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Governance in Regional Development Planning? Exploring the Danish Case

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Abstract

This paper is the result of an initial project aimed at exploring the conditions and opportunities for anchoring and implementing regional development planning in Denmark. The paper mainly adopts a descriptive position that focuses on a governance framework for planning and policy-making to further discuss strengths and challenges concerning regional development planning processes and strategies. The expected outcome of the paper is threefold: i. to describe and discuss a governance framework pointed toward regional development planning; ii. to delve into the current regional development planning situation in the Danish context, and iii. to establish a number of research questions aimed at determining further steps that could contribute in learning more about potential conditions and opportunities to anchor regional development planning.

Keywords: regional development planning; governance; networks; interaction; processes; collaboration.

Introduction

Regional development planning is a new phenomenon in the Danish planning system as well as in the strategic development of different parts of the country. It is a planning tool that is thought to ensure "future spatial development of cities and towns, rural districts and small-town regions...and for nature and the environment, business, tourism, employment education and culture" (Ministry of the Environment 2006). To foster

strategic development, the Danish governing structures and mechanisms have been shifted towards more network-oriented, consulting and dialogue-based settings and forms.

At the regional level, traditional top-down oriented policy and planning instruments have been removed and substituted by expectations, in particular from national authorities, that the new regions will be able to establish strategies and plans for regional development in collaboration and dialogue with a number of regional actors, especially the municipalities. This shift will certainly generate new conditions and opportunities for stakeholder participation under new governance settings.

The exercise of creating and implementing regional development planning in Denmark has only begun. Until now, many actors are still seeking to clarify and understand what regional development planning entails in practice and what it could actually become. Parallel to this situation, the question of 'governance' has come into play as an important condition involving the interaction of a wide range of public, private and civil society actors. Given the nature and scope of this new type of planning in the country, governance *per se* is thought to be a decisive factor in determining whether regional development planning will be able to succeed in the upcoming years. On this regard, a number of 'governance challenges' can already be identified, such as the capacity and effectiveness associated with interactive networks, the determination and adoption of new actors' roles, and the extent to which collective action problems that emerge from coordination, integration and legitimacy will not actually hinder the implementation of regional development planning processes.

The paper is structured as follows: The first section starts by offering a simplified version concerning a range of perspectives on the term 'governance'. The section then delves into a specific governance framework that is drawn from recent planning and policy-making literature. As such, this governance approach is thought to contribute in discussing the regional development planning case. The second section briefly describes the reformed Danish planning system, placing emphasis on the features and stakeholders involved in regional development planning. The third section applies the governance framework to the regional development planning case to portray stakeholder implications and challenges perceived at initial stages in the process. Finally, some research questions aimed at exploring current governance conditions in regional development planning are established in order to clarify future research steps. Overall, the paper is thought to comprise a first step toward reaching the fundamental objective of the project, which seeks to delve into the conditions and

opportunities for anchoring regional development planning among stakeholders who participate in its processes.

Approaches to Governance: Mapping the territory

Governance is nowadays a popular term. It is commonly used in a variety of ways that sometimes could result in different meanings. Plenty has been written and discussed concerning governance and what it entails, particularly across the fields that belong or are related to political and social disciplines. In the past decade, numerous authors developed important ideas and concepts that have resulted in the expansion of diverse governance conceptions. Some of their contributions have thereafter turned into established frameworks, such as Kooiman's "Governing as Governance" (2003), which depicted a solid array of elements, modes and orders of governance that clearly distinguish themselves from typical government structures.

The most common dictionary entry for the term 'governance' defines it as a synonym of 'government'. Another usual entry is "the act or process of governing". However, as normally conceived, governance rather refers to new ways of government or governing. In principle, the shift from government to governance is illustrated by the rise of a new vocabulary (Hajer and Wagenaar 2003), a phenomenon which has predominantly taken place during the past 10-15 years. On this regard, the fields of planning and policy-making make frequent use of terms such as 'network', 'dialogue', 'interaction', 'trust', 'responsibility' and 'learning', amongst many others.

In the current decade, the use of adjectives that precede the term 'governance' has somehow contributed to clarify the terminological muddle associated with its various conceptions. For instance, *deliberative* or *collaborative* are relevant in planning, particulary in its urban and regional dimensions (Hajer and Wagenaar 2003, Healey 2006). Others such as *multi-level* are used in studies concerning development (Narodoslawsky 2007). Moreover, the term *geo-governance* (*territorially-based* governance) has been proposed by Paquet (2001) as a framework based on social learning aimed at describing a bottom-up approach related to the strategic state. In

¹ For a study dealing with the different uses (and meanings) of governance, see Rhodes (1996).

