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**FINNISH REGIONAL POLICY IN TRANSITION:
towards rigid planning machine or dynamic governance?**

Abstract: In regional policy, the fierce global economic competition stresses the need to create new kinds of interactions between public sector and business aimed at discovering other ways of generating new innovations. The dynamics of contemporary changes have not only challenged us to find new strategies, but to find new ways to organise policy making. This article describes the Finnish programme-based regional policy and scrutinises such critical points as: development programmes and innovations, the guidance of development programmes, collective action and control. The main contribution is presented in the form of postulates.

Key words: regional policy, economic transformations, planning.

1. Introduction – governability in transition

As we come to the end of the 20th century we are confronting an uncertainty about the present situation and future prospects. Globalising economy and rapid technological progress signifies that power is disintegrating in all spheres of policy processes. The dynamics of contemporary changes have not only challenged us to find new strategies, but to find new ways to organise policy making. It seems that the rigid, centralised and hierarchic way of government is soon to be outdated. The basic belief has been that by public policy planning and division of tasks it is possible to manage clearly defined problems, to solve them. In the 1990s, we are in search of new approaches to cope with current problems, that cannot be defined as clearly as before. We are more often encountering complex problems.

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In the mid 1990s, such concepts as partnerships, networks, regional innovation systems, communicative planning, learning, industrial clusters etc. are greatly stressed. We are witnessing the emergence of a system of governance that leads to a multiple overlapping negotiation system between various actors (both in the public and private sector) at different levels. It seems that the only way to cope with the current pace of changes is to accept and benefit from an increasing interplay between various actors at different levels.

New forms of governance are sought in terms of 'co'; co-steering, co-managing, co-producing, co-allocation, etc. (cf. Kooiman, 1993). In its contemporary meaning governance refers to the act, manner or function of governing and suggests a **multiplicity of ways** in which functions are carried out. It signifies fragmentation between different actors and places. Governance, therefore, differs fundamentally from the uniform, comprehensive, highly organised and co-ordinated forms of government (Bailey, 1993). In regional development policy, this stresses the need to create new kinds of interactions between public sector and business aimed at discovering other ways of coping with new highly interconnected and multidimensional problems and generating new innovations.

As Benington states, to cope with the more complex and competitive situation than ever before the emerging patterns of regional policy-making must involve a pluralistic mixture of public, private, voluntary and community organisations and interest groups, drawn together in **issue-based** rather than institution-based policy arenas (Benington, 1994, p. 33). It seems that there is less scope for direct policy interventions. However, public policies are still needed but they ought to be based on new kinds of attitudes and approaches. In Finnish regional policy, new approaches are sought from programme-based regional policy.

This article outlines the basic ideas and forms of the new Finnish regional policy that includes some rather fundamental changes, at least organisationally. Although the new policy approach has been introduced only recently, some evaluative remarks will be attempted.

In Finland, regional policy is a wide concept, it is not possible to separate it completely from other forms of policy. When considering Finnish regional disparities and efforts to work for balanced development, such sectional policies as rural policy, technology policy, industrial policy, unemployment policy etc. must be taken into consideration. For example, rural policy is a part of regional policy, but on the other hand, viewed from the other angle, regional policy is only a part of rural policy (cf. *Rural policy...*, 1992). A similar relationship exists between other sectional policies too.¹ Programme based regional policy can be seen as an attempt to co-ordinate different sectional policies by development plans.

¹ In addition to various policies the state subsidies to municipalities balance out the differences between local financial resources. State subsidiary system has been based on a classification of municipalities into ten categories according to their tax-levying potential, i.e. tax revenues per inhabitant and other factors of financial status. A major reform of this system is in progress.

The focus here is on the role and function of such processes from the point of view of regional governance.

