Mobility and the New Regional Map of Denmark

A case study of two types of geographically intersecting regions

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Synopsis

The starting of this project is a key diagram from the national planning report 'The New Map of Denmark'. The figure illustrates the regional geography of Denmark with five new administrative regions and two functional regions, and the two types of regions exist within the same space. We see this as potentially causing conflicts, which is reflected in the problem formulation:
How are mobility problems officially framed in the two types of regions in the case and what potential conflicts arise?

The concepts mobility and framing are central to this project. Mobility is in this project conceptualised as movement that is made sense of through the discursive construction of meaning. A frame is conceptualised as a meaningful story that defines a given problem and describes a course of action. The frame is developed through the process of transforming accessible information about a phenomenon into a meaningful whole through interpretation governed by values. Through the theoretical examination of the concepts mobility and framing an analytical framework for analysing mobility problems in the two types of regions is developed.

The framework is used to analyse how the two types of regions officially frame mobility problems to be able to identify potential conflicts. The analyses are based on documents and qualitative interviews. The comparison revealed a significant difference, as the two types of regions have two fundamentally different spatial development visions. Additionally, the analyses showed that there is not a strong sense of sustainable mobility in either of the two types of regions as mobility is addressed from a 'business as usual' perspective. In this way, regional Denmark faces a number of challenges.

Preface

This report is made as a master thesis in the Master programme Urban Planning and Management at Aalborg University in the period from 1st February to 11th June 2008.

This report concerns the development of a 'New map of Denmark' on the regional level. The report takes its starting point in the resent development within regional strategic planning after the Structural Reform. The resent development on the regional level in Denmark presents a 'messy' image of the new map of Denmark, as it contains two different types of geographically intersecting regions – administrative and functional. The report aims at investigating potential conflicts between the two types of regions through an investigation of how mobility is being framed officially in each type of regions. Finally, the report discusses the future of regional strategic planning in Denmark from a mobility perspective.

In the report, we use the Harvard method for referencing. References are presented in brackets showing author and year of publication, and page number in case of direct quotations. Quotations are written in italic and quotations taken from the middle of the sentence are stated with three dots before and after the quotation. The use of [ ] in quotations indicates that we have added words in order to clarify the meaning. A full stop after a reference implies that the reference is for the sentence just mentioned, while a full stop before the reference implies that the reference is for the entire paragraph.

Figures are numbered separately for each chapter. In every chapter, figure numbers are 'x.y' where 'x' refers to the chapter and 'y' refers to the number of the figure in order of appearance. Figures with no reference are made by us.

In relation to the project, several persons have participated in interviews. On this background, we would like to give a special thanks to Bue Nielsen from the Agency for Spatial and Environmental Planning in the Ministry of the Environment, Anders Debel and Hanne-Marie Sieg Sørensen from the department of Regional Development in Central Denmark Region and Mikkel Hemmingsen from the department of Development in South Denmark Region.

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A New Regional Map of Denmark

This project takes its starting point in an interest and curiosity in examining the present development within regional strategic planning in Denmark. Our curiosity for this field arose from the present national planning report 'The New Map of Denmark' (Miljøministeriet 2006). One of the key spatial diagrams in the national planning report illustrates the regional geography in Denmark, see figure 1.1. What is noticeable about this diagram is that not one type of region is represented but two. As the figure shows, the new map of Denmark consists of five new administrative regions and two functional regions highlighted by the white circles.

In this way, 'The New Map of Denmark' presents a 'messy' picture of regional Denmark with two different types of regions which are geographically overlapping. To us that picture raised more questions than answers – questions such as: Do planning problems differ in the two types of regions? Are planning issues framed differently in the two types of regions? Are there any frame conflicts between the regional planning strategies? What are the implications for planning practice? And how is planning managed in the two types of regions?

To investigate this messy picture of regional Denmark, we have chosen to focus on a single case – the East Jutland urban corridor and the two administrative regions it intersects. The East Jutland urban corridor is shown by the white circle in Jutland on figure 1.1. The two administrative regions, the urban corridor intersects, are Central Denmark and South Denmark, which are shown in accordingly brown and blue colours on the
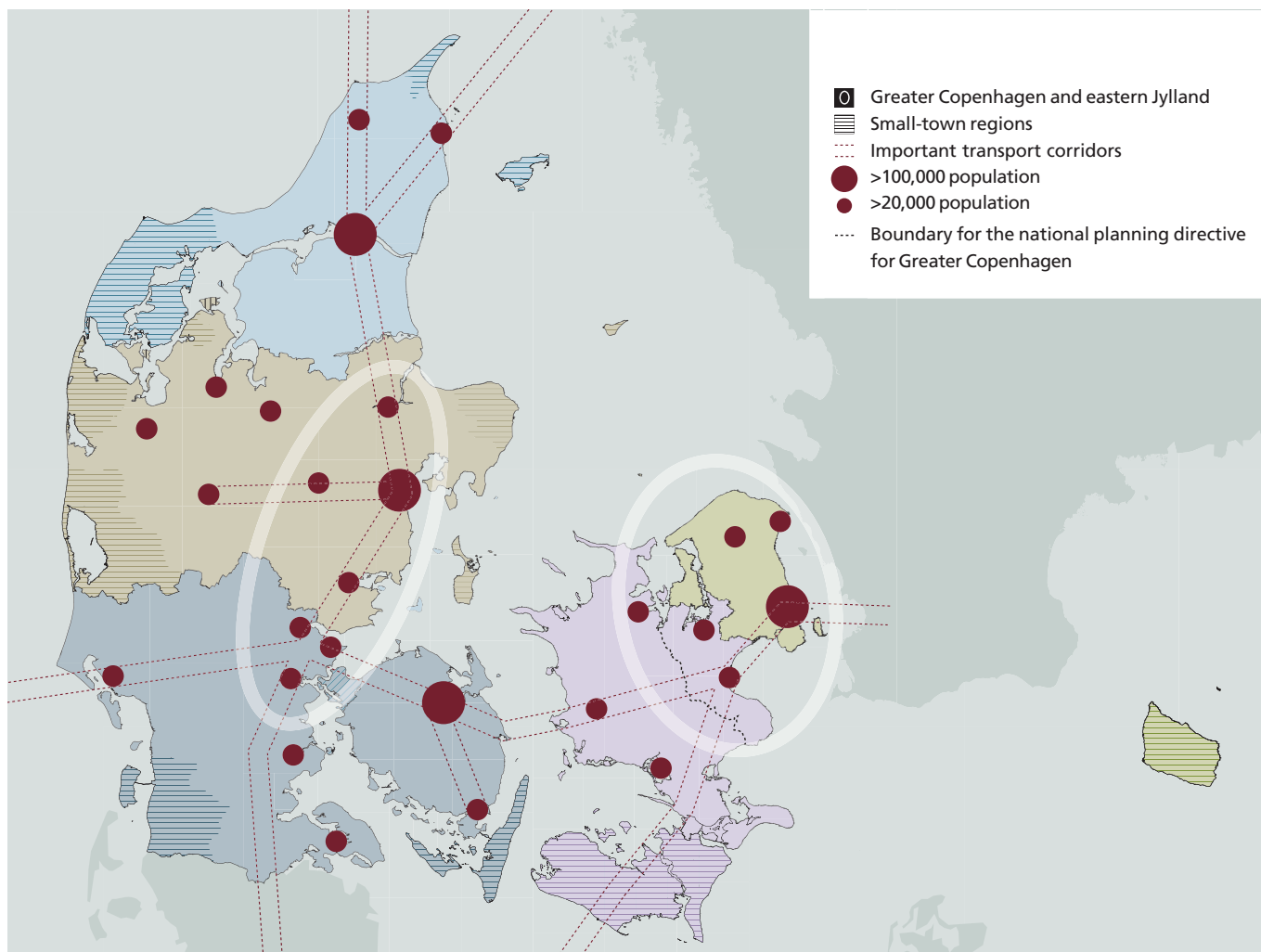
Figure 1.1: shows a key diagram from the national planning report 'The New Map of Denmark', which consists of five new administrative regions and two functional regions (Ministry of the Environment 2006).

figure. Before we introduce the administrative and functional regions, we will briefly clarify the concept of regions.

The Regional Concept

Jensen & Gyldenkærne define a region in the following way: *"Generally, the concept region refers to a geographically bounded area, which often separates itself from the nation state. Regional areas can exist within the nation state or be areas that transcend national borders ('cross-border' regions)."* (Jensen & Gyldenkærne 2007, p. 168, translated). According to this definition, regions are simply geographically defined areas, which separate themselves from the nation state. Both types of regions illustrated on figure 1.1 fit this definition as they are both geographically bounded areas separated from the nation state.

Jørgensen underlines that it is important to be aware of that regions are always socially constructed: *"… any region will be socially constructed…"* (Jørgensen 1997, p. 381, translated). In this way, regions consist of socially constructed meaning that is assigned to a specific geographically defined area. A region can, thereby, be constructed on basis of a number of different aspects such as cultural coherence, a functional labour market, industrial areas or political administrations (Jensen & Gyldenkærne 2007). This point is also made by Veggeland: *"A region is a geographic area. The difficulties lie in defining this area closely, as a region can have both a political-administrative and a functional demarcation."* (Veggeland 2000, p. 54, translated). These regional difficulties and differences in defining the areas are also what separate the regions in this case. Theoretically, Central Denmark and South Denmark regions can be characterised as administrative regions, while the East Jutland urban corridor can be characterised as a functional region, which

is discussed in more detail in chapter 9.