² Stoker (1998) argues that the theoretical roots of governance are multiple in nature. Amongst them, he mentions the following: institutional economics, international relations, organizational studies, development studies, political science and public administration (p. 18).

³ Both governance definitions are found in The American Heritage College Dictionary (3rd edition, 1993) and the Merriam-Webster's Online Dictionary (2008).

the business and management literature, *corporate governance* is employed to describe processes and policies that have an effect on the way that a corporation is managed (Chapple and Ucbasaran 2007). And, more recently, *adaptive governance* has emerged as a model for the integration of science, policy and decision-making processes in the context of natural resources management (Brunner et al 2005).

Kooiman's (1993, 2003) socio-political approaches on governance seem to have influenced several authors across a number of fields. He places emphasis on *processes of interaction* between actors as well as the interdependencies that occur between them within a context of diversity, dynamics and complexity. His governance framework depicts elements, modes and orders of governance, all of which revolve around the concept of interaction. The type of interaction (i.e., interferences, interplays or interventions) that comes into play is what determines the mode of governance (self-governance, co governance, or hierarchical governance) that takes place within a specific context.

According to Rhodes (1996), governance could be perceived as "...self-organising, inter-organisational networks (...) that complement markets and hierarchies as governing structures for authoritatively allocating resources and exercising control and co-ordination". This view regards governance as the creation of networks that are comprised by diverse actors that belong to different sectors. The self-organising nature of such networks imples a certain degree of flexibility where the capacity of effective interaction between actors is of vital importance within the governance process. Rhodes's perspective on governance seems to be a widespread view in current debates. As such, it seems to be a rather open –yet accurate – definition to the extent that it does not depict governance as an alternative model to government structures. In this sense, it acknowledges the fact that governance processes undergo collective action problems that are potentially difficult to overcome.

Stoker (1998) argues that the outcomes that are generally sought by governance processes are essentially similar to those that governments desire to achieve. He perceives that the core value of governance is as a new *organising framework* which goes far beyond the structures of governments to achieve better results. In this sense, "governance implies a greater willingness to cope with uncertainty and open-endedness on the part of policy-framers" (Stoker 1998:23). Along these lines, Stoker places emphasis on the power-dependance nature of governance processes. Power dependence is thus always involved in the relationships between institutions. This is suggestive of collective action problems, which could imply either a limitation to governance processes or an opportunity to create new ways of interaction by acknowledging that

power is an inevitable -yet not necessarily negative- condition associated with governing mechanisms.

Narrowing the concept down to the regions, Fürst (2007) argues that governance is concerned with new modes of regional steering that require the collaboration of many regional actors, not only market-driven or political, but also voluntary associations, all of which work under different incentive systems and have different logics of action. This situation therefore stresses the need for delving deeper into network-like patterns of governance, as a series of unintended side-effects are prone to arise from regional governance practices. Fürst does view governance as a complement of governments. However, he raises awareness toward potential regional governance network implications that are commonly associated with collective action problems.

Furthering all these views, should governance go beyond open, horizontal, interactive networks? What is the reliability of such networks? Is it desirable that governance processes frame the interaction between actors? Or should governance also establish responsibilities for decision making and implementation? In an attempt to shed some light in answering these questions, a specific governance framework will be adopted to discuss the case of regional development planning in the following sections. This framework is predominantly inspired by the views of Hajer and Wagenaar (2003) regarding governance systems and practices in planning and policy-making. It has been chosen given that its concepts seem to match the position that has been adopted by the Danish planning system and, particularly, its regional development planning component.

A governance framework for planning and policy-making

Traditional top-down and hierarchically-oriented systems are sometimes unsuitable to handle challenges that occur within and between organisations. For instance, the different actors that normally participate in the planning and policy-making fields often face demands concerning increased fragmentation and complexity. Such demands can be illustrated by the rise of cross-sectoral and inter-sectoral problems. Cross-sectoral problems or challenges can arise when trying to coordinate complex endeavours between organisations that belong to different sectors (i.e., public, private and civil society). Similarly, inter-sectoral problems or challenges can occur when coordinating tasks between actors that belong to organisations within the same sector (e.g., in the interaction between municipal and regional levels of government). In addition, internal coordination or fragmentation challenges obviously emerge within

public entities and private organisations themselves. In response to this complex organisational situation, a range of governing structures and cooperative practices has emerged, all of which find a common foundation in networks, dialogue, trust, cooperation, flexibility and deliberation (amongst other 'well-intended features').