2. CHANGES IN FINNISH REGIONAL POLICY

The creation of the Finnish welfare state after the mid 1960s was primarily based on national economic growth. The goals for the national economy merged with regional policy goals, and the justification for regional policy was partly connected to the creation of the welfare state. The aim was to guarantee a steadily increasing economic growth whose benefits could be redistributed according to the principles of the Nordic model of welfare state. A coherent nation-wide network of basic social services was to be created. Everybody, regardless of domicile or wealth, was to be provided with certain services. Equality and justice were believed to depend essentially on uniform availability of services. It was seen important that every region had a foundation that ensured a reasonable supply of services. Regional policy goals have also had a considerable influence on the public development of infrastructure. This can be seen, for example, in the fairly extensive network of universities.

However, as Mønnesland states, a distinct north-south dichotomy has existed in Finland. Perhaps for that reason the Finnish regional policy has clearly been more periphery oriented than regional policy in the European context in general (the same goes for the other Nordic Countries). The focus has been on the periphery as such, and not only due to the existing structural problems in those regions. A major goal for regional policy has been to reduce economic handicaps created by long distances to markets and to counteract the effects of low population densities which lead to an inadequate supply of skilled labour. Regional policy schemes were designed to give priority to regions which were in a disadvantaged position because of their location. To justify this policy, however, it was stated that it would benefit the country as a whole (Mønnesland, 1994).

The role of the regional policy was emphasised during the period of creation of the welfare state, but its importance diminished in the 1980s, and in the 1990s Finnish regional policy is in transition. Its contexts, contents, and processes are under review.

The **context** has changed economically and institutionally. Towards the end of the 1980s the Finnish economy experienced unforeseen growth that ended up in one of the worst recessions in the Finnish history. By 1990 the Finnish economy was in trouble. Economic growth was over and GNP declined by 7.1% in 1991. A year later the decline was 4%. Finland was also faced with high level of

unemployment.² Even if the economy seems to be slowly recovering in 1995 and 1996, the situation is no longer characterised by stable economic growth to be redistributed by regional policy. As Hautamäki (1995) points out, such contemporary problems as national debt, high unemployment, fierce international competition, and the structural problems faced in the central regions have led to a new debate on the focus of regional policy. In this situation political attention has tended to focus on national economic problems, and on the other hand, the major structural problems in the cities need their share of regional policy attention.

Being the new member of the European Union, Finland in its regional policy approach had to adapt to conform with the framework of the EU regional policy. Thus, institutionally the most important change in the **context** of regional policy was an introduction of a new administrative and political plane, and new funds and approaches to policy processes.

The argument that supporting the periphery will result in a higher degree of resource utilisation is no longer valid from the national economic point of view. Thus, the major challenge in the **contents** of Finnish regional policy is an emerging polarisation between periphery-oriented problems of a fairly permanent nature and structurally oriented, temporary policy measures aiming to bring regions back to the level where further support should not be needed (Mønnesland, 1994).

The most notable changes in the **processes** of regional policy have so far been formal in nature. The reform of regional policy does not concern the various incentives, but the way regional policy processes are organised.

2.1. The latest reform of regional policy

The latest reform³ of regional policy is presented in the new Regional Development Act (1135/93) and Regional Development Decree (1315/93). They include two fairly significant questions of principle:

- a) devolution of power from the central government to the regions;
- b) introduction of programmes to co-ordinate the actions of different organisations.

The Finnish system is in transition, and many of its practical solutions remain to be seen. The reforms included in the new act are fairly significant, at least at the organisational level.

² In 1994, the unemployment rate was 18.2%, compared to 3.4% in 1990. In March 1996 the unemployment rate was 17.1%.

³ The foundation for the reform was created already in 1991 by a one-man committee (Paasivirta, 1991).

The aim of the new Act is to integrate the national system to the EU system. The reformed Finnish system is founded on the same principles that are guiding the EU regional policy; concentration, programming, partnership and additionality (e.g. Venetoklis, 1994). The latest reform of the Finnish regional policy can be seen as an attempt to:

- create a system that suits the EU regional policy framework;
- increase the influence of local and regional level actors in matters concerning regional policy goals, strategies and measures;
- improve the concentration of various (both national and European) regional development funds by programming;
- increase co-operation between key actors and to create functioning partnerships between them.