The national planning report also distinguishes between the two types of regions, but does not use the same regional concepts. In the national planning report, the five regions are also referred to as administrative regions, while the two others are referred to as city regions (Miljøministeriet 2006). In this report, we will use the theoretical terms administrative and functional regions to distinguish between the two types of regions. In the following, we will briefly introduce the administrative and functional regions.

Five Administrative Regions

As a consequence of the recent Danish Structural Reform from 2007, a radical restructuring of the regional level in Denmark has taken place through an amalgamation of 14 counties into five new administrative regions. The new administrative regions are, thereby, geographically larger than the former counties. The geography of the five new administrative regions can be seen on figure 1.1. As the figure shows, all five administrative regions contain a mix of different types of areas. Thus, all five areas contain peripheral areas and larger cities or towns.

Within the planning area, the Structural Reform has radically changed the tasks on the regional level, as most of the former counties' planning tasks have been divided between the municipal and national levels or been discontinued. Only a small number of planning tasks within the environmental area has remained on the regional level. The administrative regions have been given a new task within planning – to develop 'regional spatial development plans'. As the name indicates, the intention is that the administrative regions should have a development oriented focus on planning, which is

a significant difference compared to the former counties that often was viewed as regulatory and environmentally focused (Overgaard & Vagnby 2005).

The role of the regional plan is described as being an overall strategy for the future development of the administrative region and should be developed in cooperation with municipalities, the business community, the regional council and other regional actors (Miljøministeriet 2006). The regional spatial development plan and the role of the administrative regions are further described and discussed in chapter 9.

In the national planning report, the administrative regions' role is described as creating or facilitating development in the entire region across differentiated areas such as large cities, medium-seized towns and peripheral areas: *"It will be a challenge for the regional cohesion to respond to how growth in parts of the region can benefit the entire region… The regional collaboration, thereby, has joint responsibility to ensure that more difficult positioned areas within the region can continue to sustain a good foundation."* (Miljøministeriet 2006, p. 30, translated). The quotation also gives an insight into the values underpinning planning in the administrative regions – cohesion and maintenance of development opportunities for the peripheral areas.

Furthermore, the administrative regions' role is described as: *"Common for the future administrative regions is that the regional council in cooperation with the region's municipalities should work for the establishment of connections between the different types of areas in each region…"* (Miljøministeriet 2006, p. 44, translated). The national planning report, thereby, describes the administrative regions as having a development oriented role within planning, where focus is on creating development in all parts of the regions and on creating links between the different types of areas.

Two Functional Regions

As already indicated, the five administrative regions are not the only new type of region introduced in Danish planning. With the present national planning report two functional regions were also introduced – the Copenhagen area and the East Jutland urban corridor (Miljøministeriet 2006). In this project, we focus on the East Jutland urban corridor, as this is a new planning entity compared to the Copenhagen area.

In the national planning report, the two functional regions are characterised as basis for growth and development in the entire country: *"Utilizing and continuing to develop the positions of strength of city regions are decisive for economic growth potential in all of Denmark."* (Ministry of the Environment 2006, p. 11). Thus, it is an objective to strengthen and develop the two functional regions further. In the national planning report, strengthening and developing the two functional regions are described as strengthening Denmark's position in the global competition: *"Cities and towns play a major role in the knowledge society. Denmark can only strengthen its global position by creating cities that can compete at the European level. The cities must promote economic growth but also ensure that this growth benefits the whole county."* (Ministry of the Environment 2006, p. 11). In this way, the national planning report draws a picture of a regional landscape in Denmark dominated by two main functional regions as the motive force for development in the entire country.

Planning projects have been initiated for both functional regions. In the East Jutland urban corri-

dor, the Ministry of the Environment has recently initiated a planning process in cooperation with the municipalities in the corridor about the future development of the area. The goal of the process is to develop a plan for the future development of the urban corridor, which takes problems with congestion and urban sprawl into consideration (By- og Landskabsstyrelsen 2007). The planning process is described in more detail in chapter 9. Additionally, the idea about the functional regions has been incorporated in to the work carried out by the Infrastructure Commission.

Uncovering Potential Conflicts
'The New Map of Denmark' draws a new picture of the regional level in Denmark after the Structural Reform containing two different types of regions. Both types of regions are underlined in connection with the creation of growth and development and both are given a role in planning. The two types of regions, though, have different objectives and purposes. As discussed above, the administrative regions are described as having a role in securing development in all parts of the region and linking different types of areas together. In contradiction, the functional regions have within the same area been constructed around existing growth centres, which are seen as decisive for the development of the entire country. Thus, the basic values between the two types of regions could seem to differ, as one type is focused on existing growth areas and the other on the more peripheral areas.

The overall differences between the two types of regions could potentially result in conflicts between spatial development strategies, as they could work in different directions. Conflicts can arise due to coordination problems across regional borders, for an example if the regions do not coordinate their courses of action to a planning issue. Conflicts can also be more fundamental and e.g. concern different spatial ideas about how regional Denmark should develop due to different sets of values in the two types of regions.

The seriousness of the potential conflicts increase, as the two types of regions are both neighbouring and geographically intersecting. It is the objective of this project to uncover these potential conflicts and to discuss their implications for regional development and planning.

Mobility as an Optic
We have chosen to focus on mobility as an optic through which we process the case, because we perceive mobility as a fundamental aspect for the development of the regions and society in general. The importance of mobility is described by Urry: *"Issues of movement, of too little movement for some or too much for others or of the wrong sort or at the wrong time, are it seems central to many people's lives and to the operation of many small and large public, private and non-governmental organizations."* (Urry 2007, p. 6). In this way, Urry describes mobility, in terms of movement, as something central to people's lives and to the operation of organisations. Urry also describes mobility as something that can be too little, too much, of the wrong sort or at the wrong time and, thereby, affects the development of society.

In this way, mobility can also affect regional development in Denmark – too little movement might mean lack of economical development or the wrong sort of movement might mean issues of congestion or environmental problems.

We, thereby, use mobility as an optic to uncover the potential conflicts between the two types of
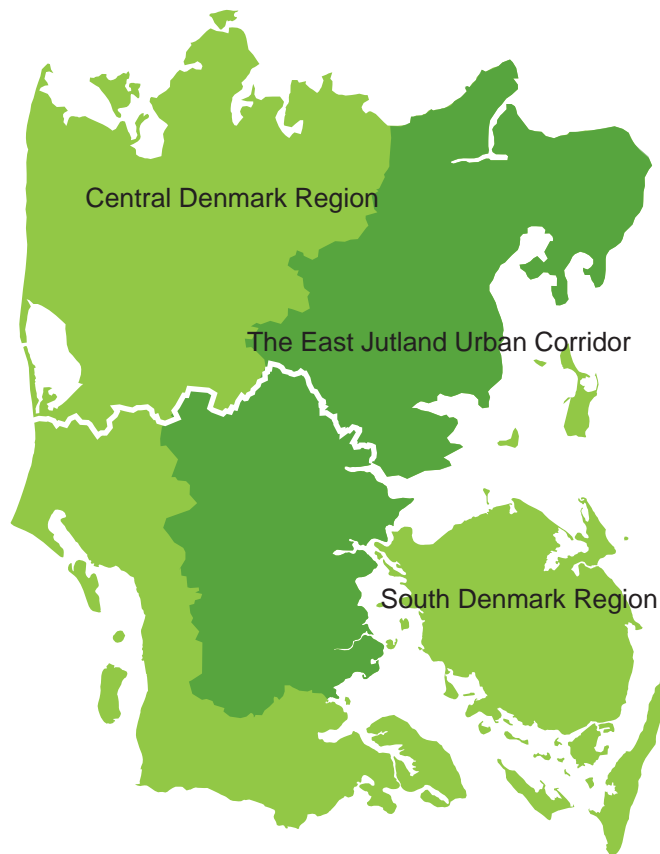
Map 1.1: illustrates the case of this project – the two administrative regions, Central Denmark and South Denmark, and the functional region, the East Jutland urban corridor.

regions in the case. Thus, our aim is to uncover, how mobility is being framed differently in the two types of regions and what potential conflicts arise. Furthermore, our aim is to discuss the implications of the findings for strategic regional planning practice.

1.1 Problem Formulation

'The New Map of Denmark' presents a 'messy' picture of regional Denmark with two types of geographically intersecting regions.

In this context, our main interest is to investigate potential conflicts in the way the two types of regions frame mobility problems in their strategic planning documents.

We have chosen to focus on the Jutlandic case where the two administrative regions, Central Denmark and South Denmark, are overlapped by the functional region, the East Jutland urban corridor. The three regions in the case are shown on map 1.1.

On this background, we have developed the following problem formulation:

How are mobility problems officially framed in the two types of regions in the case and what potential conflicts arise?

In order to answer the problem formulation, we have developed six sub-questions:

1. How can mobility and framing be understood theoretically?
2. How can official framings of mobility problems be investigated?
To be able to answer the problem formulation, we need to gain an understanding of the concepts

of mobility and framing and develop an analytical framework that allows us to investigate the two types of regions' official framings of mobility problems. Official framings of mobility problems relate to how the regions define mobility problems, which courses of action they suggest in relation to the problems and the meanings and values connected to mobility. The two first sub-questions are answered in the theoretical part of the report.

