussing regional planning topics of importance. (NOU 2001:36. This is in keeping with the trend of fragmenting and subsequently neglecting sector co-ordinating comprehensive planning at regional and local level, while planning capacity and resources are increasingly engaged in sector programme planning activities. (Amdam 2001:175)

Municipal level

Norway was among the first countries in Europe to establish an institutional framework for local self-government in cities, townships and rural areas when it adopted the Municipal Acts in 1837. (Rose 1996:159) Although Norway is quite small in terms of population, geographic and socio-cultural factors have contributed to a strong and active periphery. This has also resulted in fairly robust local authorities; even during over four centuries of Danish rule (1380-1814), certain forms of local self-government existed, mainly in the population centres.

Today local government in Norway still enjoys a fairly strong position, although Norway is an unitary state, with local government depending, from a formal point of view, on delegated state authorities. The central government sets broad goals and structural frameworks, while local authorities find the means to achieve the goals. In the Local Government Act of 1992, the idea of separate and autonomous spheres of government is replaced by the idea of integration and common goals at all levels of government. (Larsen and Offerdal 2000:193)

> Indeed, even if municipal acts were passed at an early stage, the institution of local government was not mentioned in the Constitution of 1814, and has, despite various suggestions, never been written into it. This is something which sets Norway apart from the other Nordic countries (as well as many others). (Larsen and Offerdal 2000:187)

The focus is not so much on local government as an institution representing important values, but rather on local government as an instrument to be used by the state in order to implement national policies. Rose (1996) describes Norwegian local self-government as characterised by "continued national integration" as regards the identification of overall policy goals, and "increased local autonomy" as regards the appropriate means for implementation. An example of such is the Norwegian welfare state system. The central government gave local governments the most important role in implementing national welfare policies and, as local authorities became agents for welfare state polices, their activities and budgets increased significantly. In 1990, more than 60 per cent of public employees worked for local governments. This strong emphasis on public administration at the local level is in contrast to the central government authorities exercising dominant control over most sources of local government income, and even having possibilities to intervene in local budgetary and investment decisions. (Rose 1996:222) Thus municipalities are mainly an important actor in the national top-down policy structure, and their legitimacy is rather linked to how well they

execute national aims, such as welfare state services, than to their capacity to mobilize local political power. In this context Amdam points out, with reference to Hansen et al. (2000), that municipalities "do not seem to be inspired to use long-term strategic master planning to regain some of their lost legitimacy as bottom-up actors in regional policy" (Amdam 2001:175).

Among the reasons for the central guidance of local government are e.g. concerns about a fair distribution of public goods across regions and groups (Everyone, wherever they live in Norway, should enjoy the same living conditions.), as well as concern about the impact of local government finances in the macro-economy of the country as a whole. (Larsen and Offerdal 2000:196) The degree of central guidance may, however, be reduced in the future, when it fulfils its stated intentions regarding the new division of labour (St.meld. nr 31, 2000-2001) and proceeds from a detailed control of municipalities to a system of framework control.

In the field of spatial planning, the Planning and Building Act gives municipalities an important role as planning authority. The municipalities are in charge of spatial planning for their own territory, which implies that they are to carry out cross-sectoral societal (*sammfunnsplanning*) and land-use planning. (NOU 2001:38) According to Norwegian law, there are three types of plans the municipality is responsible for: Master Plan, Local Development Plans and Building Development Plans. These plan are to be the basis for planning, administration and development of the municipalities. They do affect the municipality itself, and regional and central state activities within the territory of the municipality.

Counties and municipalities should not be seen as a system where the municipalities are subordinated to the counties;instead, the relationship between the levels reflects a division of responsibilities and task. (Mønnesland and Naustdalslid 2000:65) Accordingly, municipal plans neither add up to nor are derived from any kind of national or regional plans.

Heading for a new division of labour?

In 1998 a committee on the division of tasks and responsibility within the Norwegian administrative system was established. In the year 2000, the committee presented its findings in the NOU 2000:22 on division of labour between central state, regions and municipalities. It takes the point of departure for a discussion of a division of labour in considerations about the users, local self-governance and participation, as well as in

national goals. Furthermore, seven principal guidelines for a division of labour have been formulated (St.meld. nr 31, 2001-2000:104):

- Tasks are to be solved at the lowest possible effective tier.
- Tasks which need the involvement of local politics and values are to be assigned to publicly elected organs, namely municipalities or county municipalities.
- Tasks which, for whatever reason, should not be influenced by local politics and are characterised by standardisation, rule-orientation and control should be the responsibility of the central government.
- The central government shall be responsible for tasks which need central decisions and comprehensive national action.
- Tasks which need co-ordination and/or tasks which have broad contact-clusters with each other should be located within the same administrative organ.
- Tasks which need a high degree of co-ordination of users, should be located within the same administrative organ.
- An authority with responsibility and decision-making competence for tasks should also have the responsibility for financing and problem solving.

Based on these premises, the committee has evaluated the county municipalities regarding their democratic arena, service production and function as regional development actors. In conclusion – especially with regard to the county municipalities' role in regional policy – a discussion on the reorganisation of Norway's division into counties and their size and shape is necessary. Today's division corresponds neither to industry and settlement patterns nor to the societal structures. This may have limiting effects on the regional development work of county municipalities. More functional and powerful regions could strengthen the regional policy potential county municipalities have.

The Committee has finally developed four models for regional organisation as alternatives to the recent situation (NOU 2000:22). According to these models today's 19 county municipalities should be replaced by

- five to seven macro-regions, with increased responsibilities and publicly elected steering organs, the Macro-Regions Model (*Landsdelsmodellen*);
- ten to fifteen regions with a stronger role in regional development and a publicly elected council – the Development Model (*Utviklingsmodellen*);
- ten to fifteen regions with a stronger role in regional development and a number of special services which today lie with the central

state, controlled by an indirectly elected council – the Development Model without hospitals (*Utviklingsmodellen uten sykehus*);
- an administrative organisation which is only based on the central state and municipalities – the two-tier model (*Tonivå-modellen*).