Finnish regional policy has been based on somewhat weak co-ordination powers at local and regional level (figure 1). It has been characterised by a relatively strong sectional autonomy for the state regional administrative authorities, and regional policy responsibilities at the ministerial level and the responsibilities for the various tools and incentives aimed at implementing the policy have been split.

Responsibility for regional development is now assigned both to the municipalities and the central government, and thus the new Regional Development Act splits the responsibility for institutional regional development efforts between state and municipalities. The new act gave the Regional Councils a position as regional development authorities instead of Provincial State Offices' Departments of Regional Development. Regional Councils are joint municipal authorities, which are independent of Government authorities. They are formed and principally financed by the municipalities of the respective region.

The Regional Councils have two main statutory duties:

- a) they are responsible for regional physical planning, and
- b) they function as regional development authorities within their respective regions.

Regional Council has a responsibility for formulating general regional development policy and co-ordinates the regional development measures of regional administrative authorities (Horttanainen, 1994).

A significant decision made in the reformed Regional Development Act was not to change the existing relationships between various sectors, their funds and tasks in the regional development process. The new act gave the Regional Councils statutory responsibility for regional development at regional level, but, the regional development funds still being divided among many organisations, the co-operation and co-ordination between key actors is a core question in the regional policy success. Even if the Regional Councils have a statutory position as co-ordinators of regional policy they do not have the instruments to implement the regional policy measures. Regional Council control directly only the

regional development fund called ‘state funding through regional development authorities’, which is relatively small.

According to the principle of partnership, both formulation and implementation of regional development plans are to be based on extensive co-operation between Regional Council, municipalities, various regional administrative authorities, universities and other educational institutions and private firms.

In addition to increasing local and regional influence a new sub-regional division was introduced. Sub-regional division was created for the regional policy purposes, individual municipalities being too small and too numerous.⁴ The aim in forming sub-regions was to find entities as functional as possible. The criteria used in this work were commuting areas and existing inter-municipal co-operation (Horttanainen, 1994).

Besides the Regional Councils, State regional administrative authorities still have a significant role in regional development measures. However, according to the new act, they are supposed to co-ordinate their actions with the goals established by the Regional Council. The Regional Council has also the right to comment on their actions before they are implemented.

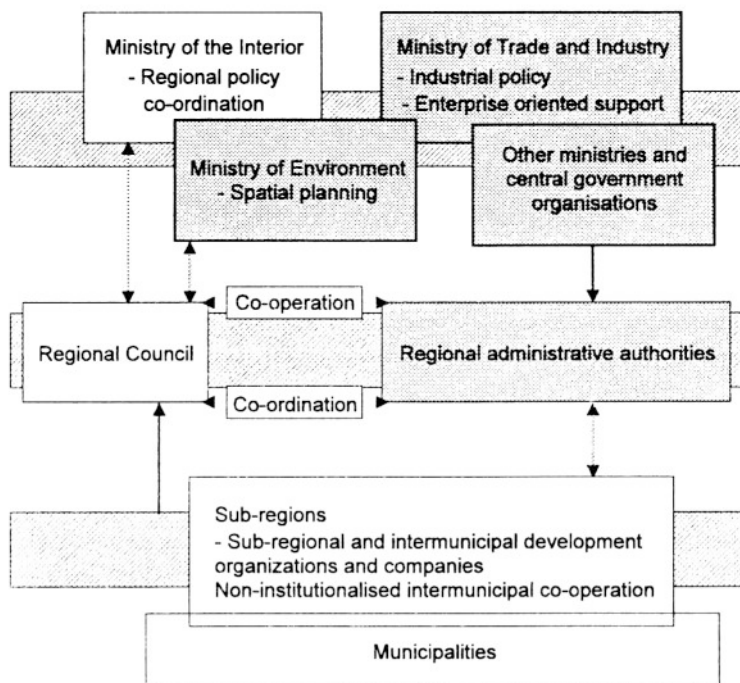


Fig. 1. Regional policy and regional development organisations in Finland

⁴ At present there are 455 municipalities in Finland; the biggest one is the city of Helsinki (about 516 000 inhabitants), and the smallest one is Sottunga (129 inhabitants).