3. What are the official framings of mobility problems in the case?
4. What are the potential conflicts between the two types of regions' official framings of mobility problems?
The third and fourth sub-questions are investigated in the empirical part of the report. The third sub-question relates to an analysis of the official framings of mobility in each of the regions in the case. The results of the analyses are used to investigate the fourth sub-question, where the findings in each region are compared to uncover potential conflicts between the two types of regions.

5. What are the implications for planning of having two types of regions within the same space?
6. How is sustainable mobility being managed in the two types of regions?
The last two sub-questions discuss the implications of the findings from the empirical investigations and are answered in the concluding part of the report. When answering the fifth sub-question, we discuss the implications of having two conflicting spatial development visions for regional Denmark and how this conflict could be addressed in planning practice. The sixth sub-question opens up for a discussion about how sustainable mobility is being managed in the two types of regions.

In this way, our primary focus is what effects our findings have for planning practice. The problem formulation and the sub-questions are further discussed in chapter 6.

The following chapter outlines and describes the structure of the report in more detail. Additionally, the aim of the chapters are described and the relation between them.

2

Structure of the Report

The purpose of this chapter is to present an overview of the report. Moreover, we will describe the aim of each chapter and connections between them. The structure of the report can be seen in figure 2.1. As illustrated the report is divided into five parts: an introductory, a theoretical, a methodological, an empirical and finally a reflective and concluding.

Part I – Introduction
In **1 A New Regional Map of Denmark** the point of departure of the project and the problem formulation were presented. The point of departure for the project is a curiosity about how two different types of regions will handle mobility within the same space. The problem formulation guides the project and, thereby, leads to the elements in need of investigation.

Part II – Theory
The problem formulation is focussed on how the two types of regions officially frame mobility problems within the same space and what potential conflicts arise. In order to investigate the empirical case it is necessary to build a conceptual framework for analysing the regions' official framings of mobility problems. Before developing the framework, we conceptualise mobility and framing.
The conceptualisation of mobility, presented in **3 The Concept of Mobility**, takes its starting point in Cresswell's and Frello's understandings of mobility as closely interlinked with meaning. Cresswell's and Frello's understandings of mobility concep-tualise mobility as socially constructed and discursively constituted. Thereby, mobility also becomes a phenomenon that can be framed

Part I
Introduction

1 A New Regional Map of Denmark

2 Structure of the Report

Part II
Theory

3 The Concept of Mobility

4 The Concept of Framing

5 Framework - Combining Mobility and Framing

Part III
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6 Problem Formulation and Interpretivism

7 The Researh Strategy

8 Methodology Reflections

Part IV
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9 A Regional Context

10 South Denmark Region - Economy and the Environment

11 Central Denmark Region - Economic Growth and Balance

12 The East Jutland Urban Corridor - Congestion and Urban Sprawl

13 Comparing the Two Types of Regions

Part V
Discussion & Conclusion

14 Two Types of Regions - Two Spatial Development Visions

15 The Regions and Sustainable Mobility
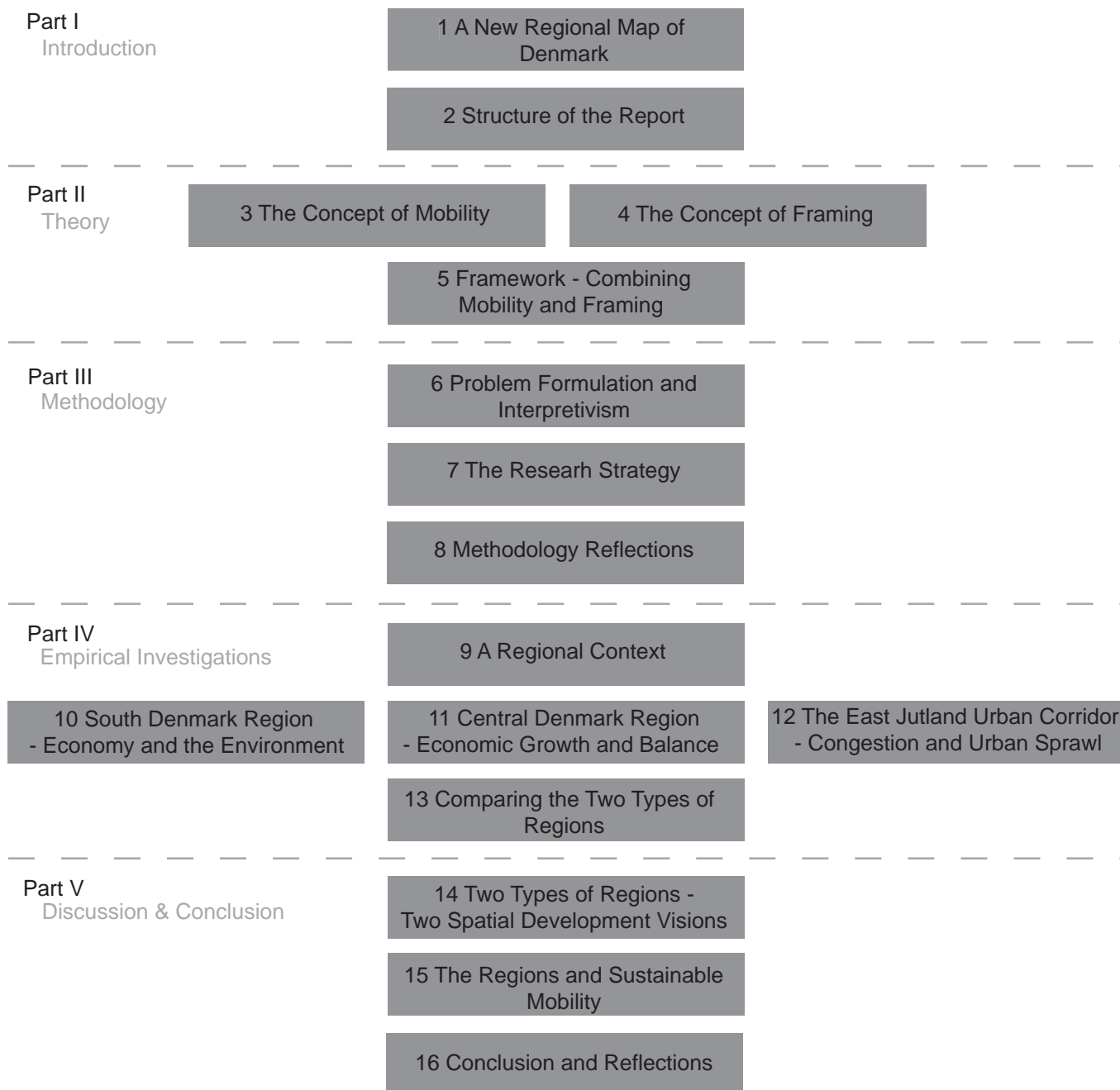
16 Conclusion and Reflections

Figure 2.1: shows the structure of the report.

differently. In **4 The Concept of Framing**, we discuss the concept of framing and develop a conceptualisation of framing consisting of four main elements: problem formulation, course of action, meaning and values.

The conceptualisations of mobility and framing constitute the background for the development of the framework, presented in **5 Framework – Combining Mobility and Framing**. The purpose of the framework is to open up the case and analyse how the regions' officially frame mobility problems.

Part III – Methodology
In **6 Problem Formulation and Interpretivism** we present the methodological considerations behind developing the problem formulation. The analysis of the problem formulation is affected by our theoretical research approach. Therefore, we discuss interpretivism and how it affects our project. The type of problem formulation leads toward a case study as an appropriate research strategy.

In **7 Research Strategy** the case study approach is discussed. The research strategy also includes a description and discussion of data collection and data analysis. The main source of data in this project is official planning documents from the regions in the case, but we also make use of qualitative interviews to get a more detailed understanding of the background of the documents. The chapter also describes how the analytical framework was developed and how to use it in practice. A reflection of the methods used is presented in **8 Methodology Reflections**.

Part IV – Empirical Investigations
The empirical part of the report starts with a description of the case of the project and context it is placed within, which can be found in **9 A Regional Context**. The chapter describes the two types of regions from both a theoretical and empirical perspective, which constitutes the context the empirical findings should be understood within.

In **10 South Denmark Region – Economy and the Environment** contains the analysis of official framings of mobility problems in South Denmark. Central Denmark is analysed in **11 Central Denmark Region – Economic Growth and Balance**. Finally, the urban corridor is analysed in **12 The East Jutland Urban Corridor – Congestion and Urban Sprawl**. In **13 Comparing the Two Types of Regions**, the analyses of the three regions' official framings of mobility problems are compared in order to reveal conflicts between the two types of regions.

Part V – Discussion and Conclusion
The last part of the report contains two discussions of the main empirical findings and a conclusion on the report. In **14 Two Types of Regions – Two Spatial Development Visions**, we discuss the implications of the two types of regions having different and incompatible spatial development visions. Furthermore, we discuss the possibilities for convergence between the two types of regions and their visions. In **15 The Regions and Sustainable Mobility**, we discuss how sustainable mobility is being managed in the regions and how it could be improved.

The conclusion is found in **16 Conclusion and Reflections** where we return to the problem formulation and answer the questions. Furthermore, we return to the starting point of the project – the new regional map of Denmark.

