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Between Debordering and Rebordering Europe: Cross-Border Cooperation in the Øresund Region or the Danish-Swedish Border Region

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Introduction

The Øresund region is a border region divided by the Danish and Swedish sea border. It is one of the many European border regions that have been created by the fine-meshed web of European borders. European history is the history of bordering, debordering and rebordering. Bordering processes have shown negative consequences throughout history. Therefore, there has been just as long a history of initiatives taken to remove the consequences of the borders.¹

Debordering and rebordering is an ongoing dualism in contemporary European politics. Since the formation of the EEC/EU in 1957, debordering has been high on the European agenda. The four freedoms in the Rome Treaty had made it possible to settle, work and study in other EU countries. Since the Schengen agreement was first signed in 1985, the visual border control has been removed between the involved states. This has made it very easy and convenient for citizens in Europe to cross borders. Finally, by extensive cross-border cooperation along all internal EU borders, the citizens remove, metaphorically speaking, the borders brick by brick.

On the other hand, as a consequence of the open internal borders in the Schengen area border control has been strengthened at the outer borders. Some even say that the border control at the outer borders of the Schengen area has turned Europe into Fortress Europe. By introducing the European neighbourhood policy (ENP), the EU has tried to soften the negative political impact of Schengen.² The aim of the ENP is to provide security, stability and sustainable development to the citizens of the EU by establishing a close cooperation with its neighbouring countries on prevention of organised crime and other security threats, development of strong democratic institutions and respect for human rights. Further measures are cultural cooperation, research cooperation, educational exchange, and integration of communications infrastructure. Thereby, the ENP is a main factor in the integration of the countries at the fringes of the EU.³

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¹ Michael Heffernan, *The Meaning of Europe: Geography and Geopolitics* (London: Arnold, 1998).

² James Wesley Scott, "Bordering and Ordering the European Neighbourhood: a Critical Perspective on EU Territoriality and Geopolitics," *TRAMES: A Journal of the Humanities & Social Sciences* Vol. 13, No. 3 (2009), pp. 232-247.

³ Freerk J. Boedeltje, Henk van Houtum and Olivier T. Kramsch, "Communication from the European Union: The European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) 'The Latest Addition to our Democratization Toolbox'," *Eudimension State-of-the-art Strategy Paper* (Nijmegen, 2006); Stefan Gänzle, "EU Governance and the

In this paper, I will look at cross-border cooperation within the European Union as an example of “debordering” Europe. First, I briefly sketch a theoretical framework of border theory. Then I will introduce the EU policy of European regional cohesion and cross-border cooperation. Finally, I will demonstrate the politics in practice by an example, the Øresund region, the cross-border cooperation between Sweden and Denmark.

Borders of Europe: A Theoretical Perspective

European borders are unnatural, political constructions. Looking at European history, border drawing has been a consequence of the struggles about formation and re-formation of nation states, and the majority of contemporary European borders have been drawn as a consequence of the two world wars in the twentieth century. Borders are the “scars of history.” They divide people due to political decisions; they are often the outcome of violent conflicts between nation-states, but they may be determined peacefully, such as it was the case with former Czechoslovakia that after a referendum was divided into the Czech Republic and Slovakia in a so-called Velvet Divorce.⁴

Borders are multidimensional.⁵ They are physical entities, and they determine people’s perceptions. Borders are spatial representations of power relations, and they become reflected in the minds of the people who live with and along the borders.⁶ Besides being physical realities in geographical space, borders are social constructions. Borders divide people between known and unknown, between native and foreign, and between us and them. Drawing borders imply that mental divisions are created among the populations on each side of the border. Former identifications turn into oppositions, if previous local identities are overlaid by new, different national identities, as shown by Peter Sahlins in his analysis of historical border drawing between France and Spain.⁷

Borders produce meaning and significance beyond their mere existence. Borders are social constructions, but they construct social relations as well. Borders signify the relationships between actors and institutions in the borderland. Paasi has named this the identity producing functions of borders or boundaries: “The meanings of boundaries are thus underlined by the fact that identities are produced through these boundaries. They become part of collective identities, shared memories and

European Neighbourhood Policy: A Framework for Analysis,” *Europe-Asia Studies* Vol. 61, No. 10 (2009), pp. 1715-1734.

⁴ Otto Ulc, “Czechoslovakia’s Velvet Divorce” *East European Quarterly* Vol. 30, No. 3 (1996), pp. 331-352.