2.2. Programming

As indicated above the new legislation intends to improve the co-ordination between the various sectional policy schemes and integrate them by programming. In Finland, programming began on a smaller scale already in 1988, when development plans were formulated for individual municipalities facing structural changes.

The formulation of regional development programmes is an attempt to create a more structured and planned approach in regional development measures. The aim is to co-ordinate the funding of regional policy measures more efficiently. Both in the Commission and in Finland, the emphasis was earlier on the funding of individual projects. The aim is now for a medium term approach, and individual projects must be grouped according to defined priorities.

Venetoklis (1994, p. 29) defines development programmes from EU point of view to be:

...proposals compiled by the Member States. They are made in co-operation with the different local, regional and national authorities responsible for regional policy, outlining the financial needs of different regions within each member state and taking under consideration the objectives which the Structural/Regional policy of the Community is trying to fulfil.

Various regional development measures of different organisations are to be co-ordinated in the regional development programmes. Regional development programmes are supposed to have an important role in co-ordination, i.e. strengthening regional self-reliance, forming partnerships and confirming that various development efforts are concentrated on selected priorities systematically.

As Seppälä states, **the principle of relevant actors** is fundamental in efforts to create extensive co-operation between key actors. In practice it means the ability to find the correct actors for each issue. If there are too many or too few parties involved, the measure is not effective to its maximum (Seppälä, 1995, p. 43). Thus the ability of the Regional Council to manage the interrelationship between the various agencies and organisations becomes of utmost importance.

Regional Councils are in charge of the co-ordination of the programming processes. Programmes are to be formulated in co-operation with the central government, regional administrative authorities, municipalities, local firms, universities, research institutes and non-governmental organisations. The question of relevant actors is considered individually in every region, but those authorities controlling regional development funds must be included. The aim of the extensive participation in programming is to increase the commitment of those organisations needed in the implementation phase.⁵

⁵ Currently formulated programmes are regional development programme, structural change programme, rural area programme, archipelago programme, centre of expertise programme, border

The actual programming takes place at the regional level in a loose framework created in central government, and thus the ways Finnish regional development programmes are formulated differ somewhat between regions. However, even if there is no specific instruction to do so, in many regions the first step has been to formulate sub-regional development programmes, and the regional programmes are based on those programmes. Therefore, in the sub-regional level numerous consultations are supposed to be held to discuss, outline and inform of what is already involved and programmed in the regions. After completing sub-regional development plans the proposals are forwarded to the Regional Council for the preparation of regional development programme(s), and thus the discussing, informing and outlining continues. Partners at all levels are supposed to be consulted before the regional development programme is compiled.

In the implementation phase, the administration of the support from the EU structural funds is taken care of by the same authorities that take care of the national funds. The bids of support for some project is to be delivered to the sectional administrative unit responsible for the branch in question. Therefore, the sectional and somewhat fragmented nature of the Finnish regional policy remains, and thus the major change to take place is increasing the co-ordination between various sectors involved in regional development. Even if there is some flexibility incorporated the main ministries have the final say on which priority a certain part of the money goes to.

3. SOME EVALUATING REMARKS

The implementation of development programmes formulated by the new act began in 1995, and thus the new programme-based regional policy and its effects have not yet been properly evaluated. The evaluation begins in 1996. Therefore, the critical points in the success of programme-based regional policy are evaluated. In the absence of any empirical evidence the remarks made here are tentative and theoretical in nature. They are made in relation to key assumptions behind the new regional policy framework.