Only time will tell to what degree this new division of labour is going to actually change spatial planning in Norway and whether a reduction in the number of counties will be achieved. Anyway, after the national election in autumn 2001, the entire debate is about to start over again and may take new directions.

Norwegian Planning Instruments and Policies

Given the current state of spatial planning in Norway, there are still planning instruments and policies at three tiers. Interesting the weakening of planning aspects at national level and the approach to regional planning which in the beginning was close to sector co-ordinating spatial planning but over time got more sector-oriented.

National level

The main instrument for policy-making at central state level are the so called reports to the *Storting* (national assembly) which are similar to White Papers. In the field of spatial planning and development it is mainly the Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development and the Ministry of Environment which submit such reports to the *Storting*. Bascilly three different strands or series of *Storting* reports are of interest: the reports on regional planning and land-use policy, the reports on regional policy and the reports on environmentally policy.

Report to the Storting on regional planning and land-use policy
(Stortings melding om regional planlegging og arealpolitikk)

Twice, in 1993 and in 1997, the government has submitted a report on regional planning and land-use policy to the *Storting*. These reports were prepared by the Ministry of Environment and formed, together with the comments of the government, a policy guideline for regional and local planning Norway. Both reports were co-ordinated with the simultaneously submitted report to the *Storting* on regional policy, prepared by the Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development (KDR). For the year 2001 it was, however, decided not to accompany the report submitted by KDR with a report to the *Storting* on regional planning and land-use policy. Whether this will be the case again in 2004 is not foreseeable at the moment.

In the 1993 report an overall review of land-use policy in Norway was undertaken for the first time. In the 1997 report particular emphasis was placed on ensuring improvement in the implementation of the

Planning and Building Act, and on adaptation to new knowledge and new needs. This report is conceived as a link between the overall goals of the government, as presented in the long-term programme, and planning activities as regional and local level.

Report to the Storting on regional policy
(Stortings melding om distrikts- og regionalpolitikken)
Since 1993, the Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development has presented a report on regional policy to the *Storting* every fourth year. In this report Norwegian regional development is analysed and the national aims and strategies for regional policy are presented, as are regional development programmes. In the 1993 report the main focus was on collaboration between towns and rural areas, whereas the 1997 report emphasizes the development of robust regions in all parts of the country. The 2001 report emphasises again the development of robust regions and the collaboration between urban and rural areas, as well as economic competitiveness with focus on development of specialised knowledge.

The 2001 report also refers to both to the ESDP and CEMAT's Guiding Principles in a special section on international development tendencies in the field of regional development. Furthermore, inspired by the ESDP process, scenarios for Norway's four macro-regions have been developed and integrated into the report to the *Storting*.

The recent report, as well as all the preceding reports, centres on the overall goal of Norwegian regional policy: maintaining the existing overall settlement pattern and equal living conditions in all parts of the country.

Report to the Storting on environmental policy and the environmental
(Stortings melding om regjeringens miljøvernpolitikk og rikets miljøtilstand)
In 2000 it was decided that the government should each year submit a report on environmental policy and the environmental situation to the *Storting*. The Ministry of Environment prepares these reports. The first report was submitted in 1999 and was followed up by a supplementary report in the year 2000. In 2001 a report was submitted which is more precise in its analysis of the environment, the government's policy aims and instruments. The very first sentence of this report states that the government intends with this report to firmly install the ecological

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perspective as the base for policyformulating in all societal areas/sectors (St.meld. nr 24, 2000-2001: 9).[85]

Prior to these annual reports the Ministry of Environment presented a number of reports on environment and development to the *Storting*. One, in 1989, followed up the World Commission Report on Environment and Development (WCED 1987), and another in 1993, reported on the UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro held in 1992. A third report in 1997 had no such international angle, but instead summarized the results of environmental policy since the first two reports were presented.

> In the Report to the Storting the Government provides a survey of the key environmental challenges that business and industry and consumers are facing and urges action. The need for public environmental protection regulations will depend in part on the extent to which business and industry seek to be ahead of development in this area, on its own initiatives and on the basis of long-term self-interest. (St.meld. nr 58, 1996-97e:14)

Apart from these policy documents the central state level also has a number of other means to influence spatial development and spatial planning.

Although the planning task lies with the municipalities the state has the last word in cases of conflicts, etc. Therefore the central state administration currently has a number of instruments for influencing and interfering in planning at local level. Apart from legislation, including various sector laws, there are a few planning instruments at central state level, which are however, only rarely used.

National Policy Guidelines
(Rikspolitiske retningslinjer)
National Policy Guidelines comprise the entire country and sum-up and concretise policies which concern several ministries. The Ministry of the Environment can use them for focusing on certain policy fields or priorities, e.g. regarding the co-ordination of transportation planning and land-use planning.

National Policy Provisions
(Rikspolitiske bestemmelser)
With this instrument, the Planning and Building Act, gives the central government the opportunity to define objectives and frameworks and

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[85] "Regjeringen vil med meldingen om Regjeringens miljøvernpolitikk og rikets miløtilstand vektlegge det økologiske perspektivet som grunnlag for politikkutformingen på alle områder i sammfunnet." (St.meld. nr 24, 2000-2001:9)

issue guidelines for the physical, economic an social development in municipalities and counties. Thus the provisions form a general framework for the development in an area. They are binding and have to be taken into consideration when planning according the planning and building act. This instrument has e.g. been used regarding the planning of a shopping centre.