⁵ Thomas Risse, “European Institutions and Identity Change: What have we Learned?” in R. K. Herrmann, T. Risse and M. B. Brewer (eds.), *Transnational Identities: Becoming European in the EU* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2004), pp. 248-253.

⁶ James Anderson and Liam O’Dowd “Borders, Border Regions and Territoriality: Contradictory Meanings, Changing Significance” *Regional Studies* Vol. 33, No. 7 (1999), pp. 593-604; Gerard Delanty, “Borders in a Changing Europe: Dynamics of Openness and Closure,” *Comparative European Politics* Vol. 4, No. 2 and 3 (2006), pp. 183-202.

⁷ Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989); Peter Sahlins, “State Formation and National Identity in the Catalan,” Thomas M. Wilson and Hastings Donnan (eds.), *Border Identities: Nation and State at International Frontiers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 31-61.

the sense of continuity between generations. Identities are often represented in terms of a difference between Us and the Other, rather than being something essentialist or intrinsic to a certain group of people.”⁸

The mental representations of borders take on a life of their own, and persist even after the constitutive conditions of their formation have disappeared, as the many studies of the former Iron Curtain in Europe have shown.⁹

The societal significance of borders has changed historically. In pre-modern times border regimes were little visible. The hierarchical dependency structure in society made it less important to demarcate territories. It is first with the development of the modern nation state that borders gain significance. For the modern nation state clearly specified borders are required to secure the sphere of governance and legal sovereignty. Bordering the state was necessary to allow tax deduction and the spread of welfare benefits, such as schooling and other welfare offers.¹⁰

Borders have further changed in postmodern times as a consequence of globalization. Castells¹¹ has contributed with his famous notion of a “space of places” that is being replaced by a “space of flows,” and it refers to the underlying understanding that the solid bordered nation states have been overlaid by a range of flows that follow other principles of interaction and exchange than that of the nation-state. These global networks and global flows have developed in all areas of social life. As Rumford notes, the consequences are that in “the network vision of society, territorial borders are easily transcended by flows and mobilities which take place within globalized circuits of information and exchange.”¹²

Postmodern borders take on a diverse form, being both permeable and closed. On the one

⁸ Anssi Paasi, “Boundaries as Social Processes: Territoriality in the World of Flows,” *Geopolitics* Vol. 3, No.1 (1998), pp. 69-88.

⁹ Daphne Berdahl, *Where the World Ended: Re-unification and Identity in the German Borderland* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999); Heidi Armbruster, Craig Rollo and Ulrike H. Meinhof, “Imagining Europe: Everyday Narratives in European Border Communities,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* Vol. 29, No. 5 (2003), pp. 885-899; Heidi Armbruster and Ulrike H. Meinhof, “Memories of Home? Narratives of Readjustment on the German/Polish and Former German/German Borders,” Jennifer Coates and Joanna Thornborrow (eds.), *The Sociolinguistics of Narrative* (Amsterdam: J. Benjamins Publishing, 2005); Ulrike H. Meinhof (ed.), *Living (with) Borders: Identity Discourses on East-West Borders in Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002); Ulrike H. Meinhof, “Migrating Borders: an Introduction to European Identity Construction in Process,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* Vol. 29, No. 5 (2003) pp. 781-796; Ulrike Hanna Meinhof and Dariusz Galasinski, *Border Discourse: Changing Identities, Changing Nations, Changing Stories in European Border Communities: A State-of-the-art Report* (Edinburgh: The European Border Identities Consortium, 2000); Ulrike Hanna Meinhof and Dariusz Galasinski, “Photography, Memory, and the Construction of Identities on the Former East-West German Border,” *Discourse Studies : An Interdisciplinary Journal for the Study of Text and Talk* Vol. 2, No. 3 (2000), pp. 323-353; Ulrike H. Meinhof and Dariusz Galasinski, “Reconfiguring East West Identities: Cross-Generational Discourses in German and Polish Border Communities,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* Vol. 28, No. 1 (2002), pp. 63-82; Ulrike Hanna Meinhof and Dariusz Galasinski, *The Language of Belonging* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

¹⁰ Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage, 1995).

¹¹ Manuel Castells, *The Rise of the Network Society* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000).