The key ideas in current regional policy are crystallised in attempts to promote co-operation (networking) and consistency by programming (strategic planning). By these means efforts are made to generate and finance innovations. The basic assumptions behind regional policy to be scrutinised here are that:

– by extensive co-operation in planning it is possible to create collective action;

area programme, regional development programme for objective 6, structural change programme for objective 2 and rural area programme for objective 5b.

- by strategic programming it is possible to form new partnerships;
- by regional development plans it is possible to outline the future competitive advantages of the region, and to promote the generation of innovations that are needed in fierce international competition.

Now, against the background provided by these assumptions the following points are highlighted on: development programmes and innovations, the guidance of development programmes, collective action and control. The main contribution is presented in the form of postulates.

3.1. Development programmes and innovations

The common belief is that by programmes-based regional policy it is possible to create partnerships needed in regional innovation, and to plan for the future. These leading ideas highlight the fairly well established belief in the capabilities of policy-makers to find the correct strategies for the future by rational planning. Action is assumed to follow, once development strategies have been formulated. Of course, in policy processes there is scope for the innovative ideas of firms too, but only within the framework created in programming. Thus, the question can be posed whether new ideas can be found in the programming process if planned strategies are fully formulated, explicit and articulated.

In the time of rapid changes this question is relevant, because truly creative strategies are seldom designed in formal planning procedures. Usually the strategy formulation has really been strategic programming, in which strategies and visions that already exist are articulated.

What planning based innovation systems are facing is the fact that by the time a ministry etc. forms a subcommittee on some topic, somebody, by that time, has already ditched those ideas and is moving onto fundamentally new conceptual ground in the field in question.

Postulate I: Regional development programmes are usually programmed descriptions of the current state, through which it is not possible to generate innovations. However, they may function as instruments in creating proper environment, the setting where innovations have 'good soil' to emerge and grow.

3.2. The guidance provided by development programmes

The other critical point in formulation of development programmes is: whose actions they are supposed to guide? The answer, most probably, is that they should guide directly the actions of all those authorities controlling regional development funds, and indirectly, through supports, all those organisations who are bidding for support. If development programmes are supposed to guide ac-

tions, the question concerning the accuracy of development programmes becomes of importance.

If development programmes are made to be explicit and fully formulated, there is a danger, in rapidly changing circumstances, that programmes become redundant before the implementation has even started. There is a perpetual need to adjust the goals to meet unexpected demands, and thus the argument of today is that programmes must be flexible and strategic, not detailed. This argument is relevant, because in order to promote innovations of individual actors, programmes should not be too explicit and detailed. On the other hand, if development programmes are not clearly priority-oriented and explicit, but left at a rather general level, the question arises as to whose action they guide.

If regional development programmes attempt to serve too many masters, complexity easily replaces clarity and comprehensives replaces cohesiveness, or, on the other hand, universality may replace priority-orientation, and programmes will be non-committal. These flaws lead easily to the divorce of strategic planning from the process of implementation (cf. Roberts, 1993).

The correct balance between these two extremes is not easily achieved.

If the aim to co-ordinate the action of various state regional administrative authorities with local and regional goals by development programmes is not easily attainable, will we in Finland end up in the situation where state regional authorities are once again accountable only for the sectional goals of a ministry, or will they accept regional goals and remain accountable for them.

As Karppi (1996) has stated, using his empirical findings, the regional field of operation is not always considered to be very important in those public organisations supposed to aim at promoting the development of the region. They may take part in the programming process, but often their aim is more **to make sure that the interests of their organisation are protected** rather than to promote the regional interests.

The question, whether regional development programmes will have any real control over sectional decision-making, is still topical. Somewhat fragmented central government (and thus state regional administration) may, in spite of development programmes, be concerned with sectional rather than spatial goals and issues.

Postulate II: The sectional and organisational goals are usually stronger than regional goals. The best that can be done is to find the touching-points between different strategies and goals and try to balance them.