Regional level

The Norwegian regional level has been the subject of extensive debate during the last few years. (Aalbu 2000, NOU 2001:7, NOU 2000:22, St.meld. 31, 2000-2001) Regional planning is meant to be the connecting element between the central state and municipalities, and thus to solve planning and development tasks which need co-ordination and co-operation beyond municipal borders. According to the Committee on local and regional planning, today's regional planning is not sufficient to accomplish this task. (NOU 2001:7) In this light, some of the actors argue for a stronger regional level when it comes to planning, as solving of societal tasks needs more co-operation beyond municipal borders. (NOU 2001:7)

At regional level two different plans are prepared by the county councils. A county plan produced at four-year intervals, which is mainly a policy document on the development of the county, and a yearly regional development plan (or programme) which describes the use of different types of regional development funding. Regarding the question of how these two planning instruments relate to one another, Mønnesland and Naustdalslid (2000) wrote:

> The four-year plans, drawn up in accordance with the Planning and Building Act and administrated at central level by the Ministry of Environment, set the general framework, while the yearly Regional Development Plans confirmed by the MLR [Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development] can be regarded as an operative adaptation within the general plan. (Mønnesland and Naustdalslid 2000:68)

County Plan
(Fylkesplan)
Each county shall prepare its own county plan, which is primarily a policy document for the development of the county. According to PBL § 19-1, county planning is to co-ordinate the physical, economical, social and cultural activities of the state, county and the municipalities in the

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county.[86] In the same paragraph it is clearly pointed out that a county planis to be based upon the economic conditions for accomplishment of its objectives.

A county plan consists in (1) a statement of the over-arching goal, (2) long-term guidelines for the development of the county and (3) an action plan which indicates how the goals shall be reached regarding state and county sector activities. The action plan shall also cover the municipal sectors as far as matters of major importance to the county or large parts of it are concerned. (§ 19-1 PBL)

The county plan is mainly a policy document and as such it shall form the basis for county activities and serve as guideline for municipal and national planning activities in the county. According to this, the main role is to formulate common goals and objectives for social and economical development in the county. The plan is approved by the Ministry of Environment. It should be kept in mind, however, that a county plan is not legally binding in the same sense as municipal plans regulating land use are.

> Experience with county planning has shown that the action programme part of the plan is the weaker element, and that the county plans have only been moderately effective in actually directing development in the counties. (Naustdalslid and Tombre 1997: 27)

In order to improve county planning as an instrument for regional development, Regional Development Programmes were introduced as a new element in county planning.
According to the Planning Act Committee (NOU 2001:43), the county plan is the most important instrument for regional planning and its relatively weak function should be strengthened by a broader process orientation. The committee is rather hesitant towards considerations to make at least some parts of the county plan binding.

Regional Development Programmes
(Regional utviklingsprogram)
Regional Development Programmes were introduced in 1995 and gradually developed in scope up to 1998 (Mønnesland and Naustdalslid 2000:64). The Regional Development Programmes are drawn up by the county council on a yearly basis. These plans describe the use of different types of regional development funding. Only after their approval by the

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[86] Origin text: "Fylkesplanleggning skal samordne statens, fylkeskommunens og hovetrekkene i økommunes fysiske, ekonomiske, sosiale og kulturelle virksomhet i fylket."

Ministry of Local and Regional Development are allocations made available.

Municipal level

Beside being important management tools, municipal plans as well as county development plans are used to promote national interests in different areas, e.g. for commercial and industrial policy. (St.meld. nr 29, 1996-97e:9)

Municipal Master Plan
(Kommuneplan)

Each municipality is supposed to prepare a Municipal Master Plan which consists of a long-term and a short-term component. The long-term component sets out goals for the development of the municipality and guidelines for sector planning and deals with land use to enable management of land and other natural resources. The short-term component comprises an integrated programme of action for sector activities for the next few years. This part of the plan concerning land is legally binding, while other parts of the plan provide the political framework within which the municipality is to prioritise its activities, although they are not as such legally binding.

Once during each four-year election period, the Municipal Council is supposed to evaluate the Master Plan as a whole and decide whether it is necessary to change the plan in any way. Before adopting the plan, any objections raised by the county municipality or national expert authorities concerned have to be taken into account, otherwise the plan is sent to the Ministry of the Environment for approval.

Local Development Plan
(Reguleringsplan / detaljplan)

For areas where the Municipal Master Plan prescribes that development may take place only in accordance with a Local Development Plan, such a plan must be prepared. Local Development Plans must also be prepared for areas where major building and construction work is undertaken, and when buildings have been destroyed the need of drawing up a plan is to be discussed.

Building Development Plan
(Bebyggelsesplan)

When it is required, according to the Master Plan or the Local Development Plan, as a basis for local development, a Building Development Plan is prepared. This plan establishes land use and design of buildings, installations and associated outside areas within a limited

area. It may supplement or alter a Local Development Plan or Master Plan referring to land use.

Sweden

Swedish Actors in Spatial Planning

After having discussed the Swedish Model and the familiar character of decision-making in corporatist policy communities, a more detailed look at the various actors may help to provide additional understanding of the planning constellations we find in Sweden. Because of the illustrated dualism between planning and development, at national level actors from both sectors are presented. There is almost no regional planning as the actors presented at regional level focus mainly on development tasks. In terms of physical planning, the local level is of major importance.

National level

As illustrated above Sweden is a decentralised central state with considerable power at central government level. In the case of spatial development policies these powers are mainly related to regional policies and environmental policies, as physical planning lies under the local planning monopoly. As a consequence of de-politicisation tendencies in policy-making, the ministries are not the sole responsible actors, a number of national boards carry out important tasks. This section concentrates on the roles of ministries and national administrative boards respectively.

Ministry of Environment
(Miljödepartementet)
The Ministry of Environment was established in 1987. In 1991 when the Ministry of Housing was disbanded, physical planning issues were transferred to the Ministry of Environment. The Ministry's objectives in the field of physical planning are to work for proper land use and good management of land and other natural resources, mainly in relation to use of land and construction issues, management of natural resources, environmental protection, nature conservation, waste management, public waster and sewage systems. After the demise of the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Environment has also handled European planning issues, such as e.g. the ESDP. These tasks were, however, later on transferred to the Ministry of Industry, Employment and Communications. Thus today the main emphasis in tasks related to spatial development policies lies on physical planning and sustainable development.

The Ministry operates essentially by organising the investigation of different problem areas, by proposing legal and other improvements

based on these investigations and recommendations, by issuing regulations and orders, by taking decisions in single cases and by proposing and partly deciding on the allocation of funding. The actual implementation of action is mainly carried out by other actors.