¹² Chris Rumford, “Theorizing Borders,” *European Journal of Social Theory* Vol. 9, No. 2 (2006), pp. 155-169.

hand, they keep on framing nation state sovereignty and protect against unwanted intruders, and on the other hand, they allow unhindered flow of recognized individuals into countries. Openness and closure follow a complicated pattern that has been compared with a computer firewall that performs intelligent filtering of immigrants by being open for the attractive and being closed for the unattractive.¹³

The Policy of Debordering Europe : Cross-border Cooperation

Regarding the status of contemporary European borders, the major factors in the debordering of Europe have been the process of European integration and the enlargement of the EU. European integration has changed the perspective of borders from being markers of demarcation to becoming symbols of a past to be overcome. Borders in an integrating Europe are borders that disappear. Visual signs of the border are reduced to a minimum. The most obvious signifier of an internal EU border is that language is different on the signposts on each side of the border.

The removal of the significance of borders in Europe is one of the basic purposes with the cooperation in first the EEC, then the EU. The Rome Treaty, which founded the European cooperation and launched the European integration process, states that the purpose is “to lay the foundations of an ever-closer union among the peoples of Europe,” and one of the measures is to strengthen regional development, by “reducing the differences existing between the various regions and the backwardness of the less favoured regions.” This should ensure a harmonious development of Europe. Peace-making by economic development is the underlying idea of European cooperation.¹⁴

The term Euroregion has been used about these cross-border regions. The first region, Euregio, was founded in 1958 as a Dutch-German initiative to rebuild good relations between the neighbour countries, which had been damaged by the German occupation during the Second World War.¹⁵

O’Dowd notes that the process of integrating Europe was initiated by the Council of Europe rather than the EEC, while the objective in the Treaty of Rome of removing European borders only was aspirational, the Council of Europe (COE) managed to promote experiments in border regions.¹⁶ It happened in 1980, when the COE took the initiative to the Madrid Convention, which outlined a

¹³ William Walters, “Border/Control,” *European Journal of Social Theory* Vol. 9, No. 2 (2006), pp. 187-203; William Walters, “Rethinking Borders Beyond the State,” *Comparative European Politics* Vol. 4, No. 2-3 (2006), pp. 141-159.

¹⁴ Desmond Dinan, *Europe Recast: A History of European Union* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

¹⁵ Hendrik Greven, Bernhard Meyer and Jean Dieter Gabbe, *EUREGIO: Modell grenzübergreifender Zusammenarbeit* (Hannover: Niedersächsische Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 1980); Martin van der Velde and Henk van Houtum, *Borders, Regions and People* (London: Pion, 2000); Markus Perkmann *The Rise of the Euroregion. A Bird's Eye Perspective on European Cross-border Cooperation* (Lancaster: Lancaster University, 2002).

¹⁶ Liam O’Dowd, “The Changing Significance of European Borders,” *Regional and Federal Studies* Vol. 12, No. 4 (2002), pp. 13-36.

legal framework for trans-frontier or cross-border cooperation.¹⁷

Regional development was furthered by different structural policies within the EU. In 1975, the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) was created, but it was first with the set-up of the Structural Funds in 1988 that the Commission got the economic means and political measures to develop the backward European regions. Following the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, which further introduced the Cohesion funds, the budget for regional development was significantly increased. Since the enlargement of the EU in 2004, which brought a 20% increase in the EU's population, but only a 5% increase in Union GDP, supporting the poorest regions in EU has had the highest priority. For the period 2007 to 2013, 347 billion euros has been allocated to structural and cohesion funds.¹⁸

In 1994, the Committee of the Regions (COR) was established. The purpose was to set up an institution that could be consulted about the consequences of EU policies on the local and regional level. The Lisbon Treaty made it obligatory for the European Parliament to consult the COR in such matters. The work of the COR is based on three key principles: *Subsidiarity*, which means that decisions should be taken at the closest practical level to the citizen, *proximity*, which further aims at making the views of the people heard, and *partnership*, which means that European, national, regional and local governments should be involved throughout the decision making process in the EU.¹⁹