To a significant degree, the paragraph above seems to match the domains of planning and policy-making. Until recently, common practices in these fields were carried out by traditional hierarchical institutions through schematic top-down approaches reflected on regulations concerned with development and management matters. During the last 10-15 years, however, top-down and hierarchical steering and control seem to be changing into more open, horizontal, action-oriented, network-steering mechanisms. In other words, a shift from government to governance has been taking place, as several authors usually describe it. This claim is made under the impression that former government structures and practices are increasingly unable to cope with contemporary problems of rapid social, technological, and economic change.

In particular, this seems to be the case associated with regional development as well as spatial and land use planning. Planning and policy-making in this regard are now carried out via dynamic networks where deliberative, argumentative and communicative approaches have become central factors. This means that there seems to be an increased attention and reflexivity about clarifying expectations amongst planning actors. This situation can be illustrated by rather complex planning cases, such as in urban regeneration or development projects where municipal authorities, in cooperation with interest organisations, investors and citizen groups, tailor new planning and decision-making settings.

A normative focus on the interaction between actors throughout the planning process also contributes to better undestand these open and networking approaches toward solving collective planning problems. Stakeholder interaction should be based on joint responsibility as well as continuous performance-based, collective learning. This perception of mutual interdependence within participatory forms of planning stems from the need for increased cooperation and coordination across stakeholder interests to attain more efficient, enduring and comprehensive results. This necessarily requires an active and early involvement of actors outside public (planning) entities, which may often lead to the creation of self-organising institutions that are tailored to context, opportunities and problems.

The role of planners in these new types of networking and polycentric ways of dealing with planning issues is now being moved from an authoritative and regulatory position toward a more facilitating and process-oriented function. For example, planners working for a public unit (be it a municipality, regional council or national ministry) may no longer be required to draft initial plans or to gather information on their own for such a purpose. The way of preparing such plans has now become a task that calls for the early involvement of a wide range of stakeholders who participate throughout the process along with planning professionals (who ideally act as coordinators and deliberators).

The governance approach described above requires that all participating actors in planning and policy-making processes believe in constructive and synergistic effects that derive from their interaction. This type of governance also call for actors to rely on the opportunities to establish win-win solutions in the same kind of situations where this could not be possible. Practicing the intrinsic ideals of trust and consensus therefore becomes an essential and everyday task that stakeholders must hold on to throughout the whole planning process and thereafter during its implementation phases.

The paragraph above however raises important questions concerning how difficult it could be to attain governance in planning and policy-making. On the one hand, there are objections concerning the inherent ideals of mutual trust, equality and consensus; and on the other, the extent to which collective action problems that emerge from coordination, integration and legitimacy can be actually overcome. Furthermore, the act of 'governing' in most jurisdictions is still based on and practiced under schemes associated with traditional hierarchical institutions, namely governmental agencies, which have historically had authoritative and regulatory roles. Power has therefore been a crucial factor associated with public institutions. As governance demands for new ways of spreading power amongst actors, important challenges remain concerning the handling of power relations. An example is the relation between representative, pluralist forms of democracy and more market-oriented decision making systems, which is suggestive of a foreseeable paradigm clash.

Hence, it is important to become aware of the potential limitations to governance at an early stage in this project. Viewing governance as a supplementary approach to traditional government settings may be rather preferable than to envision it as a panacea for overcoming governing issues.

Regional development planning in Denmark

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) defines regional development "...as a general effort to reduce regional disparities by supporting (employment- and wealth-generating) economic activities in regions" (OECD 2008). As conceived nowadays, this definition implies a shift away from the former regional development view that stressed "redistribution and subsidies for lagging regions in favour of measures to increase the competitiveness of all regions" (ibid.). To seek regional development, the OECD currently stresses the need for a collective/negotiated governance approach that involves national, regional and local governments as well as other multiple actors. As such, this governance setting places emphasis on the fact that central governments should adopt less dominant roles (ibid.).

In accordance with the current OECD governance view, the new Danish planning system has largely reformed its governing structures and mechanisms. The processes that comprise them are somehow stepping aside from the strict use of traditional top-down schemes in favour of more open, horizontal and networking processes. Before a local government reform came onto effect in January 2007, the Danish planning system was characterised by a typical three-tier, top-down hierarchical structure. Based on the principle of framework management, the Planning Act of 2002 stressed that plans could not contradict planning decisions made at higher levels of government (Ministry of the Environment 2002a, 2002b). This meant that former regional counties acted as planning authorities above the municipalities.