Ministry of Industry, Employment and Communications
(Näringsdepartementet)

The overall aim of the Ministry of Industry, Employment and Communications is to create conditions for improved welfare and increased employment. With regard to spatial development policies, the Ministry is e.g. responsible for regional development, growth of urban areas and transportation. As far as activities in the field of regional development are concerned, it handles the above-mentioned Regional Growth Agreements, regional funding schemes, the EU Structural Funds, Interreg etc. Swedish participation in the European spatial policy debate is also the responsibility of this section. The urban policy section is mainly concentrated on improvement of living conditions in urban agglomeration areas, namely the Stockholm Region and to some degree also Gothenburg and Malmö. Apart from improving conditions for economic growth, social tasks and especially social segregation are major issues. The transport policy aspects aim mainly at guaranteeing that transportation services and infrastructure are provided for the citizen and industry in a macro-economically effective and long-term-oriented sustainable manner.

The National Board of Housing, Building and Planning
(Boverket)

The National Board of Housing, Building and Planning (*Boverket*) is the central agency of the Swedish government for planning, urban development, building and housing. It is active on behalf of Parliament and the Government and in co-operation with others actors in the field. Its mandate is to:
- ensure good housing and a built environment with homes at reasonable costs;
- contribute to effective, safe, healthy and environmentally sound building. This applies to both new construction and the management of the existing stock;
- aim at sustainable use of land and water and the physical environment, both from Swedish and in European perspectives.

The board has been a central actor in Sweden's participation in Interreg and ESDP activities. During recent years, its focus is, however, increasingly on physical planning aspects and not so much on spatial

development issues. Together with NUTEK, it forms the national ESDP secretariat mentioned above.

Swedish Business Development Agency
(NUTEK- Verket för näringslivsutveckling)
Before a reorganisation of central state administration in the beginning of year 2001 *NUTEK* was the Swedish National Board for Industrial and Technical Development. In its new shape *NUTEK* is called the Swedish Business Development Agency. The tasks of the new *NUTEK* lie in the field of supporting entrepreneurship and improving the conditions for economic growth in Sweden. It is to contribute to growing business activities through funding and business development, advising services, information, network building and knowledge. This also includes regional and spatial development policies. Thus *NUTEK* has taken over parts of *Boverke*t's mandate in the field of Interreg and ESDP process and together with *Boverket* it forms the national ESDP secretariat mentioned above.

Swedish Institute for Growth Policy Studies
(ITPS - Institutet för tillväxtpolitiska studier)
ITPS is a Government Agency founded on 1 January 2001 by the Swedish Parliament. Personnel transferred from *NUTEK, SIR*[87] and *Statt*[88] conclude work in progress. It is responsible for policy intelligence, evaluation and various areas of official statistics.

Its main task is to provide a superior knowledge base for a forward-looking growth policy. Growth policy is defined as any policy designed to increase wealth in the country by creating better opportunities for individuals to improve their skills and know-how and for business to grow. Formulating growth policy requires in-depth understanding of how growth is created and what factors adversely affect growth.

Thus, *ITPS* provides support material to help policy makers formulate policies for economic growth.

Regional level

The particular blend of state agencies, directly elected institutions and municipal associations at the regional level is a distinguishing feature of the Swedish regional level. The lack of clear-cut separation of functions between regional state authorities and the county councils, the tendency for regional state agencies to prefer

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[87] *SIR (Institute för Regional Forsking)*, the Swedish Institute for Regional Research, was a government research institute for regional policy and was merged into ITPS in year 2001.
[88] *Statt (Sveriges Tekniska Attachéer)*, Sweden's Technical Attaches, are based at a number of Swedish ambassy and merged formally into ITPS in year 2001.

geographical divisions other than the counties, and the overlapping competences between different actors in several policy fields, for instance, in regional development, all contribute to producing unclear and probably inefficient decision-making structures. In Sweden we tend to call this "blend" "the regional muddle". This fragmented structure also represents a democratic problem in terms of political responsibility and accountability. (Ehn 2001:2)

At regional level Sweden is divided into 21 counties, all of which have a county administrative board and a county governor. 18 counties have county councils, two of them are regions and one county consists in a municipality alone.

County Administrative Board
(Länsstyrelsen)
The County Administrative Board is an institution that has existed since 1624 and is the most prominent state authority at regional level. It functions as both a regional branch of the national government – for assuring that national objectives have an impact at county level – as well as representing county interests in national decision processes – for promoting the county development. It is, however, placed directly under the government. The tasks of the County Administrative Board include regional development, planning, transportation, education, agriculture, health care, environmental protection, cultural conservation and civil defence.

    With regard to spatial planning its tasks focus on fulfilling three different functions:
- Service function:
  advising municipalities and other authorities which deal within the field of land and water utilisation and even preparing background information and materials for them;
- Co-ordination function:
  representation and co-ordination of state interests within local (planning) decisions;
- Supervision function:
  examination of municipal planning decisions and building permits in appeal cases and for guaranteeing that national interests and laws are taken into consideration sufficiently.

County Council
(Landsting)
The County Councils form the democratic counterweight to the Country Administrative Board. Whereas the County Administrative Board is appointed by the national government, the County Council is an elected

assembly. The County Council and its administration are responsible for joint tasks in a county; these are mainly medical care, but they may also be responsible for public transport and regional development.

In organisational terms the County Council is an element of the local self-government and thus a form of municipality which implies that they have a right of taxation, etc.

The section on the regional pilot projects has illustrated that these structures are currently under discussion and in the four pilot regions the division of responsibilities differs from the one given here.

As illustrated none of the regional actors is necessarily responsible for regional planning. This is certainly a consequence of the fact that there is no mandatory regional planning in Sweden. In cases concerning the use of land and water in several municipalities or if work on comprehensive plans need co-ordination, the central state government may – if asked by the municipalities involved – appoint a regional planning body. This body, which may be an existing municipal federation, will be responsible for regional planning for a fixed period of time. It should be borne in mind, however, that regional planning is only carried out in the region of Stockholm and here a special regulation on the Planning and Building Act states that the County Council is responsible for regional planning, which has no binding function towards the municipalities involved.