The specific focus on border regions was established with the Interreg programmes in 1989. Until 2006, three Interreg programmes have been carried out. Interreg is divided into three strands, A for cross-border cooperation, B for transnational cooperation, and C for interregional cooperation. The cross-border Interreg programme supports cooperation between adjacent regions. The Interreg initiative has then been replaced by the European Territorial Cooperation Objective, but Interreg continues to be used as the name of the regional initiatives, and currently Interreg IVA is running. The European Territorial Cooperation Objective aims at entrepreneurial development, better employment conditions, improving infrastructure, transportation and communication, and supporting links between rural and urban areas. The border regions have set up various types of entities to administer Interreg funds. The Interreg programmes are decentralised, which means that each regional programme is approved by the Commission. Interreg IVA consists of 52 programmes. The total budget has been increasing. While Interreg II had a budget of 3.5 billion euros (1996 prices), and Interreg III had a budget of 4.9 billion euros (1999 prices), the budget of Interreg IV is 7.8 billion euros (2006 prices), where 5.6 billion euros are allocated to cross-border cooperation.²⁰

¹⁷ Markus Perkmann, "Cross-Border Regions in Europe: Significance and Drivers of Regional Cross-Border Co-Operation," *European Urban and Regional Studies* Vol. 10, No. 2 (2003), pp. 153-171.

¹⁸ Liesbet Hooghe (ed.), *Cohesion Policy and European Integration: Building Multi-level Governance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

¹⁹ Thomas Christiansen and Pamela Lintner, "The Committee of the Regions after 10 Years: Lessons from the Past and Challenges for the Future" *Eipascope* No. 1 (2005), pp.7-13.

²⁰ http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/index_en.htm

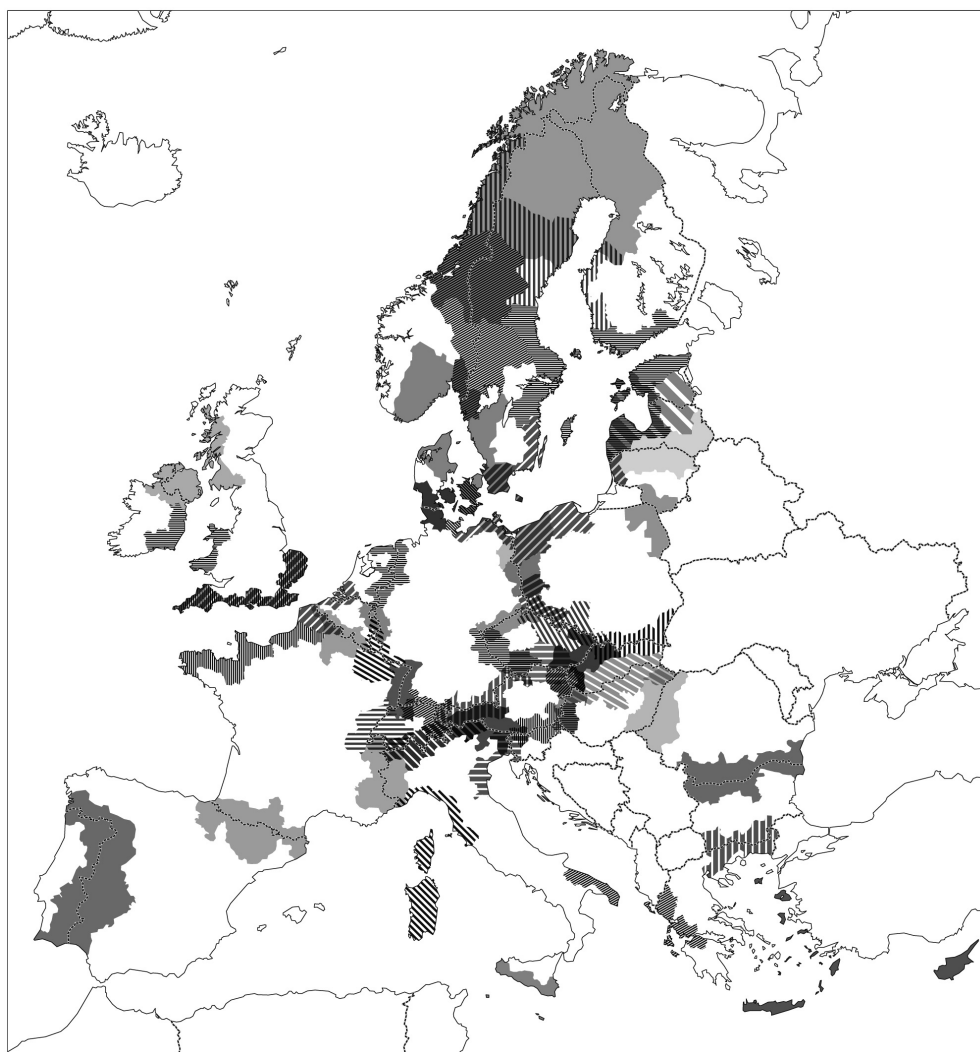


Fig.1: Cross-border programmes under the European Territorial Cooperation Objective (2007-2013)