Through regional plans, the counties were able to set limits to land use and development at the municipal level. The counties were each responsible for a regional plan that mainly aimed to restrict or distribute the overall land use in the county as well as to protect natural resources and the environment. As such, these former plans played a central role in the planning system. They were characterised as being powerful, comprehensive and technically-based planning outcomes. Moreover, regional plans were under the political control of the locally-elected politicians of the county and also had to be adapted to the central government's interests. While the professional standard of regional planning was widely recognised, municipalities and developers considered the character and strength of regional plans as a barrier to development and change. In addition, these same actors regarded regional plans as sometimes lacking visions and strategies (Tait and Hansen 2007).

The recent reform brought along a radical restructuring of the political and administrative map of Denmark. The former 14 counties were dissolved and 5 new regions were created. At the same time, 271 municipalities were merged into 98 new ones. These changes have had important implications on the management and planning of regional development matters. With the increased central government's focus on strengthening Denmark's role in the global economy, a new role for planning at the regional level was introduced. The regions are now part of a 'partnership strategy' aimed at supporting the central government's globalisation approach. The strong and technical land-use regulatory regime was dissolved and moved almost entirely away from the regional level. Most land-use responsibilities and competencies are now in hands of the municipalities and the central government. Through municipal plans, the municipalities should now undertake the task of linking national planning and the provisions of local plans on the use and development of each district and between national planning and the specific administration of rural zones (Ministry of the Environment 2007:18).

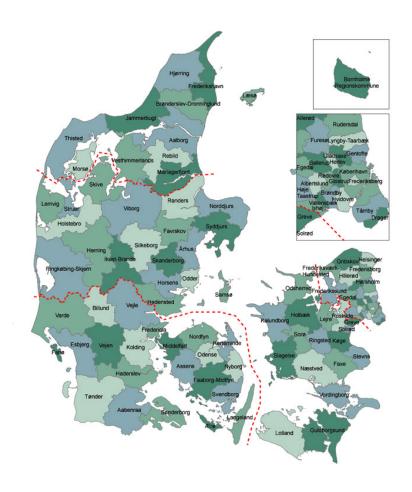


Figure 1. The new political map of Denmark

Together with the municipalities, the newly established regional economic growth fora (a public-private setting/institution aimed at assisting the preparation of new regional development plans and fund development projects) and other regional stakeholders, the new regional councils are now supposed to create the basis for a stronger and better coordinated regional effort for economic growth and sustainable development (Ministry of the Environment 2006). While this reflects a change away from land use planning towards more overall strategic and deliberative spatial planning at the regional level, it also reflects a change in rationale towards a more differentiated spatial planning that takes into account the regional differences in the prerequisites for economic growth in Denmark.

So regional development planning has now been incorporated into the Danish planning system as the new strategic and spatial development tool, which has come to substitute the former regional plans.⁴ Based on comprehensive assessments, regional development plans should "...provide an overall spatial strategy for the future spatial development of cities and towns, rural districts and small town regions (...) and for nature and the environment, business, tourism, employment, education and culture" (Ministry of the Environment 2006:22). Regional development plans are perceived as advisory products that stem from process-oriented, multi-stakeholder tasks that are undertaken by regional councils in close collaboration with municipalities, business growth fora, interest organisations, and other actors in each region (Ministry of the Environment 2007).

Within the regional development planning process, the regional councils should ensure coordination between municipalities while being in charge of the overall strategic development planning of the regions. The position that regional councils have adopted since the reform seems to match a 'facilitator' or 'deliberator' role, aimed at ensuring strategic balance amongst stakeholder interests and values while guiding the planning process. The national level public agencies concerned with planning have the expectation that the regional councils will be able to establish and pursue such strategies and plans.

Furthermore, regional development plans should also ensure cohesion with a number of plans and strategies prepared by other regional agencies. For instance, business development strategies prepared by Regional Growth Fora should be

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⁴ Current regional development plans are also known as 'regional spatial development plans'.

integrated within regional development plans. At the same time, other strategies should be in accordance with the them, namely the employment strategy, development strategies of local action groups, the Local Agenda 21 as well as plans and strategies for education, training and culture (Ministry of the Environment 2007).