Part II

Theory

3

The Concept of Mobility

"All the world seems to be on the move." (Sheller & Urry 2006, p. 207). This being both movements across the world of people, objects, capital and information but also movement on a more local scale e.g. daily transportation, movement through public spaces and the travel of material things (Hannam et al. 2006). Hannam et al. emphasise mobility to be a comprehensive keyword and: *"… a powerful discourse that creates its own effects and contexts."* (Hannam et al. 2006, p. 1). In this way, mobility affects and changes both the global and local network in terms of both virtual and physical movement. Thereby, mobilities transform aspects of economic and social life and also affect the global environment (Urry 2007). The changes have a number of different consequences and effects for people and places (Sheller & Urry 2006). These consequences are emphasised in the following: *"Mobility are centrally*

involved in reorganizing institutions, generating climate changes, moving risks and illnesses across the globe, altering travel, tourism and migration patterns, producing a more distant family life, transforming the social and educational life of young people, connecting distant people through 'weak ties' and so on." (Hannam et al. 2006, p. 2). The quotation illustrates that mobility's consequences are significant for people and places and affects society in a number of ways, which illustrates the complexity of mobility.

The objective of this project is to investigate how two types of regions frame mobility problems and outline what potential conflicts might arise. Thus, the overall aim is to uncover how the regions frame mobility and, thereby, how they make sense of mobility. As illustrated above, mobility is a complex concept, which can consist of different

elements and has a number of different effects on people and society. Therefore, we need to develop an understanding of mobility, which opens up for mobility as a concept that can be framed and understood in different ways. Thereby, central to this project is mobility, meanings and discourse, which is discussed in the following sections.

3.1 Conceptualising Mobility

"Movement is rarely just movement; it carries with it the burden of meaning…" (Cresswell 2006, p. 6). The quotation underlines the starting point of our understanding of mobility – that mobility is not only movement, but also carries with it meaning. Mobility is, therefore, not only one thing but can be an endless number of things, as emphasised before, according to the meanings that are attached. Mobility can be seen as something liberating by allowing people to move where they want when they want. Mobility can also be seen as something that generates growth and development opportunities by increasing access to an area or the connectivity of the area. But mobility can also be seen as a threat e.g. something that threatens our environment through pollution. Thus, mobility can mean different things to different actors and in different contexts.

Mobility and Movement

Cresswell underlines that mobility fundamentally is about movement between locations this being between two cities or from one room in a house to another. He though also stresses that understanding mobility simply as movement from one location to another is too limited. Instead, meanings connected to movement between locations should be included in the understanding of mobility. Cresswell, therefore, makes a distinction between

mobility and movement, where movement is: *"… an act of displacement that allows people to move between locations."* (Cresswell 2006, p. 2). Thus, movement is mobility stripped of meaning. In this way, meaning becomes a central aspect of mobility. Frello disagrees with Cresswell's understanding of movement as she stresses that movement cannot be imagined without meaning. She builds on Cresswell's understanding in the following way: *"… movement is a metaphor for various activities and attitudes, such as imagination and openness towards other ways of thinking and living."* (Frello 2008, p. 28). Thus, Frello has a dual understanding of movement as both empirical and metaphorical. Frello exemplifies this point by looking at 'movement' and 'non-movement' as concepts that are both socially constructed and, thereby, imbued with meaning. (Frello 2008). By assigning meaning to movement, Frello conflates the difference between movement and mobility as understood by Cresswell. Thus, Frello does not distinguish between the two concepts (Frello 2008).

In this project, our focus is on how different mobility problems are framed within the two types of regions. It is, thereby, not the empirical or actual movement that is important for our investigation, but instead how movements or mobilities are imagined, made sense of and understood in the regions i.e. the meaning ascribed to mobility. Thus, it is not important for this investigation to distinguish between movement and mobility. In other connections, a distinction between the empirical fact of movement and the meanings ascribed to it could, though, be useful. In the following, we will look closer at Cresswell's and Frello's understandings of mobility.

Mobility as Meaning
It is the metaphorical understanding of move-ment and mobility, as discussed above, which is central to Frello, as she expresses: *"Movement cannot be grasped in a strictly 'empirical' sense outside, above or below the meaning that is ascribed to it, including the discursive conventions that guide the ascription of meaning in specific instances."* (Frello 2008, p. 29). In this way, Frello underlines that understanding the meanings connected to mobility are fundamen-tal in understanding mobility itself. This understan-ding is shared by Cresswell, who also emphasises meaning as a crucial part in grasping mobility (Cresswell 2006).

Cresswell describes mobility in more detail through three aspects. Firstly, he describes mobility as an empirical reality and, thereby, something that can be observed and measured (Cresswell 2006). This could for example be measurements of the number of cars on a given road or commuting patterns.
The second aspect of mobility is meanings. Mobili-ty is 'captured' through various representations and made sense of through the construction of meaning. These representations can have various forms such as film, photography, literature and, as in this project, planning documents. The first and the second aspect of mobility are closely related, as it is the actual empirical movement in the first aspect that is made sense of in the se-cond. (Cresswell 2006). Frello agrees with Cresswell that mobility is constituted by both empirical movement and meanings, but she does not consi-der it possible to clearly separate the two aspects as any way we might try to perceive and understand empirical movements will be through socially constructed meaning (Frello 2008).

The last aspect of Cresswell's understanding of mobility is that mobility is something practiced and experienced: *"Mobility is a way of being in the world."* (Cresswell 2006, p. 3). Mobility is, thereby, also constituted by how we experience it. This third aspect of mobility is also interlinked with the second, as Cresswell describes: *"Often how we experience mobility and the way we move are intima-tely connected to meanings given to mobility through representation. Similarly, representations of mobility are based on ways in which mobility is practiced and embodied."* (Cresswell 2006, p. 4).
Cresswell's and Frello's understandings of mobili-ty both underline the importance of meaning in relation to mobility and, thereby, stresses that how we represent and make sense of mobility affects the empirical movements that takes place in empirical reality. In this project, the main focus is on different mobility representations or fra-mings in the two types of regions and how these different representations might create conflicts in the empirical reality. In this way, our focus is not on the actual movements taking place in the re-gions, but instead how different mobility problems are being framed in these regions.

Discourse and Meaning
The meanings which are part of mobility are manifold and can differ in both time and space. Cresswell describes some of the meanings attac-hed to mobility as follows: *"Mobility as progress, as freedom, as opportunity, and as modernity, sit side by side with mobility as shiftlessness, as deviance, and as resistance. Mobility, then, is more central to both the world and our understanding of it than ever before."* (Cresswell 2006, p.1-2). Hereby, Cress-well underlines that understanding mobility has be-come central to understanding the world and society and that mobility is closely interlinked

with how we view and construct the world and society we live in. In this way, mobility becomes a product of social construction: *"It is inconceivable to think of societies anywhere without mobility and place and yet any particular way we have of thinking about them is self-evidently socially produced."* (Cresswell 2006, p. 22). Thus, mobility becomes interlinked with discourses as it is through discourses that meaning is socially constructed. Discourses are further discussed in the following chapter.

As discussed in the previous, Frello agrees with Cresswell that mobility can have different meanings to different people and in different contexts. But to this Frello adds: *"Mobility not only means different things in different circumstances: these meanings are discursively constituted and are themselves the products of, and produce, power relations."* (Frello 2008, p. 29). In this way, Frello is more explicitly about the connection between mobility and discourse compared to Cresswell. In the quotation, Frello underlines that the discursive understanding also links mobility to power relations. This connection also implies that mobility 'matters', i.e. how meaning is constructed within mobility determines who are mobile when and how. Thereby, the study of meanings connected to mobility is not only interesting in relation to investigating, which meanings are in existence, but also how these meaning affects or can affect reality. Chapter 14 and 15 contain a discussion of the way mobility is being framed in the two types of regions and its affects on regional development and planning practice.

3.2 Our Understanding of Mobility
The central aspect, for this project, is the meanings connected to mobility and not the empirical movement itself. The case study concerns an investigation of how mobility problems are framed in the two types of regions i.e. uncovering the potential conflicts between the regions. Thus, we wish to investigate how mobility problems are made sense of and framed and also how these different meanings and framings could affect planning within the area, cf. chapter 1. This theoretical discussion of mobility leads to the following understanding of mobility:

In this project, we understand mobility as movement that is made sense of through the discursive construction of meaning.

This understanding is in line with both Cresswell's and Frello's understandings of mobility, as it place meanings as the central key in understanding mobility. Moreover, we agree with and adopt Frello's understanding of meaning as something discursively constructed. This focus implies that the meanings are differentiated and, thus, mobility might not mean the same thing to different people, in different points in time and in different contexts. In the following chapter, we look more closely at discourse and framing.

4

The Concept of Framing

This project is concerned with how mobility problems are framed in the two types of regions. In this chapter, we look closer at the concept of framing. Firstly, we examine the concept of framing and develop our understanding of the concept, after which we examine elements of framing in more detail.

4.1 Conceptualising Framing
There is no definite definition of the concept (Fischer 2003) and the aim of this section is, therefore, to develop an understanding of how the concept can be used to investigate the problem formulation.

Problem Definition, Course of Action and Meaning
Generally, framing relates to the process of giving meaning to a phenomenon. Goffman expresses framing as a principle of organisation, which governs events and our subjective involvement in them (Goffman 1975). This understanding is further developed by van Gorp in (Fischer 2003) who understands a frame as an: *"… organizing principle that transforms fragmentary information into a structured and meaningful whole."* (Fischer, 2003, p. 144). In this way, a frame or the process of framing is a way in which information about a phenomenon is transformed into something meaningful.
This is also expressed by Fischer: *"Framing is a dynamic process by which producers and receivers of messages transform information into a meaningful*

whole by interpreting them…" (Fischer 2003, p. 144). Thus, meaning is assigned to a phenomenon by interpreting accessible information. The previous chapter emphasised, mobility as being understood differently by different people, as a result of the meanings attached to mobility.