Municipal level

> Local self-government has a long tradition in Sweden. Its roots can be traced back a thousand years or more, long before the national state was founded in the Middle Ages. (Strömberg and Engen 1996:235)

The current division into municipalities came in Sweden, however, in 1862. As a result of this division, which was oriented on parishes, more than 2,500 municipalities were established. Out-migration trends from the rural areas towards the cities undermined the financial capacities of small municipalities, thus the number of municipalities was reduced to 1,388 by two reforms, one in 1952 and the other in 1962. After another reform in 1974 reducing the number of municipalities radically and making some minor changes afterwards, there are today 289 municipalities. These are governed by a politically elected council, and they are responsible for public work in many fields. As part of the decentralisation ambitions in the 1970s the central government successively transferred the responsibility for important fields of politics to the municipalities.

The principle of municipal self-government is of high importance in Sweden. It means that each municipality is entitled to decide matter of common concern to its residents and it also includes the right to levy taxes and charge for municipal services. Proportional income taxes of persons who are registered residents in the municipality are the main tax revenues, whereas taxation rates are fixed by the municipal council and the county council. The local income tax rates vary roughly between 25 and 35 per cent of taxable local income tax. Thus, an economic foundation exists for autonomous decision-making. Furthermore, the municipality may conduct public activities on a non-profit basis in order to provide services for its residents. On the other hand it may not engage in speculation and the charges made for a particular activity must not be aimed at returning a profit but should be based on the true cost principle. The municipality may promote enterprises in the locality through general measures such as infrastructure investments, from which all undertakings can benefit on equal terms.

The division of duties between central state and municipal level is a steady issue of debate when it comes to public sector organisation. The division has undergone a number of changes during the post-war period, e.g. almost all responsibility for schools up to and including upper secondary school was transferred to the local level during the 1950s and 1960s. The trends of deregulation have furthermore been accompanied by decentralisation tendencies where duties have been transferred from the central state level to the level of municipalities and counties. Strömberg and Engen (1996) underline that the general decentralisation and deregulation efforts are best expressed by the above-mentioned system of framework legislation, as well as a block grant system of local government finance.

Today, the tasks of municipal self-government include the fields of physical planning, housing and infrastructure building, waste and supply management, education (except higher education), welfare aid, fire brigade, culture, leisure activity provision, etc.

As mentioned above, Sweden has in principle a municipal planning monopoly, which implies that the municipality has primary responsibility for planning the use of land and water within a legal framework set and supervised by the national government. It is in the comprehensive plans that these intentions are set out. The planning monopoly is granted, however, under certain restrictions. Although the planning and building act gives local authorities responsibility for using the land and water within their area, the municipalities must consider national interests when drawing up their plans.

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Swedish Planning Instruments and Policies

Swedish planning or spatial development policy system is characterised by a high degree of sector orientation. Accordingly, there are no overall policy documents, neither at national nor at regional level. The only level having a clear strategic spatial approach is the local level. At national level we find regional and environmental policies which are developing toward a more comprehensive view. In addition there are the previously discussed sectoral development perspectives. At regional level, we find regional development aspects and, in the case of the county of Stockholm, also a regional plan. In general, the state of policy instruments tends to verify Aronsson's (1995) impression that the policy climate is characterised more by pragmatic realism than by a high utopian level.

National level

> Planning legislation, and other relevant laws, is the main policy
> instrument at the national level. (EC 2000:32)

In addition to the Planning and Building Act and the Environmental Code there are however, also governance bills etc which outline national policy. This is not the case as regards physical planning, but in the field of environmental policy there are yearly reports to the government and in the field of regional policy.

Government bill on regional policy
(Regeringens proposition 2001/02:4 – En politik för tillväxt och livskraft i hela landet)

In this government bill on a policy for economic growth and vitality for the entire country, the government[89] presents a proposal for a new policy field: regional development policy. The aim of this new policy field is formulated as ensuring well functioning and sustainable local labour market regions with good services in all parts of the country (Prop: 2001/02:4). To follow a territorial approach covering the entire country is rather new for Sweden, which previously focused on disadvantaged regions (regional policy) and direct support to enterprises.

In general, the strategy for achieving the aims of the new regional development policy is fivefold:
- steering of central state activities;
- clearer regional development responsibilities in some policy fields and an improved comprehensive perspective;

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[89] The exact title of this government bill is "En politik för tillväxt och livskraft i hela landet".

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- clear division of labour and responsibilities between central state and municipalities;
- learning programme as instruments for development;
- regional comparisons as a driving force for change;
- co-ordination between EU Structural Funds and regional policy;
- specifically directed measures.

The proposal put forward in the government bill is highly influenced by the European debate and also draws on the ESDP document.

Sustainable Sweden
(Hållbar Sverige)

Since 1998 the government has prepared an annual report to the parliament, which describes the effects of measure which have been taken on the process of adjustment to ecologically sustainable development. The report, entitled "Sustainable Sweden - a Progress Report on Measures to Promote Ecologically Sustainable Development", is presented in conjunction with the budget bill.

Apart from discussing the efforts made sector by sector the report underlines the necessity of integrating environmental concerns and resource management into decision-making in all sectors of society. The report for 2001 furthermore emphasises the European level and the ambition of the Swedish EU Presidency during the first half of 2001 to have an EU strategy for sustainable development adopted at the European Council in Gothenburg in June 2001. As mentioned above did Sweden succeed with this ambition.

A strategy for sustainable development is also under preparation at national level in Sweden.

As mentioned in the main text there are a number of sector studies on spatial development in Sweden which have been produced in the middle of the 1990s. The five major studies in this context are characterised here.

Sweden 2009
(Sverige 2009)

The National Board of Housing, Building and Planning (*Boverket*) published in 1996 its vision for the development of Sweden: *Sverige 2009*. This vision is a work commissioned work by the government, developed in co-operation with representatives from other sectors and involved various consultation processes. Since it originates in the physical planning sector, the study builds on the fact that physical infrastructure as well as human lifestyles take decades to change. Based on these assumptions it discusses the Swedish settlement pattern and

develops the idea of a "Strand of Pearls Network", as well as co-operation between rural and urban areas, biological diversity and regionalised national policies. In general the document refers to the national physical planning carried out in Sweden during the 1970s as its precursor. Indeed it is clearly rooted in the tradition of physical planning although it is to be seen in the light of the Swedish preparation for the more spatially oriented VASAB 2010 (Visions and Strategies Around the Baltic Sea) and ESDP work.