3.3. Collective action

Another topical question is whether it is possible to create collective action by programming. Formulation of regional development programmes is based on the

belief that it is possible by shared visions and programming to compile and arrange existing resources and start new co-operation between many organisations (Haveri, 1991, p.78). However, as Haveri (1994) has observed, collective action and shared visions are possible but not easily achieved or **durable** goals in the regional strategy process.

I have argued (cf. Sotarauta 1994) that the diversity of any region should be accepted, and different organisations and groups should be acknowledged from their point of view. Thus the fact that organisations are different and have different goals will become the basis of development processes. Organisations have strategies and goals of their own. It is desirable that they all should implement regional development strategies, but it is more likely that they first implement their own strategies. A better way is to accept differences in organisations and try to create a process where the strategies of various organisations are made as parallel as possible. Thus, there is not a regional development strategy that all organisations concerned are supposed to implement but there are several strategies that touch on each other as much as possible. This requires abilities to network, negotiate and understand different logic and goals. The idea is to leave more space for individual actors, and to leverage their efforts.

Hence, the development programmes should be treated what they originally were meant to be; as proposals for financing, not as direct guidance to various organisations involved.

Postulate III: Regional development programmes should be seen as arenas of struggles, negotiations and conflicts (cf. Healey, 1992), and essentially they should be used as such, as forums for communication. In addition they function as mirrors for potential partners and providers of financing (cf. Sotarauta 1995).

3.4. Back to 'grand planning'?

All in all, programme-based regional policy is, at least at the organisational level, a fairly extensive reform, and many of its strengths are worthy of support. But beneath the new rhetoric is the same old faith in governability, public planning and the same indifference to qualities of the process. It seems that current attempts at extensive programming are leading Finland back to the era of 'grand planning' that dominated the creation of the welfare state. The forms and focus are different from the old practices, but the faith in governability is the same. There is a danger in that. It is not convincing that by controlling and programming it is possible to create the regional innovation architecture needed today to generate further innovations.

Below are listed some strengths and weaknesses of the programme-based regional policy. **Strengths** include such issues as:

- enhanced necessity to seek co-operation;
- enhanced regional and local level influence;

- freedom to create (sub)regional solutions in organising the process;
- an aspiration towards better consistency over time and co-ordination of regional development funds;
- an effort to negotiate about the resources to enable implementation already in the planning phase.

On the other hand, there are such **weaknesses** as:

- excessive public sector dependence;
- too well established belief in rational planning;
- an effort to create too comprehensive a system.

The greatest threat exposed by these weaknesses is that the system may become too rigid and bureaucratic. We may end up in the situation where more emphasis is placed upon the production of the development programmes themselves, rather than on managing the process, the flow of constantly changing plans, events and actions.

Regional development is dependent on a large quantity of both internal and external forces and actors. Programming is an effort to control as many of them as possible. The basic idea to co-ordinate public funds is worthy of support, but what if the selected priorities are not the correct ones. Competitive advantage based on the heavy regional diversification promoted in the programmes includes the risk that in the long run the planned competitive advantage may turn out to be the start of ungovernable restructuring. Too heavy regional specialisation may prove to be vulnerable if the competitive edge is lost. We cannot know with accuracy how the future will unfold. A certain versatility is needed, and commitment to continuously seek and generate new competitive edges.

It seems as if we are back in the square one. The question arises once again: is there wisdom in planning procedures or not? Now, regional development planning is mainly carried out at the regional level, and thus it is expected that those who implement programmes have better knowledge of regional potential than those at the central level. This is a good argument. Yet we still have the question as to how well we can anticipate competitive advantages needed in the future and act according to those guidelines. Programming is based on funding by means of classical strategic planning creating competitive advantages. A more flexible, communicative and process oriented view in regional governance should be advocated.