Source: http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/atlas2007/eu/crossborder/index_en.htm

European Cross-Border Cooperation – the Øresund Region²¹

The Øresund region is formed by the eastern part of Denmark and the south-western part of Sweden, two countries in Scandinavia, the northern part of Europe. The region is named after the narrow water, the Øresund, a sound that divides the two countries. In the region are the Danish capital,

²¹ For the chapter on Øresund, the following websites has been consulted for information: <http://www.mva.org>; <http://www.medicon-valley.dk>; <http://www.mediconvalley.com>; <http://www.orestad.dk/da-dk/Erhverv/Artikler/Medicon-Valley.aspx>; <http://www.oresund.org>; <http://dk.oresundsbron.com/page/102>; <http://www.oresundskomiteen.dk>; <http://www.interreg-oks.eu>; <http://www.interreg-oresund.dk>; <http://skane.com>

Copenhagen, and the third largest Swedish city, Malmö. Historically, the two regions were part of the Danish Kingdom, but the division took place several hundred years ago, and the Swedish part is fully integrated in Sweden.²²

It has, however, been a vision to re-integrate the region. For more than a century, there have been dreams of a bridge that could enable easy transport between the two countries.²³ The dreams became reality in 2000, when the Øresund Bridge opened. The bridge building project initiated an integration process that developed in different ways. The population started to act on the new possibilities that opened, and the public authorities launched national separate plans for city development. Further, the bridge became a catalyst for cross-border cooperation between Denmark and Sweden. Several initiatives were taken to integrate the region by cross-border cooperation. This cooperation has taken place within the EU Interreg framework.

In the following, I will briefly describe the main dimensions of the integration process. First, I will look at the population mobility, and then I will touch upon cultural issues and briefly introduce the municipal city development. Second, I will introduce the cross-border cooperation, where numerous projects have been carried out. As examples, I will concentrate on two, the development of an industrial life science cluster and the development of the Øresund science region.

Commuting, Culture and Urban Integration

The consequences of the bridge across Øresund have been obvious. Today, 72,000 persons cross the bridge every day, either by car (60%) or train (40%). Almost 20,000 vehicles cross the bridge every day. 95% of them are automobiles. 40% of the automobiles transport commuters, 20% transport business travellers. The rest is travelling for different leisure purposes or vacation. For short term travellers, shoppers and tourists, the bridge has been a huge advantage. Malmö has profited from the competitive advantage due to the currency exchange rate.

It is estimated that more than 20,000 persons commute each day across the border. Commuting goes almost only in one direction; 95% of the commuters live in Sweden and work in Denmark.²⁴ Many are Danes who have settled in Sweden because of lower property prices. It reflects economic conditions that almost all traffic goes from Sweden to Denmark. There is no economic incentive to move the other way.

Travelling, commuting and settling across the border between Denmark and Sweden should be easy, while both countries are members of the EU. It should become even easier, because all

²² Southern Sweden (the provinces Skåne, Halland and Blekinge) was handed over to the Swedish king in 1658 after being a possession of the Danish king for 800 years. This was the outcome of two centuries of territorial wars, which continued into the early nineteenth century. After the provinces were conquered, a process of Swedification began. Information about the history of the Øresund region can be found on <http://www.oresundstid.dk/kap/start.aspx> (click the English flag).

²³ Olof Berg, Anders Linde-Laursen and Orvar Löfgren (eds.), *Invoking a Transnational Metropolis: the Making of the Øresund Region* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2000).

²⁴ Travel and commuting statistics are based on *Derfor rejservi over Øresund (That is why we travel across Øresund)*, Øresundsbro konsortier, 2010, <http://dk.oresundsbron.com/page/163>

Nordic countries already in 1952 formed the Nordic Council and agreed upon extensive citizen rights. Citizens are allowed to cross the border without holding a passport, and they can freely settle, work and study in the neighbouring country. Living in one country and working in the other is although not without problems. Taxation rules, holding personal identity cards, and getting access to public and private service provisions have been the main issues.