Landscape of renewal
(Förnyelsens landskap)

The National Rural Development Agency (*Glesbygdsverket*) published in 1997 policy proposals focusing on development in Sweden's rural areas: *Förnyelsens landskap*. The government asked the agency to prepare a proposal for measures to constitute a development-oriented policy for the sparsely populated rural areas. The report's point of departure is that the current spatial situation and regional policy are products of the industrial society which is viewed as one reason for rural out-migration. Accordingly the contradiction between urban and rural is an underlying issue throughout the entire report. Basically, local (below municipal) level and rural entities are seen as major factors for long-term sustainable development. Therefore, empowerment at this very local level is regarded a key issue. It is argued that an area-based policy further develops and clarifies the current ambition of regional policy to achieve a higher degree of sectorial co-ordination, to mobilise and make use of local commitment and local initiatives, and to enhance the "bottom-up" process of decision-making.

New directions in transportation policy
(Ny kurs i trafikpolitiken)

The Committee on Transportation (*Kommunikationskommittén*) published in 1997, together with its final report, a vision of a transport system of the future: *Ny kurs i trafikpolitiken*. This report was also commissioned by the government. The committee proposes that future transportation policy should aim at offering citizens and industry in all parts of the country good, environmentally friendly and safe transport supply/services which are macro-economically efficient and sustainable. A future transport system should contribute to economic and social development without making inroads on natural resources, destroying the natural environment or endangering human health. Based on these ideas of transport policy in an economic, environmental and social balance and embedded in a general welfare policy, the report discusses all traffic sectors individually

and develops both aims and principles for traffic policies in general and for the various individual traffic sectors. The environmental effects are also discussed for each traffic sector. A major emphasis is put on the internalisation of external effects of traffic through tax systems.

Sweden 2021
(Sverige 2021)
The Swedish Environmental Protection Agency (*Naturvårdsverket*) published in 1998 its view on opportunities to develop Sweden to a sustainable country within a modest period of time: *Sverige 2021*. This report is the only of one these five studies which has been elaborated on own initiative of the agency and thus is not commissioned by the government. The point of departure are long-term environmental aims defined by natural science or risk-analysis. Based on this the report deals with the structure of society, transportation, housing, water supply, agriculture, forestry, provisions, industry etc. Mainly two different visions are developed and discussed regarding their ecological, economic and social consequences. One is characterised by a shift towards spread structures and small-scale supply-areas. The other one is characterised by a development towards high specialisation, concentration and large scale supply-areas. Both pictures illustrate that major changes in society will be necessary for achieving sustainable development. This asks for both the backing of the society and cross-sectoral approaches, and it will only be possible in international co-operation.

Regions toward the year 2018
(Regioner mot år 2018)
The National Board for Industrial and Technical Development (*NUTEK*) published in 1997 an analytical background report for regional development tasks and national considerations: *Regioner mot år 2018*. The task put forward by the government was to analyse the regional development trends in Sweden based on county development strategies which had been elaborated earlier. The report focuses on Sweden's 108 local labour market regions and develops seven different types of such regions, a) metropolitan regions (Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö), b) regions holding a university or larger regions with university college, c) regions having regional centres and often also regional university colleges, d) industrial regions, e) service regions with smaller regional centres, f) minor, industrial regions and g) minor regions with a considerable part of labour force in the public sector. Three alternative scenarios illustrate that the major share of future increases in employment will take place in the first two types of regions. In general it is argued that

economic and social development depends on a well functioning division of labour between regions with varying preconditions, and high national growth forms the base for good development in the various parts of Sweden.

Regional level

The policy instruments at regional level focus mainly on regional economic development, which is a task of country administrative boards. As mentioned previously, regional planning is an almost unknown phenomenon in Sweden, apart from the region of Stockholm.

Regional Growth Agreements
(Regionala tillväxtavtal)

Regional Growth Agreements are a new instrument within regional industrial policy and aim at improved co-ordination of various policy sectors and increased regional adaptation. The overall aim is, however, to stimulate sustainable economic growth which contributes to more and growing enterprises and thus increased employment for both women and men.

In general it is the County Administrative Boards or the regional self-governance organs (Kalmar, Gotland, Skåne and Västra Götaland) who carry on the work regarding Regional Growth Agreement in their regions. Regional partnerships are the platform for that work. The composition of the partnerships varies from region to region. However state representatives, the private sector, municipalities and county councils are often key actors. The partners in a region come to an agreement to carry out together a three-year action programme for regional growth. This agreement, the Regional Growth Agreement, forms the base for negotiations with central state level. Apart from the partnership aspect, these Agreements are also pioneering new ground in Swedish regional policy, as they give more opportunities to the regional level to actually influence the spending of regional development funds in their region.

The first period of Regional Growth Agreements runs from year 2000 to 2002 and will be prolonged until the end of 2003. In the following period (2004-2007) the idea will be further developed and carried out under the title of Regional Growth Programmes.

Regional plan
(Regionplan)

In the Planning and Building Act there is a provision for regional planning understood as regional land-use planning on a voluntary basis. So, regional planning is not mandatory and once a regional plan has been

adopted it is non-binding and serves mainly as a framework document or co-operation platform.

Regional planning is only carried out in the region of Stockholm, where the County Council has a special obligation under the Planning and Building Act to act as a regional planning body. In general, on the request of the municipalities involved, the government can appoint a regional planning body, e.g. a regional association of local authorities, for a certain period of time.

Thus physical planning at regional level is mainly developed in the form of sector planning e.g. in the fields of road networks, traffic, location of schools, hospitals, etc. The planning is carried out by the actor holding the responsibility for the sector in question.

Municipal level

> An essential goal in the Swedish planning system is independent municipalities with responsibilities to pay attention to national objectives. (EC 2000:38)

When it comes to physical planning, the municipal level is actually the only planning level in Sweden. The two most commonly used planning instruments, regulated by the Planning and Building Act, are the comprehensive plan and the detailed development plan.