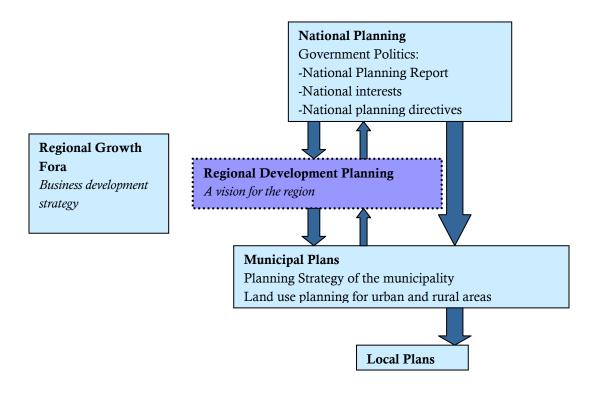


Figure 2. Denmark's planning system after the reform of local government structure on January 1st 2007

Governance conditions and challenges in regional development planning⁵

As discussed in the previous section, the changing landscape concerned with the planning domain in Denmark has generated a series of shifting conditions for managing regional development practices in the country. The case of regional

⁵ This section draws heavily from Hansen's (2007) recent empirical research published in Danish: "Regional Udviklingsplanlægning i Nordjylland: Vilkår og muligheder for forankring og ejerskab". The title's English translation is: "Regional Development Planning: The Creation of Ownership – The Case of North Jutland".

development planning *per se* can be generally perceived as an expression of recent western world changes in governing systems and cooperative practices. Nonetheless, the creation and implementation of the new regional development planning has just initiated in the emerging five regions during the latter part of 2006. Each region has started to develop and define its own process locally, without a clear orientation from the central government.

Each regional process has its own array of political, administrative and economic conditions. This situation makes it somewhat difficult to compare one another. Until now, it seems that the establishment of regional development planning has been a significant challenge to the role of many regional politicians and planners as far as the adoption of their own roles is concerned. The technically-oriented land use planning is now being substituted by a deliberative planning approach that lies in the application of rather interactive methods and ways of creating visions, strategies and plans. While earlier regional policies and plans could be settled in a confined political-administrative setting and with clear regulatory spatial planning instruments, regional councils are now forced to build their own legitimacy and coordinating role through cooperation and dialogue with a much wider range of actors (Tait and Hansen 2007).

Prior to the 'launch' of regional development planning in 2007, professional actors with an interest in the area thoroughly debated how to deal with this new type of planning. The point of departure among them was a general understanding that called for the need to develop new ways to pull stakeholders together in the same direction. The main tasks, expectations and challenges regarding regional development planning presuppose the establishment of continuous dialogue, mainly between the regional councils and the municipalities, but also including other relevant stakeholders. In doing so, a general understanding concerning interactive networks and local anchoring (via dialogue and mediation) of the regional development process were identified as key driving forces to thrive in the overall implementation of such planning.

Understanding interactive networks requires an understanding of new stakeholder roles and identities. The participatory roles that regional and municipal planning actors should adopt within the regional development planning process is an ongoing

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⁶ Several conferences, reports and other project-related activities have been oriented towards describing expectations and challenges concerned with regional development planning. Three actors were mainly involved in this processes: the Ministry of Environment, the former regional counties and Oxford Research (Hansen 2007).

resposibility and power-related challenge. Whereas the former regional *counties* used to have a more authoritative role, the new regional *councils* now have the responsibility to work toward anchoring regional development planning. The old issue concerned with the relationship between 'regulatory counties' and 'complying municipalities' has now been replaced by a new liaison between 'mediating councils' and 'decision-making municipalities'. This situation puts the regions in a position where they have yielded most of their previous decision-making power to the municipalities. Given the fact that the regional development planning process is still on its early phases, the question of whether the new regions will be able to cope with their new responsibilities under less power conditions is yet to be determined. Similarly, the question of whether municipalities will exercise their new power in a responsible manner is yet to be seen. At this point, it is important to ask what are the actual roles of actors involved in regional development planning; whether they comply with such roles; and even what their roles should be.

Closely linked with stakeholder roles is the particular challenge of creating of stakeholder identity. Again, focusing on both the new municipalities and the new regions, the creation of identity could be relevant as it is thought to influence the establishment of roles and also determine whether actors are able to carry them out throughout the planning process. Place identity is an important question comprised by the physical connection to a place and the creation of a sense of ownership (Hague and Jenkins 2005). New municipalities have been created via the merging of former municipalities. Similarly, new regions are the result of the amalgamation of new municipalities. As thousands of civil servants have recently moved offices to work with (in many cases) unknown counterparts in still 'alien' jurisdictions, the creation of place identity concerning both regional and municipal institutions could become decisive in triggering regional development planning processes. However, in practice, this is yet to be revealed.