It could be expected that language and cultural differences would be obstacles, but this seems not to be the case. The two languages are mutually understandable, although confusing particularities exist. For example the word “gratis” means “without payment” in Danish and “congratulations” in Swedish. Cultural habits differ in the two countries as well. This is observed in different food preferences, but also in different practices of dishwashing.²⁵ Habits of stereotyping the others and telling jokes have also been practiced. Denmark has a more liberal alcohol policy. Beer, wine and strong alcohol are freely available everywhere, while they are only sold in licensed shops in Sweden, and at much higher prices. Therefore, it has – even before the bridge – been common for Swedes to go to Copenhagen to drink in the bars and buy cheap alcohol. So, one of the less nice sayings is: “Keep Copenhagen clean, escort a Swede to the ferry.”²⁶ While the Swedes have always been considered as the stronger part, the big brother, it is the Danes that tell jokes about the Swedes and hold small prejudices against them.²⁷ Danes think they have more humour and are more relaxed than the Swedes, who are considered to be stiff and formal. A closer look at the differences, however, reveal that Sweden is less bureaucratic than Denmark in many areas.

The idea of a cross-border city that integrates both sides of Øresund, an Örestad, was developed in the 1960s, but it was the decision to build the bridge that gave it wings. There has not been a coordinated city development across Øresund. The city development has been separate national projects that were initiated by and took advantage of the bridge.

The Danish city project, Ørestad, is positioned in the part of the capital, Copenhagen, which spans to the island Amager. In 1992 a gigantic project was launched. An architectural competition, won by Finnish architect team ARKKI, formed the master plan for the area. The area combines businesses, housing estates, recreational areas, and water canals. The area now holds the capital area's largest shopping mall, two universities, and the premises of the public Danish Radio and Television Company with its renowned concert hall. It is transited by metro and the railway that both lead to neighbouring Copenhagen Airport. The train continues across the bridge to Malmö in Sweden.

On the Swedish side, a parallel development will take place when the new city Hyllie is constructed. It will hold the first train station on the line from Denmark, and continue in a new constructed underground tunnel under Malmö to the city centre. Hyllie will be holding both housing estates and businesses, among them a new shopping mall that will be among the largest in Scandinavia, and a big conference and concert hall, Malmö Arena.

²⁵ Anders Linde-Laursen, *Bordering: Identity Processes between the National and Personal* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), p. 204.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

²⁷ Peter Gundelach, “Joking Relationships and National Identity in Scandinavia,” *Acta Sociologica* Vol. 43, No. 2 (2000), pp. 113-122.

Cross-border Cooperation in the Øresund Region²⁸

The main driver in the cross-border cooperation in the Øresund region has been the Øresund Committee that was established in 1993 by the mayors of Malmö and Copenhagen, and it consisted of representatives from local and regional authorities. It has initiated closer cooperation within leisure and sports, education and culture, and it has further been an initiator in developing projects to be funded by the Interreg programme.

Cross-border cooperation in the Øresund region has been furthered by the EU Interreg framework. The Øresund region became part of the Interreg programmes when Interreg IIA was launched.

The Interreg IIA programme that ran from 1996 to 2001 covered 125 projects and received 12.5 million euros in funding from the EU. The Interreg IIIA programme that ran from 2001 to 2008 funded 142 projects of which 26 were minor innovation projects. The EU contributed 28.6 million euros to the funding of these projects.

In the two first programmes, project partners should represent both nations and hold equal responsibility. In Interreg IVA, this has been changed, so that one of the partners is the lead partner in the project.

In the Interreg IIIA programme, the majority of projects have received an EU funding up to 1 million Swedish kroner. A few projects have received a substantially higher support. In the first year, Øresund University received 18 million Swedish kroner. During the years, many projects have focused on technological innovation and regional growth, and several projects concerning waste management, infrastructure and civil security have been funded. Research and higher education have been given a predominant position. Besides the cooperation umbrella, at Øresund University, independent agencies of knowledge development have been created. Among them, the Oresund Institute, an independent think tank that disseminates knowledge and initiates debates about cross-border cooperation and integration, and Örestat, a cooperation in providing cross-border statistics.²⁹ Also university extra-mural activities have received generous funding for projects. Cross-border cultural cooperation is represented in many minor projects. Among the projects that have received generous funding, a couple of projects in sports cooperation can be found, and a project concerning cross-border regional television cooperation received 17 million Swedish kroner. Development of the region as a tourism region has been prioritized, and one cross-border tourism project received 10 million Swedish kroner.³⁰