Comprehensive plan
(Översiktsplan)

In 1987, the Planning and Building Act was enacted and it stipulated that every municipality had a municipally extensive comprehensive plan. This plan is intended to guide decisions on land and water usage. It can also be extended to focus on smaller geographical areas, such as a city district or other population centres. Furthermore, the plan must reflect how the municipality intends to take national interests into consideration in accordance with national objectives, as expressed in the Environmental Code.

The plan has the status of a guideline and is thus neither for the public nor for the private sector binding. It must, however, be taken into consideration in decisions on the use of land and water. In fact, the decision-making bodies are obliged to relate how an application of the Environmental Code corresponds with the comprehensive plan in question. For every four-yearly election period, the municipal council is required to evaluate the plan and to decide whether it is necessary to change the plan.

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Detailed development plan
(Detaljplan)
The detailed development plan is used for the more detailed control of land use and development, primarily when the issues at hand are too complicated to deal with in a building permit. In contrast to the regional plan and the comprehensive plan, the detailed development plan has a strong legal status and determines more or less the right of building in areas where it is required and it is binding. A detailed development plan gives strongly protected building rights within the area but for only a limited period. The objectives of the plan are to secure orderly development at the right time and place, suitable land use, ample space for public places and consideration of needs for preservation and natural and cultural development.

GLOSSARY

Denmark

English	Danish
Committee on National Planning	Landplanudvalget
County	Amt
County Council	Amt (amtskommune)
Denmark	Danmark
European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP)	Det europæiske fysiske og funktionelle udviklingsperspektiv
Local plan	Lokalplan
Ministry of Environment and Energy	Miljø- og energiministeriet
Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs	By- og Boligministeriet
Ministry of the Interior	Indenrigesministeriet
Ministry of Trade and Industry	Erhvervsministeriet
(Strategic) Municipal plan	Kommuneplan
Municipality	Kommune
National planning	Landplanlægning
National planning directive	Landsplandirektiv
National planning perspective	Landsplanperspektiv
National planning report	Landsplanredegørelse
Nature and Environmental Policy Report	Natur- og miljøpolitisk redegørelse
Planning and Building Act	Planloven
Planning policy	Planpolitik
Region	Region
Regional Development	Egnsudvekling
Regional development plan	Egnsudviklingsplan
Regional development policy	Regional udviklingspolitik
Regional plan	Regionalplan
Regional policy	Regionalpolitik
Spatial Planning Department (at the Ministry of Environment and Energy)	Landsplanafdelning

Finland

English	Finnish	Swedish
Association of Finnish Local Authorities	Suomen Kuntaliitto	Finlands kommunförbund
Centre of Expertise Programme	Osaamiskeskusohjelma	Programmet för kunskapscentra
Committee for Rural Policy	Maaseutupolitiikan yhteistyöryhmä	Landsbygdspolitikens samarbetsgrupp
County / province	Lääni	Län
County administrative board (provincial state office)	Lääninhallitus	Länsstyrelsen
European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP)	Euroopan aluesuunnittelun ja aluekehityksen suuntaviivat	Det regionala utvecklingsperspektivet inom Europeiska unionen
Finland	Suomi	Finland
Government Programme for Sustainable Development	Hallituksen kestävän kehityksen ohjelman	Regeringens program för en hållbar utveckling
Joint master plan	Yhteinen yleiskaava	Gemensam generalplan
Land use and building act	Maankäyttö- ja rakennuslaki	Markanvändnings- och bygglagen
Local detailed plan	Asemakaava	Detaljplan
Local master plan	Yleiskaava	Generalplan
Ministry of the Environment	Ympäristöministeriö	Miljöministeriet
Ministry of the Interior	Sisäasiainminsteriö	Inrikesministeriet
Municipality	Kunta	Kommun
National Environmental Policy Programme 2005	Ymäristöohjelma 2005	Nationellt miljöprogram 2005

National land use goals	Valtakunnalliset alueidenkäyttötavoitteet	Riksomfattande målen för områdesanvändning
Region	Maakunta	Landskap
Regional Centre Development Programme	Aluekeskusohjelma	Utvecklingsprogram för regioncentra
Regional council (provincial federations)	Maakunnan liitto	Landskapsförbund
Regional Development Act	Laki alueiden kehittämisestä	Lagen om regional utveckling
Regional development programme	Aluekehitysohjelma	Regional utvecklingsprogram
Regional environment centre	Alueellinen ympäristökeskus	Regional miljöcentral
Regional joint municipal board	Kuntaryhmä/kuntayhtymä	Regional samkommun
Regional land-use plan[90]	Maakuntakaava (seutukaava)	Landskapsplan (regionplan)
Regional planning councils	Seutukaavaliitto	Regionplaneorgan
Restricted joint municipal federation (local joint municipal board) (local federation of communes)	Kuntayhtymä	Samkommun på lokal nivå
T&E centre - employment and business development centre	TE keskus - työvoima- ja elinkeinokeskus	TE center - arbetskrafts- och näringslivscenter

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[90] The Finnish planning systems uses two different terms, both are translated regional land-use plan. One of which is seutukaava which emerged in 1958 and exclusively focuses on physical planning. During the reforms in the 1990 his plan was replaced by maakuntakaava which has follows a broader approach and might also be understood as regional plan, even though the main emphasis lies on land-use aspects