Framing can also be seen as more than the construction of meaning through interpretation of information. Rein and Schoen in (Fischer 2003) define frames, as: *"… a normative-prescriptive story that sets out a problematic policy problem and a course of action to be taken to address the problematic situation."* (Fischer 2003, p. 144). Thus, framing is not only an understanding of a given phenomenon, but also a course of action for how to manage the phenomenon. Entman's understanding is similar to Rein and Schoen's, as he stresses: *"... a frame's ability to define problems, state a diagnosis, pass judgement, and reach a conclusion."* (Fischer 2003, p. 144). Hereby, Entman stresses problem definition and what to do about the problem as part of a frame. By including course of action in framings, frames become interlinked with rationalities, norms and values, as they point towards one course of action instead of others.

Fischer underlines the importance of investigating both problem definition and course of action in relation to a frame:*"… one cannot simply compare different perspectives for dealing with a problem without recognizing that frames change the problem."* (Fischer 2003, p. 144). It is, thereby, not possible to compare different courses of action in relation to mobility problems without examining how the problem itself is defined as the problem might be understood differently by different actors. Hereby, both problem definition and course of action become important elements of framing.

Frame Conflicts and Values
That a frame relies on interpretation also means that a phenomenon can be framed differently as different actors interpret information differently: *"As such, frames – like metaphors generally – select out some parts of reality on expense of others. A frame indicates which elements become more meaningful."* (Fischer 2003, p. 144). In this way, some elements of a phenomenon are perceived as more relevant or important than others: *"That which is framed and expressed is generally that which the framing group values, often giving rise to 'frame conflict'."* (Fischer 2003, p. 143). Thereby, frame conflicts arise when different actors frame a phenomenon differently. Frame conflicts are central to this project, as we investigate how mobility problems are framed differently by different official actors in the two types of regions.

Fischer underlines that frame conflicts are not only about emphasis on different elements, but also a question of values: *"Frame conflict occurs not only because different groups focus on different elements of a policy issue, but because they value different elements differently."* (Fischer 2003, p. 143). Thus, the way a phenomenon is framed is determined by values.

4.2 Our Understanding of Framing
Our understanding of framing primarily takes its starting point in van Gorp's, Rein and Schoen's understandings of framing as a process of interpreting information into a meaningful whole and a frame as a story combining problem defini-tion and course of action. The theoretical discussion of framing leads to the following understanding of framing:

> *In this project, we understand a frame as a meaningful story that defines a given problem and describes a course of action. A frame is developed through the process of transforming accessible information about a phenomenon into a meaningful whole through interpretation governed by values.*

In this way, our understanding of a frame puts emphasis on the meanings constructed through interpretation, a problem definition and course of action. Moreover, we underline that the development of a frame is influenced by values.

It is important to underline that a frame is always embedded within a specific context: *"Policy issues tend to arise in environments that are always part of some broader political and economical setting, which in turn is located in a particular period of history or time."* (Fischer 2003, p. 146). The way a phenomenon is framed is, thereby, influenced by its context and it is, therefore, important to be aware of the context when examining frames. The context of this regional case is described in chapter 9.

In this section, we have developed an understanding of framing, which emphasises values and meaning as central in establishing a problem definition and course of action. Frame conflicts are not only conflicts about a certain course of action, but also conflicts about how a phenomenon should be understood and valued. In the following section, we will look closer at how framing and discourse are interlinked.

4.3 Framing as Discourse

Hajer defines discourse as consisting of: *"… an ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categories through which meaning is given to phenomena, and which is produced and reproduced through an identifiable set of practices."* (Hajer 2005, p. 303). Thereby, discourse is fundamentally about constructing meaning in relation to a given phenomenon in the material and social world. In this way, framing can be seen as a specific form of discourse, which not only includes construction of meaning, but also a problem definition and course of action, see figure 4.1. We agree with Hajer in his definition of discourse as ideas and concepts, produced in everyday practice, which gives meaning to a phenomenon. The production of discourse is though not the focus of this project. Thus, we examine the discourse itself and not how it is produced. How discourses and framings are investigated is discussed in more detail in chapter 7.

Discourse and Language

By seeing framing as a specific form of discourse, language becomes central. Discourse is focused on language and how meaning is constructed through language: *"The basic assumption of discourse analysis is that language profoundly shapes one's view of the world and reality, instead of being just a neutral medium mirroring it."* (Hajer & Versteeg 2005, p. 176). Thus, language and text are not neutral media reflecting an already existing reality – language also plays an active role in shaping people's understanding of the world.
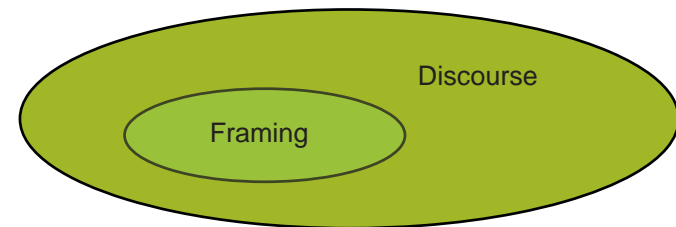

Figure 4.1: illustrates how discourse and framing are interlinked – framing is a specific form of discourse.

Hajer sees language as a powerful aspect: *"Language has the capacity to make politics, to create signs and symbols that can shift power-balances and impact on institutions and policy-making."* (Hajer 2005, p. 300). In this way, language is an important aspect in policy making through the creation of discourse and framings. Jørgensen and Phillips also stress the importance of language, as language has the capacity to create different representations of reality. The relationship between language and reality is dual, as language on one hand represents and describes an already exiting reality, but on the other hand the use of language also creates and shapes reality. (Jørgensen & Phillips 1999)

Discourse is fundamentally about making sense of different phenomena and, thereby, constructing meaning and interpreting a phenomena in a certain way. That is also why discourse is relevant in an analytical context. A discursive approach opens up for how and why meaning is constructed in a particular way in a given field. In investigating discourses and framings, language is central as discourse is constituted by language. Language is closely interlinked with storylines, which in this project is used to identify the official frames. The relation between discourse and storylines are discussed in chapter 7. Our analysis of the official framings of mobility problems, therefore, takes its starting point in a discourse analysis. In the following section, we investigate how framing is interlinked with planning.

4.4 Planning, Meaning and Values
In this section, we look closer at meaning and values in relation to framing and planning. Thereby, planning, meaning and values are discussed, as they are central to our understanding of framing.

Framing in Planning
Framing, as defined above, is closely interlinked with planning. Richardson is a proponent for a discursive approach to planning, as he sees planning as an arena of constant struggle over meanings and values in society (Richardson 2002). In this way, planning can be seen as a struggle between different framings over how society should be interpreted and which course of action should be followed.

Jensen also stresses a close relationship between planning and discourse, as she describes discourse as the way plans, organisations and planners present the world, which planning is concerned about (Jensen 2007). Hereby, planning can be understood as a way of representing or giving meaning to the world or society that consists of constant struggle over these interpretations and meanings. More-over, planning is, in its nature, oriented towards the future and, thereby, includes a course of action for how to deal with a specific phenomenon or society. These understandings of planning also underline the connection between framing and discourse, which we look closer at in the following section.

In this project we understand planning as an arena of constant struggle over how planning issues and society are framed. Moreover, plans are seen as containing a planning organisation's framings of an issue. Thereby, meaning and values also become important in relation to planning.

Policy, Planning and Meaning
As discussed above, meaning is central for both framing and discourse. This aspect is also stressed by Fischer who underlines that, a discursive analysis: *"… begins with the recognition that the human and physical realms are inherently different.*

The reason has to do with social meaning. Whereas physical objects have no intrinsic meaning structures, human actors actively construct their social worlds. They do so by assigning meaning to events and actions, both physical and social." (Fischer 2003, p. 48). Thus, the social world is constructed by assigning meaning to phenomena and in this way meaning becomes central in understanding social reality. Meaning is, thereby, also what separates the physical and the social world.

Fischer also underlines that meanings play an important role in politics, as he sees politics as fundamentally being about social meaning (Fischer 2003). In this way, politics is about how phenomena should be understood and made sense of and, thereby, it becomes similar to our understanding of planning. In this connection, Fischer also underlines: *"If there are no conflicts over meaning, the issue is not political, by definition."* (Fischer 2003, p. 57). If there is no conflict over how a phenomenon should be understood there is no reason to plan as everyone would agree about how the problem should be defined and the course of action. Thus, politics and planning can be understood as a struggle for the right to define the meaning attached to a phenomenon. In relation to mobility, an example could be whether mobility should be understood as something that creates growth and development or as something that is a threat for the environment. This aspect is elaborated in the analyses in chapter 10 to 12 and further discussed in chapter 15.

Politics and planning are, thereby, interlinked with social meaning and: *"... a constant discursive struggle over the definitions of problems, the boundaries of categories used to describe them, the criteria for their classification and assessment, and the meanings of ideals that guide particular actions."* (Fischer 2003, p. 60). The aspects, Fischer underlines in the quote, are closely related to our understanding of framing, which underlines that political or planning conflicts are often about conflicting framings of a phenomenon.