In the latest Interreg programme, the Øresund programme has been merged with a Norwegian sub-programme, but for simplicity, I will leave this part out. The newest Interreg IVA programme has the main purpose to make the region the most attractive and competitive in Europe. The three main goals are 1) economic growth—directed at private business and entrepreneurship,

²⁸ The following web pages have been consulted: <http://www.oresund.org>; <http://www.interreg-oks.eu>; <http://www.interreg-oresund.dk>

²⁹ <http://www.oresundsinstittet.org> and <https://www.h2.scb.se/orestat/website/index.aspx>

³⁰ Interreg IIIA Öresundsregionen, *Projektrapporter*, 2002-2006, cf. <http://www.interreg-oresund.dk/interreg>

2) physical and organisational integration and cohesion—directed at public institutions and public infrastructural planning, and 3) integration in everyday life—directed at all mental and physical barriers that citizens meet in their interaction across the border.

The total budget amounts to approximately 120 million euros, half of the sum will be contributed by the EU, the rest from local sources. A managing organisation has been established to conduct the programme. It is slightly different from previous organizations. The organisation is composed of several elements: a board of representatives that manage general counselling and surveillance; a board of directors that approve project applications. It has a secretariat at its disposal. While the board cannot act legally on behalf of the involved states, it has been agreed that all contracts have to be signed by the Swedish Agency for Economic and Regional Growth.

Øresund Science Region

The Øresund Science Region was formed by a range of networks or member organisations within different fields or clusters: Medicon Valley Alliance (biotech and life science), Øresund IT Academy (IT actors), Øresund Environment Academy (environmental business, education, policy and research), Øresund Design (design activities), Øresund Logistics (Knowledge Hub concerning knowledge and developments within the field of logistics), Øresund Food Network (research collaboration and knowledge exchange), Diginet Øresund (the digital entertainment industry), Nano Øresund (application of nanotechnology in industry through knowledge transfer), and the Humanities Platform with the aims of strengthening ties between the universities, the local, regional and national authorities, and the cultural arts institutions in the Øresund region.

Medicon Valley³¹

Medicon Valley is a European life science cluster that spans the extended cross-border region of Øresund, which is in eastern Denmark and south-western Sweden. It is promoted by public investment agencies on both sides of the border.³² The Swedish agency “Invest in Skåne” has this description of what is called one of Europe’s strongest life science clusters.

With academics, researchers, students and clinicians working in close proximity, Medicon Valley has it all: a healthy pipeline of pharmaceutical and biotech products and an abundance of exciting opportunities for business and investment. Dedicated to helping develop business, Medicon Valley offers:

³¹ The following websites have been consulted for information: <http://www.mva.org>; <http://www.mediconvalley.dk>; <http://www.mediconvalley.com>

³² Lise Lyck, *Øresundsregionalisering – Medicon Valley* (Frederiksberg: Copenhagen Business School, Center for Tourism and Culture Management, 2006); Medicon Valley Alliance, *Medicon Valley: A Danish-Swedish Life Science Cluster Located in the Øresund Region* (Copenhagen: Medicon Valley Alliance, 2007).

- 1) A pool of highly qualified life-science university graduates and workers;
- 2) Effective technology transfer from universities to companies;
- 3) Opportunities to partner with mature pharma, biotech and medtech companies;
- 4) A rich vein of opportunity for venture capitalists interested in attractive life science companies;
- 5) An abundance of new licensing opportunities;
- 6) An outstanding environment, ideal for conducting clinical trials.³³

The Medicon Valley has developed since the mid-1990s as a consequence of the building of the Øresund Bridge and the forming of a cross-border region between Denmark and Sweden. The industrial cluster develops already existing biotech firms in the region. Some of the major pharmaceutical companies in the cluster include Ferring, Novo Nordisk, H. Lundbeck, AstraZeneca and LEO Pharma. But significant for an industrial cluster, these major drivers have developed or attracted suppliers, produced spin-off companies, and established their own R&D in cooperation with research institutions.