Iceland

English	Icelandic
Building committee (Building and Planning Committee)	Byggingarnefnd (Byggingar- og skipulagsnefnd)
Iceland	Ísland
Industrial regional development agency	Atvinnuþróunarfélag
Institute for Regional Development	Byggðastofnun
Joint committee for planning of the central highlands	Samstarfsnefnd um svæðisskipulag hálendisins
Joint committee for planning the capital area	Samstarfsnefnd um svæðisskipulag höfuðborgarsvæðisins
Joint committee for regional planning	Samstarfsnefnd um svæðisskipulag
Local plan	Deiliskipulag
Masterplan for hydro and geothermal energy resources	Rammaáætlun um nýtingu vatnsafls og jarðvarma
Minister for Foreign Affairs	Utanrikisráðuneytið
Ministry for the Environment	Umhverfisráðuneytið
Ministry of Industry and Commerce	Iðnaðarráðuneytið
Municipal plan	Aðalskipulag
Municipality	Sveitarfélag
Planning Agency	Skipulagsstofnun
Planning and Building Act	Skipulags- og byggingarlög
Planning and building committee	Byggingar- og skipulagsnefnd
Planning and building tribunal	Úrskurðarnefnd skipulags- og byggingarmála
Planning committee	Skipulagsnefnd
Plans on land use at the national level	Áætlanir um landnotkun á landsvisu
Regional development plan at national level	Byggðaáætlun (á landsvisu)
Regional development plan for	Byggðaáætlun

individual regions

English	
Regional plan	Svæðisskipulag
Regional plan for central highlands	Miðhálendi Íslands, Svæðisskipulag 2015
Strategic regional development plan at national level	Stefnumótandi byggðaáætlun (á landsvisu)

Norway

English	Norwegian
Building Development Plan	Bebyggelsesplan
Committee on the division of labour and responsibility within the Norwegian administrative system	Oppgavefordelingsutvalget
County	Fylke
County chairman	Fylkesordfører
County council	Fylkesting
County administrative director (county administration)	Fylkesrådsmann
County governor	Fylkesmann
County municipality	Fylkeskommune
County plan	Fylkesplan
European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP)	Felles Europeisk planperspektiv
Land-use policy	Arealbrukspolitikken
Large/wide or broad Regional policy	Breie districts- og regionalpolitikken
Local Development Plan	Reguleringsplan (detaljplan)
Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development	Kommunal- og regionaldepartementet (KRD)
Ministry of the Environment	Miljøverndepartementet (MD)
Municipal Master Plan	Kommuneplan
Municipality	Kommune
Narrow or restricted/small regional policy	Smale districts- og regionalpolitikken
National Policy Guidelines	Rikspolitiske retningslinjer
National Policy Provisions	Rikspolitiske bestemmelser

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Norway	Norge
Planning Act Committee	Planlovsutvalget
Planning and Building Act	Plan- og bygningslov
Region	Region
Regional Development Programme	Regional utviklingsprogram
Regional planning	Regionale planleggingen
Report to the *Storting* on environmental policy and the environmental	Stortingsmelding om regjeringens miljøvernpolitikk og rikets miljøtilstand
Report to the *Storting* on regional planning and land-use policy	Stortingsmelding om regional planlegging og arealpolitikk
Report to the *Storting* on regional policy	Stortingsmelding om distrikts- og regionalpolitikken
Reports of the Government Commissions	Norges offentlige utredninger (NOU)

Sweden

English	**Swedish**
Comprehensive plan	Översiktsplan
County	Län
County Administrative Board	Länsstyrelsen
County Council	Landsting
Detailed development plan	Detaljplan
Environmental code	Miljöbalken
European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP)	Det regionala utvecklingsperspektivet inom Europeiska unionen
Ministry of Environment	Miljödepartementet
Ministry of Industry, Employment and Communications	Näringsdepartementet
Municipality	Kommun
National Board of Housing, Building and Planning	Boverket
Pilot regions	Försöksregioner
Planning and building act	Plan och byggloven

Region	Region
Regional development policy	Regional utvecklingspolitik
Regional Growth Agreements	Regionala tillväxtavtal
Regional industrial policy	Regional närings politik
Regional plan	Regionplan
Regional policy	Regionalpolitik
Reports of the Government Commissions	Statens offentliga utredningar (SOU)
Sweden	Sverige
Swedish Business Development Agency	NUTEK, Verket för näringslivsutveckling
Swedish Institute for Growth Policy Studies	ITPS, Institutet för tillväxtpolitiska studier

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Kari Pakarinen, Adviser for Regional Planning, Association of Local and Regional Authorities, (20 September 1999)

Harri Pitkäranta, Counsellor, Spatial Planning, Ministry of the Environment, (17 September 1999)

Pentti Tuovinen, Director, Strategic Planning, Uusimaa Regional Council, Helsinki Region (20 September 1999)

Iceland
Hólmfriður Bjarnadóttir, Research Fellow, Nordregio, Nordic Centre for Spatial Devleopment (28 March 2001)

Sigurður Guðmundsson, Head of division, National Economic Institute (2 March 2001)

Hrafn Hallgrimsson, Head of Division of Planning and Land use, Ministry of the Environment (1 March 2001)

Ásdis Hlökk Theodórsdóttir, Assistant director, National Planning Agency (2 March 2001)

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Iceland

Association of Local Authorities in Iceland (Sambands islenskra sveitarfélaga):
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Ministry of Industry and Commerce (Iðnaðarráðherra):
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Norway

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Norden

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    www.nordregio.se/spespn/welcome.htm

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Qualification: Diplom-Ingenieur Raumplanung (spatial planning), University of Dortmund, Germany

Present post: Research Fellow at Nordregio – Nordic Centre for Spatial Development, Stockholm, Sweden – Since January 1998.

Memberships: Member of the Board of the Swedish Society for Town & Country Planning (*förening för samhällsplanering, FFS*)

Previous employments:	1995-97	SFZ – Secretariat for Future Studies, Gelsenkrichen, Germany
	1992-95	Various practical trainings in several planning offices in Germany
Education:	1998-2002	Preparation of the doctoral thesis, University of Njimegen
	1997	Conclusions of the studies as Diplom-Ingenieur Raumplanung (spatial planning). Mark: very good.
		The final thesis on comparison of planning in Sweden and Germany was honoured by the German Academy for Regional Planning and Regional Research (ARL) with Förderpreis für Raum- und Umweltforschung 1998.
	1996/97	Seven months studies as exchange student at the Royal Institute of Technology (KTH) in Stockholm, Sweden.
	1992-97	Studies of spatial planning at the University of Dortmund, Germany
	1992	Abitur
Language knowledge:	German:	mother tongue
	Swedish:	very good written and spoken
	English:	good written and spoken
	Norwegian:	oral and written understanding
	Danish:	written understanding

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