By placing meaning as central for politics, meaning also becomes central for the outcomes of a policy process. This is discussed by Hajer & Versteeg in relation to environmental politics, where they conclude that: *"The meanings affect the outcomes, laws and institutions and indeed becomes the context in which the environment can be discussed."* (Hajer & Versteeg 2005, p. 177). Meanings can, thereby, affect outcomes and courses of action in a number of ways, which underline the importance of being aware of meanings in policy and planning.

Social meaning is a central aspect of framing, as meaning is how we make sense of a phenomenon and, thereby, affects how we define the problem and choose a course of action. Different meanings are also what create political and planning issues. If there were no disagreement about the meaning of an issue there would be no need for politics and planning. Disagreements about meanings are also related to values, which we look closer at in the following.

Planning and Values
In the previous, values were described as being the background for frame conflicts, as values affect the meaning we attach to a phenomenon. Hereby, values and meanings are closely interlinked.

Values are not only important in a framing context, but in planning in general, as discussed by Campbell: *"... planning is about making choices, with and for others, about what makes good places. Judgement*

is, therefore, at the heart of what planners do, and in making distinctions about good and bad, better and worse, in relation to particular places we are constantly engaged in questions of values." (Campbell 2002, p. 272). Previously, we developed an understanding of planning as a process of framing phenomena and society. If this understanding is combined with Campbell's, planning becomes a process of framing where the question of values are central. Thus, frames are not given in advance they are developed through a process where questions about good and bad, right and wrong, in relation to a phenomenon, are addressed. This process where values are determined can be more or less conscious.

Campbell, furthermore, stresses that frames are never pre-given in planning even though they might seem so: *"… at the time that decisions are taken many options are available. Planning problems may be without ultimate conclusions but they are not without the need to take decisions. Judgement between these options depends on the interplay of universal ways of understanding about better and worse and the particularities of place."* (Campbell 2002, p. 282). Campbell's point is that it is our values that helps us or guide us in the selection between different decisions. This, though, also gives rise to conflicts as different actors have different values and, therefore, would make different decisions. This is described by Campbell in the following way: *"… perhaps most crucially, planning issues are contested. They are contested in their process and they are contested in their outcomes. In making choices about good places, different knowledges and lived experiences rub up against one another…"* (Campbell 2002, p. 277). Thus, knowledge and experience affect the way decisions involving values are made, i.e. judging between good and bad. On basis of the analyses, chapter 13 will show conflicts between frames e.g. economic growth and a protection of the environment.

According to Campbell, values in planning can be revealed by looking at how planning relates to 'others' (Campbell 2002). This could be in relation to which interests are included in a planning process and which are not. It is though not only which stakeholders that are included or excluded that can reveal values, but also which aspects of a phenomenon that are included or excluded. Is a phenomenon for example only seen in relation to economic terms excluding social and environmental considerations? The considerations and priorities made in relation to framing of a planning issue thus reveal values, cf. chapter 14 and 15.

Values are an unavoidable part of planning, as planning, like politics, is about the 'common good' (Campbell 2002). Framings of planning issues must, therefore, also address the question of values i.e. determine what is considered good and bad, right and wrong and how elements are prioritised in relation to each other.

A phenomenon, thereby becomes a planning issue because there are different potential understandings of the phenomenon and, thereby, potentially different framings. Frame conflicts often involve all aspects of a frame. Conflicts about the course of action can, thereby, be due to different definitions of a problem, different ways of understanding a phenomenon and different values. On the other hand, a course of action can be part of several framings. This should be understood, as a course of action does not necessarily mean that everyone have the same problem definition, meaning and values.

In the next chapter, we combine mobility and framing in order to create an analytical framework for the empirical case study.

Framework - Combining Mobility and Framing

The objective of this chapter is to present the analytical framework developed for the analysis of the case. The framework is developed on basis of the theoretical considerations presented in the two previous chapters. In this project, we conceptualise mobility as movement that is made sense of through meaning. The conceptualisation of mobility is used as a basis for the development of the framework, whereas our conceptualisation of framing present and discuss the different elements of a frame. The framework should be seen as a way of opening up the case and analyse how mobility problems are officially framed within the two types of regions.

5.1 A Mobility Framework

This section presents the analytical framework developed for the case study. The objective of the framework is to open up the case and identify the relevant elements that can be used in the analysis of the case. Our definition of framing stresses that a frame is a meaningful story, which expresses a given problem definition and a course of action, where the development of the frame is influenced by values, cf. chapter 4. Thus, the analytical framework includes problem definition, course of action, meaning and values, see figure 5.1.

The framework is focused on the frame itself and not the process of framing. In this way, the framework differentiates itself from our understanding of framing which both indicates the process of framing and the outcome. This is a deliberate choice, as the project is focused on investigating frames and not the framing process.

Elements of the Analytical Framework

The analytical framework consists of three boxes. The first box in the framework consists of two elements - problem definition and course of action. A characteristic of a frame is its ability to define problems and state a course of action, cf. chapter 4. A frame consists of one problem definition, but can consist of several courses of action, cf. chapter 7. A problem definition in relation to mobility could be that congestion on motorways is a barrier for interaction between two urban centres. A course of action to this problem could e.g. be to increase capacity of the motorways. Chapter 7 presents how to identify each frame's problem definition through the use of storylines.

The second box in the framework is meaning. Meaning is central both in relation to framing and mobility, cf. chapter 3 and 4. A specific problem definition and course of action are developed on basis of the meanings related to mobility and mobility problems. Thus, meanings are how we make sense of a phenomenon and, thereby, it affects both the problem definition and course of action. To continue the example above, meaning in relation to congestion could be mobility as connectivity, as mobility can be seen as something that connects urban centres. Thus, the second box concerns, how mobility is made sense of in a frame.

The last element in the framework is values. Values are also closely related to the problem definition and course of action, as values for instance can be seen as a guidance in choosing between different courses of action. At the same time, values affect the meanings we attach to a problem definition. Thus, values are a prioritisation between different considerations and decisions involving good and

Problem Definition

How do the regions define problems in relation to mobility?

Course of Action

Which course(s) of action are the regions suggesting to the mobility problems?

Meaning

How is mobility made sense of?

Values

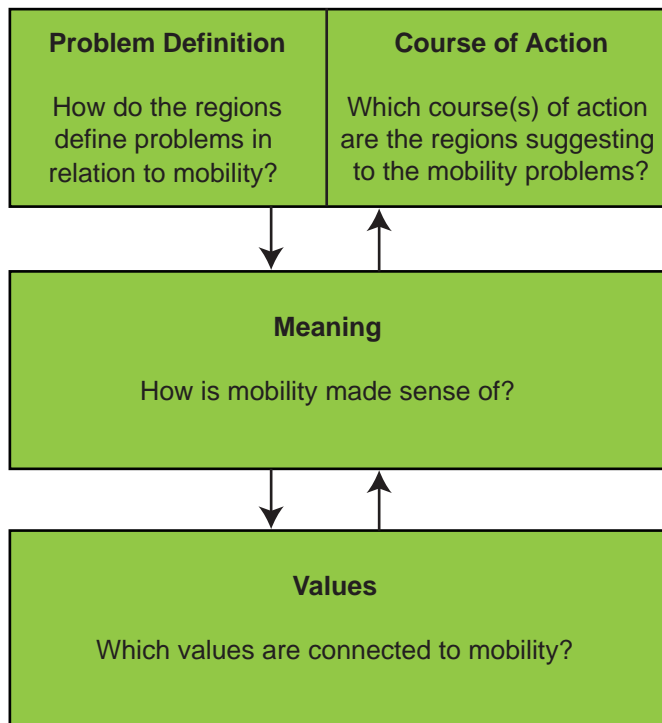Which values are connected to mobility?

Figure 5.1: illustrates the analytical framework of this project. The framework includes problem definition, course of action, meaning and values.

bad, right and wrong, cf. chapter 4. Several values could be connected to the example discussed. First of all, the course of action chosen reveals a prioritisation. Instead of increasing capacity, other alternatives could have been chosen such as improving public transport. Choosing to increase capacity could indicate that car based travel is given a higher value than public transport.

The arrows in the figure illustrates that the elements are interdependent, which means that the different elements of the analytical framework are affecting each other. The way a problem is defined, thereby, affects the course of action chosen. A course of action is though not only defined by how a problem is defined, but also by how mobility is made sense of and understood and the values behind this understanding. In this way, the framework also underlines that in order to understand a frame attention needs to be given to all elements.

Investigating a Frame

By identifying and investigating the different elements of the analytical framework, it is possible to present how mobility problems are officially framed within the two types of regions. In order to use the framework and investigate the different elements of a frame, we use storylines. Storylines can be characterised as a form of condensed summery of a frame or discourse. In chapter 4, the link between discourses and framings were discussed in more detail. Framing was described as a specific form of discourses including both a problem definition, course of action and a construction of meaning and values. Identi-fying the storylines, therefore, opens up for what the frame is and how to find a frame.

The identification of storylines and transition from storyline to frame is described and discussed in detail in chapter 7.

Frame Conflicts

This project is not only focused on revealing official framings of mobility problems within the two types of regions, but also on investigating potential conflicts between the way the two types of regions frame mobility problems.

Chapter 4 presented frame conflicts as occurring when different actors frame mobility problems differently. The potential frame conflicts can be revealed by comparing the different frames i.e. the official framings of mobility problems in the two types of regions. In chapter 7, the methodological considerations behind comparing the frames are presented and discussed.

The strength of the framework is that it can be used to reveal, not only whether the frames are conflicting, but which of the elements of a frame that are conflicting. Hereby, conflicts may arise due to differences in one or more of the elements of a frame – problem formulation, course of action, meaning and values.