The cluster organisation was initiated by the Øresund Committee. The cluster management association Medicon Valley Alliance (originally Medicon Valley Academy) was founded in 1995. It became an EU funded Interreg project in 1996, and after three years it continued without funding. Today, it has almost 300 members that represent the full life science value chain in Medicon Valley. It covers ten academic institutions, 83 biotech, 166 so-called medtech, and 27 pharmaceutical companies. Hereto contract research manufacturing organisations, a range of private service providers and public organisations are present. The private life science sector employs more than 40,000 employees, there are more than 10,000 life science researchers in the private and public life science sector, 5 universities that supply life science related educations have enrolled more than 45,000 students in life science, and 7,000 students graduate every year. Further, at the universities of Copenhagen and Lund, 2,600 PhD students are enrolled in life science.³⁴

The cross-border cooperation and the initial funding of the cluster alliance have been of substantial significance for the cluster development. The cluster is based on companies with a long term investment profile, and they have been affected by the financial crisis, however, the cluster remains strong. Cross-border regional cooperation has overcome some of the obstacles of being a cross-national cluster, although consequences of this still persist.³⁵ The most recent development is that another big international medico company, Bayers, has decided to settle in the Ørestad.

Øresund University³⁶

Øresund University was established as an umbrella organisation for cooperation between an

³³ <http://skane.com>

³⁴ <http://www.mediconvalley.com>

³⁵ Jonathan Potter and Gabriela Miranda (eds.), *Clusters, Innovation and Entrepreneurship* (Paris: OECD, 2009).

³⁶ <http://www.oresund.org>

original 14 universities and university colleges in the cross-border region. It covered full faculty universities, specialised universities, and university colleges. Due to a major merging of universities in Denmark, and the withdrawal of two Danish partners, the number of partners has been reduced to nine. Together, the participating universities enroll 165,000 undergraduate students, 6,000 doctoral students, and 10,000 researchers.

One of the main purposes was to further the cooperation between researchers, teachers and students. Initiatives have been taken in a wide area. Among them were a summer school initiative, and other initiatives to promote student exchange within and outside the region.

A spin-off of the university cooperation has been established. It is called the Øresund Entrepreneurship Academy, which works to promote entrepreneurship education at university level. It started in September 2006. It is co-financed by the Danish Enterprise and Construction Authority, the Swedish Government, Scania Region, the Capital Region of Denmark and Region Zealand. The purpose of the independent entity is to explore, exploit, stimulate, and develop entrepreneurship and enterprising behaviour at the universities in the Øresund region. The basic measure is entrepreneurship education, and the organisation supports educators at the 9 universities in the cooperation in establishing entrepreneurship courses, and it facilitates cooperation between the universities and business organisations.

Recently, the Øresund Science Region and Øresund University have merged to a new platform Oresund.org, where university cooperation is promoted through the web portal, Øresund Campus. The web portal has been established to make it easier for students to follow courses at the other universities across the border region. Within Øresund Campus, three administrative networks have been formed. They are the university libraries, the student counsellors, and international coordinators. These networks aim at exchanging information and finding the best practices within their fields.

The cross-border university and science region cooperation has been evaluated by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) as a successful outcome.

Cross-border Cooperation: Does it Matter?

Cross-border cooperation has developed intensively in Europe since the end of the Second World War. The Europeans have realised that centuries of warfare had reached a point where the future of the continent was threatened. In the recent decades, cross-border cooperation has developed both in extent and in quality. Cross-border cooperation has become an important way of debordering Europe. It is an example of Europeanization,³⁷ and it can be seen in the huge increase in the mobility of the population. Such mobility increases the mutual welfare of all countries. It is an advantage for those who become mobile, and it is an advantage for the societies they choose to serve.

³⁷ Jeffrey J. Anderson, "Europeanization and the Transformation of the Democratic Polity, 1945-2000," in *Journal of Common Market Studies* Vol. 40, No. 5 (2002), pp. 793-822; Magnus Jerneck, "Europeanization, Territoriality and Political Time," in Robert Harmsen and Thomas M. Wilson (eds.), *Europeanization: Institution, Identities and Citizenship*, Yearbook of European Studies No. 14 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000), pp. 27-49.

As we have seen, the Øresund Bridge and the bridge-building in the Øresund region have knitted the region more closely together. The final question that has to be asked is whether the increased interaction between the two countries has contributed to the development of a common identity. A survey conducted by the Øresund Bridge Company³⁸ shows that this has happened to some degree. The survey shows that more Swedes than Danes believe that the two parts of the region share a common identity. 52% of the Swedes, compared to 29% of the Danes perceived themselves as Øresund citizens, and 47% of the Swedes and 35% of the Danes believed that the Øresund region has become a reality. Only 4% on each side believe that a cross-border region never will become a reality. Much has been accomplished, but there is still some way to go before the differences created by the border are entirely removed again.

³⁸ <http://dk.oresundsbron.com/page/163>