4. CONCLUSION – TOWARDS COMMUNICATIVE INTER-ORGANISATIONAL PROCESSES

What is suggested here is that we should acknowledge the unpredictable, multi-verse and complex nature of human evolution and become more skilled in managing transition, not in making programmes. Various programmes, plans and

strategies may be means to manage, to govern transition, to promote inter-organisational communication, but they should not be ends in themselves. This is a matter of the culture of planning. Still, in the 1990s, planners easily place the emphasis upon the production of the programme, rather than the process.

In programme-based regional policy, there is an effort to create an extensive co-operation between key-actors by **programming procedures**. This is simultaneously an opportunity and a threat. Outcomes depend very much on the **abilities and skill of managers and decision-makers to learn and govern the new procedures without letting them become a rigid planning machine**. They should learn how **to look beyond the formal process** and see the flow of new ideas, products and forms of action, and let the plans change, new innovations outside the plans to emerge.

In a way, 'regional strategy' (i.e. a set of organisational strategies) is a sequence of choices made by many actors, and thus the regional strategy process can be seen as a quest for strategic consensus-building, transforming a set of intentions and visions and knowledge into action through an unbroken sequence of interpersonal and inter-organisational strategies in **issue-based** forums rather than in institution-based forums. Even if the principle of partnership is stressed, the formulation of programmes is more institution than issue-based activity.

The power used in the promotion of regional economic development can no longer rest as much in individual institutions as before. Today, the power is somewhere between them, in their ability to let natural co-operation forms and forums to emerge and vanish. The forms of governance are not direct power and control but the exposition of people to challenging situations, devoting attention to inter-organisational group learning skills, i.e. enabling organisations and people in them to find the innovative ideas.

For example, the power of Regional Councils is not very high even if it is formal by the law, their success lies in understanding the current nature of power. The formal position given by the law does not help if other actors do not trust the skills of Regional Councils to manage the process.

In communicative process oriented view a Regional Council should be a strong core for the network, not placed on top of the hierarchy as was earlier believed to be necessary, but in the midst of the multiple, overlapping network of actors. Strength in this context does not refer to a traditional direct authoritative power, but to the strength that is gained by an ability to argue and communicate, to see the logic other actors depend on, to see and understand their goals and strategies, and to find natural touching-points between strategies, to compose regional development in co-operation with many organisations. In this work they should be able to locate the possible partners, and to convince them to become in some way involved in regional development partnerships.

Development programmes being rather similar throughout the industrial countries, it can be postulated that competitive advantages are not so much in

brilliant and explicit strategies, but in communicative processes. Development programmes do not create commitment to regional goals or partnerships, but commitment emerges from common interests in concrete matters. If there are possibilities to find natural touching-points **between strategies** of various organisations, not within regional strategies, there are possibilities for new partnerships and innovations to emerge.

New innovations **cannot be found merely by programming**, but thus can be of help. However, more open and enthusiastic personal commitment is needed.

The basic message here is that the touch in regional governance is different from what we are used to in more direct and regulative forms of action. As Cooke (1992, p. 365) points out, the theory of regulation is largely theory of control suggesting a solution to a problem: "how can a competitive system of economic activity remain in place over long periods without collapsing under the strain of its internal, centrifugal forces". The answer of today is: **it cannot** remain in place over long periods of time. We are forced to constantly determine how to find our ways in the midst of the processes, and thus determine not only what to do, but **how** and **with whom** to do it, and how to create such settings that innovations emerge from the processes.

Many aspects of the programme-based regional policy are worth supporting, but there is a great danger of bureaucratic rigidity involved. What is to be done?

We, academics and policy-makers, should be able to look more beyond the formal procedures. In regional policy practice the focus should be on creating new forms, making sense of complex events, learning communicative skills and seeking new concrete areas of co-operation. The view is more actor-oriented, and the basic fundamental belief is that the innovations emerge from the interactive processes where people communicate common interests, and not from the public sector planning procedures, even if some private organisations are involved in formulation of programmes. Yet, policy procedures are needed, but not to plan for next five years, but to create regional innovation architecture, forums for innovation to emerge, and thus to empower actors and leverage their efforts.

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