Using the framework in investigating frame conflicts can reveal that what might seem as a coordination conflict between different courses of action might go deeper. In this way, different courses of action might be due to different problem definitions, different ways of understanding mobility or different values. In this way, the framework also opens up for how, if possible, the conflict could be solved. Additionally, the framework can be used to reveal how 'fundamental' frame conflicts are. For example if it is about coordinating different courses of action, it might be easier to solve than if it is

different values. Examples of frame conflicts will be shown throughout the analyses in chapters 10-12.

This chapter has presented the analytical framework for analysing how the regions officially frame mobility problems. The analytical framework contains an investigation of the problem definition, course of action, meaning and values. Moreover, the chapter discussed how to investigate potential frame conflicts. This could be the case between the official framings of mobility problems wihtin the same geographically area. The following chapter discusses the methodological considerations behind the project and how to identify a frame.

Part III

Methodology

6

Problem Formulation and Interpretivism

This aim of this chapter is to describe the methodological considerations behind the problem formulation. Moreover, the chapter discusses the project's theoretical approach and how this approach affects the research carried out.

6.1 Problem Formulation

This section describes the methodological considerations qualifying the formulation of the problem. Initially, we would like to emphasise that the process of developing the problem formulation has been an iterative process and, therefore, the focus has shifted from the beginning to the final result, as we continuously through the project have gained more knowledge about the case.

The initial starting point of this project was the five administrative regions and their role in Danish planning. As a theme we chose to investigate how the regions officially frame mobility problems as we were interested in examining whether the framings are compatible. Through the process of getting an overview of the case, we discovered two types of intersecting regions, administrative and functional. We found this interesting, as we think this potentially could cause conflicts, as the two types of regions have different objectives and purposes within regional planning and development.

In this way, this project is overall about, how the two different types of regions, which are geographically intersecting, officially frame mobility problems. The mobility problems are investigated through the regions official planning documents on a strategic level. The regions are: Central Denmark, South Denmark and the East Jutland

urban corridor. The purpose of investigating the regions' official framings of mobility problems is to explore potential conflicts between the framings. The process and considerations concerning the problem formulation lead to the following question:

How are mobility problems officially framed in the two types of regions in the case and what potential conflicts arise?

The problem formulation can be described as being an explanatory question, as the purpose is to explain and understand how mobility problems are framed officially in the two types of regions. At the same time the question opens up for exploring potential conflicts between the official framings of mobility problems.

Sub-questions
To be able to answer the problem formulation six ancillary questions are needed. The sub-questions relate to both the theoretical, empirical and discussing and concluding part of the project:

1. How can mobility and framing be understood theoretically?
2. How can official framings of mobility problems be investigated?
3. What are the official framings of mobility problems in the case?
4. What are the potential conflicts between the two types of regions' official framings of mobility problems?
5. What are the implications for planning of having two types of regions within the same space?
6. How is sustainable mobility being managed in the two types of regions?

The first, second and sixth sub-questions are explanatory. The first and second sub-question focus on conceptualising the concepts mobility and framing and through this develop a framework for how mobility frames can be investigated. Both of these sub-questions are investigated in the theoretical part of the project.
The third, fourth and fifth sub-questions are exploratory, as they focus on exploring an un-known subject field. The third sub-question is focused on uncovering and understanding the official framings of mobility problems in the two types of regions.
The fourth sub-question is aimed at investigating the potential conflicts between the different framings of mobility problems. Both the third and fourth sub-question is answered in the empirical part of the report. The fifth sub-question is answered in the discussion. This sub-question seeks to explore the implications for planning practice of having two types of regions with different spatial dvelopment visions. The sixth sub-question is also answered in the discussion. This sub-question discusses how sustainable mobility is managed in the two types of regions.

The problem formulation and sub-questions are both exploratory and explanatory. Especially, the explanatory element of the problem formulation leads to the use of a case study as the research strategy, which is discussed in the next chapter. Before discussing the research strategy, we look closer at the theoretical approach to the project.

6.2 An Interpretive Approach
The analysis and answering of the problem formulation are affected by our theoretical re-

search approach. In this section, we discuss the theoretical approach, interpretivism, and how it affects our project.

Understanding through Interpretation

In this project, we examine how mobility problems officially are framed within two types of regions. Thereby, we are concerned with how mobility problems are made sense of in the two types of regions and what potential conflicts arise between the different framings. Thus, this project is focused on meanings, which we also identified as a central aspect in the theoretical part of the report.

In relation to meaning, Sayer underlines: *"Meaning has to be understood, it cannot be measured or counted, and hence there is always an interpretive or hermeneutic element in social science."* (Sayer 2000, p. 17). Sayer underlines that an investigation of meaning always involves interpretation. Thereby, in order to gain an understanding of the official framings of mobility problems, interpretation is needed. This is also underlined by Schwandt, who emphasises that the understanding of social meaning is always based on interpretation (Schwandt 2003).

Consequences for Data Collection and Analysis

Interpretation is also underlined by Fischer: *"As meanings are not directly observable, the realm of meaning has to be approached through reflection and interpretive analysis."* (Fischer 2003, p. 139). In the quotation, Fischer underlines that meaning cannot be measured or counted, but has to be interpreted.

As underlined by Fischer, an interpretive approach influences both how data is collected and how to analyse this data. In relation to data, Fischer further emphasises that: *"… interpretive policy analysis shifts the focus away from instrumental behaviour (values as costs, benefits, and choice points) to the expression of social meanings (based on ideal values, beliefs, and*

feelings)." (Fischer 2003, p. 141). Thus, an interpretive analysis seeks to uncover and understand social meaning and what is analysed in the analysis is, therefore, expressions of social meaning. Fischer also emphasises that an interpretive analysis is focused on qualitative expressions of social meaning rather than quantitative 'facts' (Fischer 2003). This is also reflected in our use of data, as we are focused on qualitative data found in documents and interviews.

As discussed in this section, interpretivism is the theoretical approach in this project, as it concerns how two different types of regions within the same space are making sense of mobility problems presented in official strategies.

In the following chapter, the research strategy for the project is discussed, including a discussion of the chosen data collection methods and an approach on how to investigate the regions' framings of mobility problems.

The Research Strategy

"… a research design is a logical plan for getting from here to there, where here may be defined as the initial set of questions to be answered, and there is some set of conclusions (answers) about these questions." (Yin 2002, p. 20). In between the problem formulation and the conclusions, several steps, considerations and decisions are made. The previous chapter presented the problem formulation, whereas we in this chapter present the project's methodological considerations. The overall research strategy is a case study approach and, therefore, this chapter describes and discusses the case study and the associated data collection and data analysis methods.

Case Study
Yin emphasises case study as a suitable research strategy when the case is a contemporary event

(Yin 2002). As this case is about how two different types of regions officially frame mobility problems, we would describe this event as being relevant and contemporary for planning. Moreover, we would emphasise this as present for planning, as it is the first generation of planning documents, since the Danish Structural Reform. Moreover, the East Jutland urban corridor is a new phenomenon in Danish planning, as it was introduced with the latest national planning report from 2006. Thus, both the two administrative regions and the East Jutland urban corridor represent a new development within regional planning in Denmark. This project can, thereby, generate new knowledge about the development within regional planning in Denmark and how this relates to mobility.

Flyvbjerg describes a single case study, as a detailed examination of a single example (Flyvbjerg 2004). Thereby, a case study can be characterised by focusing on understanding a single phenomenon in relation to its context. Yin's definition is similar, as he describes a case study as: *"… an empirical inquiry that*
- investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when
- the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident." (Yin 2002, p.13).
Thereby, a case study can be used to cover the contextual conditions of the case that are important for understanding the phenomenon of the study (Yin 2002).
We have chosen a case study approach, as we investigate a contemporary phenomenon i.e. the potential conflicts between the official regional framings of mobility problems. Moreover, it is difficult to separate the case from its context, as the way the two types of regions officially frame mobility problems dependent on their context.

In the following section, we explain and discuss our considerations behind data collection and data analysis.

7.1 Data Collection
The overall aim of this project is to uncover different official framings of mobility problems within the case. Therefore, our data collection methods are concentrated around data that presents these framings. Thus, focus is on how the two types of regions understand mobility and make sense of it. Thus, the project is not about the empirical mobility taking place in the regions.

In the theoretical part of the project, framing was conceptualised as relating to both meanings and values and, thereby, it is about the meanings and values the two different regions use in relation to their official framings of mobility problems – which means it is about interpretations. In this way, it is not possible to make calculations or measurements of e.g. traffic to analyse the problem formulation, as emphasised in section 6.2. An interpretative approach leads to certain approaches of data collection, qualitative data, such as interviews (Lassen 2007).

Where are Frames Found?
Before presenting the data collection for the case study an important question needs to be addressed – where are frames found? We overall see two potential sources of frames, as illustrated on figure 7.1. Frames can be found in texts and documents and frames can be found in people's mind. The type of data collection needed is dependent on which type of frames should be collected.

Figure 7.1: shows two potential sources of frames – documents or people's mind. Data collection depends on which type of frames should be collected.

The type of frames most relevant for this case study are closely interlinked with the problem formulation. In the problem formulation, we have underlined that it is the official framings of mobility problems we wish to investigate. Therefore, the main focus of this case study is the framings found in text and documents. Documents allow us to investigate the official framings of mobility problems in the two different types of regions, as documents, in the form of official plans and strategies, reveal how the regions present their ideas about and understandings of mobility problems within the region and to the surrounding world.