Another regional and municipal stakeholder challenge is the building of trust, both within public organisational structures and towards their counterparts within and beyond sectors. The lack of formal authority or legitimacy at the regional level, in terms of strong regulatory and controlling instruments, creates uncertainty among process participants (mainly municipalities). While municipalities are meant to contribute constructively to the building of regional development strategies and plans, some find it rather worthless to participate in such processes. This lack of interest and trust may be due to, on the one hand, a particular stigma on the regions associated with their former restrictive behaviour and, on the other, the power that municipalities now enjoy in land use planning affairs and decision making.

However, it seems that an increasing number of municipalities are overcoming such 'mental barriers' in favour of a more active involvement based on their own interests throughout the regional development planning process (Tait and Hansen 2007).

Furthermore, there seems to be a lack of intervention from central government in regional development planning. This situation could be viewed from two different angles. First, it may be conceived as an advantage given the fact that regions and municipalities themselves would have enough freedom and power to tailor and implement their own strategies, processes and plans. This could also probably contribute to strengthen trust relationships amongst them. However, it may also be considered a problem given that, in principle, the central government has always had (and continues to have) a powerful stake in regional planning. Indeed, the Government of Denmark has stated its overall goals and interests concerning spatial planning and development through the National Planning Report (2006) and that it will pursue them if the regions (and municipalities) fail to support them. Besides probably being interpreted as a still top-down approach, so far this situation has led to uncertainty and ambiguity.

To sum up, the emerging regional development planning settings and practices produce a complex climate for trust relationships. First, there is a need for creating identity amongst and between regional and municipal actors. Then, regions need to create and uphold their own legitimacy towards municipalities and other actors. Beyond establishing their own identity, municipalities themselves have to deal with stigmas toward regional councils and adopt a new interactive and co-operative role throughout the process. Moreover, stakeholders may also find it difficult to deal with the uncertainty related to the possibility of a late central government intervention in regional development planning. Integration and coordination of stakeholder interests, values and power relationships seem to be inherently associated with the building of trust between actors. Placing emphasis on the building of trust from early stages in the process could contribute to establish and uphold legitimacy amongst actors.

The current regional development planning process is indicative of an explosion in the number and variety of actors and interests participating, although there is also an overall tendency to think that it is still the resourceful, well-organised and somewhat established players who actually participate and have a stake in decision-making. Is the Danish case of regional development planning thus a sign of an expanded elite, rather than empowered citizens, communities or the public in general? Or will it be capable of becoming an expression of true governance? The answer to this question

may lie in the conditions that determine the performance of interactive networking (based on trust relationships) comprised by professional stakeholders, representatives for elected units, business, education centres, interest organisations and citizen groups. While undergoing processes are currently perceived (from the outside) as being cross-sector organised, open, broad, and stakeholder-oriented, the following years determine whether regional development planning will become anchored and successfully implemented.

Research questions

The central question that is thought to guide this early stage in the project is whether there exist the appropriate conditions and opportunities to adopt and implement regional development planning in Denmark. Until now, many actors are still seeking to clarify and understand what regional development planning entails in practice and what it could become in the near and far futures. In the end, regional development plans are meant to become an strategic framework for the development of each region and should be conceived as the main outcomes of key governance processes that precede them.

As discussed, governance in regional development planning will largely depend on network-oriented, multi-stakeholder processes that should be capable of employing dialogue rooted in attitudes of cooperation and need-based coordination. Based on these assumptions, the following research questions are thought to be an appropriate point of departure toward understanding the conditions and opportunities to anchor regional development planning under a form of governance based on open, flexible, dialogue-based, cooperative and interactive networks:

- What are the driving forces associated with each of the multiple actors that participate in regional development planning?
- What are actors' values and interests and how can they be translated into means and ends objectives so that they are regarded and balanced in future decision-making processes?
- What are actors' new roles, identities and expectations within interactive networks that deal with regional development planning?
- Based on the assumption that they are able to develop their own identity and to build trust amongst them, are actors able to fulfill their expected roles?
- Based on the assumption that actors' roles are successfully adopted, what type of results do interactive networks yield? Does governance supplement traditional governing settings or does it place additional challenges?

- What type of complexity derives from interactive networks? Does such complexity hinder the implementation of governance settings?

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