Thus, our main form of data in this case study is documents, which are discussed in more detail in the following. We though also make use of qualitative interviews. The role of these is discussed later in the section.

Documents

In this project, documents are the main data source, as it is a way to collect representations of the framings of mobility problems within the case. The documents are used to uncover the official framings of mobility problems within the two different types of regions. For each region in

Table 7.1: The Collected Documents from the Regions	
Central Denmark Region	- The regional spatial development plan 'The Regional Spatial Development Plan 2008 for Central Denmark Region, Part I: Vision' and 'The Regional Spatial Development 2008 for Central Denmark Region, Part II: Description' - The region's contribution to the Infrastructure Commission: 'Infrastructure in Development – Recommendations from Central Denmark Region and the 19 Municipalities, A United Contribution to the Infrastructure Commission 2007' - Various background analysis to the regional spatial development plan
South Denmark Region	- The regional spatial development plan: 'The Good Life', including the sections: 'Initiatives' and 'Infrastructure' - The region's contribution to the Infrastructure Commission: 'A Common Contribution for the Infrastructure Commission. A Contribution from South Denmark Region and the 22 Municipalities in the Region'
East Jutland Urban Corridor	- The national planning report: 'The New Map of Denmark' - Various background analyses to the national planning report - The Infrastructure Commissions white paper: 'Denmark's Transport Infrastructure 2030'

the case, documents have been collected, which primarily was found on the regions related websites. The key documents are the national planning report, regional spatial development plans, the Infrastructure Commission's white paper, the administrative regions' contribution to the Infrastructure Commission and various background materials.

Table 7.1 shows the documents collected for each region. The majority of the documents are official plans and strategies and, thereby, they are official statements about the present condition of mobility and how the region would like mobility to develop in the future. In this way, the documents are a source of official framings about different mobility problems in the regions.

By examining several documents for each region, we have the opportunity to investigate if the different materials are supporting the same framings of mobility problems. In addition, we examine some of the background material to discover some of the underlying considerations behind the plans and different mobility problems emphasised.

Interviews

Interviews are the second data collection method, we have chosen to use. We have conducted three interviews – one with each of the administrative regions and one with the Ministry of the Environment. All interviews have been conducted as qualitative interviews, where the purpose has been to gain understanding through conversation, as Kvale writes: *"The qualitative research interview seeks to describe and understand the importance of central themes in the interviewee's life world.* (Kvale 2005, p. 42, translated).

The use of interviews as a data source has two overall purposes. The first purpose is related to the official framings of mobility problems within the two types of regions. The objective of the interviews is to gain an understanding of how the documents have been developed and the considerations behind the framings of mobility problems in each region. Moreover, the interviews gave us an opportunity to confirm our interpretations of the framings identified in the documents. One example is from South Denmark Region, where the region in their regional spatial development plan emphasises the environment as important in relation to mobility. On the other hand, the region underlines that it is important to ensure economical growth by increasing accessibility through the construction of new roads. These two framings of mobility seemed to be conflicting. The conflict was confirmed in the interview with South Denmark Region and the interview gave us an understanding of how the two considerations were prioritised in relation to each other.

The second purpose of the interviews relates to the second part of the problem formulation – the identification of potential conflicts between the two types of regions. The interviews were also used to uncover the relationship and interplay between the regions.

The interviews were conducted with key actors in each of the regions, see table 7.2. The interviewees are all persons working with issues concerning planning and mobility within each region. In this project, the key documents are the national planning report and the regional spatial development plans. The interviewees have all been involved in the process of developing these documents in their respective regions. Thereby, the interviews are an

Table 7.2: Interviewees	
Central Denmark Region	Anders Debel (AD) and Hanne-Marie Sieg Sørensen (HMSS) from the Department of Regional Development. AD is head of the department and HMSS is working with infrastructure, traffic and transport.
South Denmark Region	Mikkel Hemmingsen (MH), manager of the Department of Development
East Jutland Urban Corridor	Bue Nielsen (BN), planner in the Agency for Spatial and Environmental Planning, the Ministry of the Environment. BN has worked with the national planning report and is working with the planning process for the East Jutland urban corridor.

obvious way for us to get a better understanding of the background of the documents and, moreover, the interviewee could give us an idea on how to interpret our findings.

This is also part of the reason for choosing one interview with each region, as we believed that the interviewees would be able to provide sufficient information about the plans, the backgrounds and how to interpret the plans.

The interview questions were developed on basis of the documents and the problem formulation. That is, the interview guide for the administrative regions, South Denmark and Central Denmark, are structured so the first part relates to mobility problems and the region, including the regional spatial development plan, while the second part relates to the interaction between the administrative regions and the East Jutland urban corridor.

The structure of the interview with BN about the East Jutland urban corridor was a bit different, as the first part relates to the purpose of the urban corridor and mobility problems, while the second part relates to the national planning report. The

last part of the interview relates to the interaction between the urban corridor and the administrative regions.

In relation to carrying out the interviews, we chose to visit the regions and, thereby, we did the interviews face to face. Our experiences from previous projects did that we chose to do the interviews face to face, as this, from our point of view, gives the best result. As it is possible to see how the interviewees react to the questions and it is easier to get a felling of whether the interviewees have understood the questions as intended. At the same time, the interviewees might feel more comfortable by being able to see us and vice versa. Additionally, we brought some figures from the national planning report and the regional spatial development plans, as it sometimes is easier to facilitate the conversation on basis of a figure.

After conducting the interviews, the interviews were transcribed, as: "*The transcription of the interviews from oral to written are structuring the interviews in a way that they are available for further analysis. The*

structuring of the material in texts eases the overview and is in itself a beginning of the analysis." (Kvale 2005, p. 170, translated). That is, the transcription of the interviews gave us an opportunity to get a better overview of the interview. Moreover, we think, the transcriptions have made it easier for us to include the interviews in the analysis. The transcription of the interviews can be found on the enclosed CD.

This section has described our data collection – documents and qualitative interviews. The main source of data is documents, but qualitative interviews also play an important role, as it has gi-ven us a larger understanding of the considera-tions behind the framings identified in the docu-ments. In the next section, we look closer at how we have analysed the data in the case study.

7.2 Data Analysis
As mentioned in the previous chapter, we have an interpretative approach To be able to analyse and uncover the two types of regions' official framings of mobility problems and discuss the potential con-flicts, we have developed an analytical framework for the case study that helps identify important elements of a frame. The framework was presented in chapter 5. The overall aim of this chapter is to describe and discuss how the framework is crea-ted and how it is used in our case study.

The Analytical Framework
The analytical framework is developed on basis of theoretical considerations about mobility and framing. In chapter 4, we conceptualised framing as being a meaningful story about a phenomenon that includes a problem definition and course of action. Additionally, values were included, as we see frames as developed through a process of

questions about good and bad, right and wrong. Thereby, values play an important role.

In this way, the analytical framework consists of four elements; problem definition, course of action, meaning and values. The analytical framework was developed on background of theoretical approaches and conceptualisations of mobility, discourse, framing, meaning and values. Presenting the framework as a figure provides a visual understanding of the concept and an over-view of the relationship between the four elements.

In chapter 4, we underlined that framing and discourse are closely interlinked, as we see framing as a specific form of discourse. To be able to use the analytical framework and investigate the elements of a frame, we make use of an element from discourse – storylines. Fischer underlines that frames can be investigated through stories: *"Policy frames and their underlying appreciative systems can be uncovered through the analysis of the stories of the various participants are disposed to tell about policy situations."* (Fischer 2003, p. 145). A way of uncovering these stories is by the use of storylines, which will be discussed in the following.

What is a storyline?
Hajer advocates for a storyline approach in discursive policy analysis. A discourse analysis takes its starting point in an examination of statements, which according to Hajer often have the form of a narrative. (Hajer 2005). Hajer defines storylines as: *"I employ the concept story line to refer to a condensed form of narrative in which metaphors are used."* (Hajer 2005, p. 302). A storyline will, as a story, have a beginning, a middle and an end. According to Hajer, the identification of storylines reveal that people 'do something with a

phenomenon' when talking about it. (Hajer 2005). In this way, a phenomenon does not have a fixed identity, but is perceived differently by different people and thus expressed differently in different stories. Different perceptions of a phenomenon are central to our understanding of framing.

Jensen identifies storylines as significant for two reasons. First of all, she identifies storylines as significant because they achieve discursive closure (Jensen 2006). Discursive closure is: *"… necessary for problem definition and for addressing those problems that are defined as relevant within a given area."* (Jensen 2006, p. 85). Hereby, storylines reduce the complexity of a phenomenon, which enable a definition of the problem (Jensen 2006). This element of a storyline is also relevant for framing, as a storyline reduces the complexity of the phenomenon being framed and, thus, enables a problem definition.

The second aspect, identified by Jensen as significant in relation to storylines, is storylines' ability to describe an approach to a given problem (Jensen 2006). This aspect is related to storylines' ability to unify actors with different rationalities around the same storyline: *"… through story-lines and the related field of policy discourses, the actors are as discourse coalitions empowered, and thus stronger in affecting the practices … of the policy area."* (Jensen 2006, p. 86). In this way, storylines make it possible for actors to agree about a course of action in relation to a problem.

The characteristics of storylines described indicate a close connection to framing. That is, storylines can be seen as a condensed form of a frame, as a storyline illustrates a specific way of making sense of a phenomenon, a definition of a problem and a course of action, as illustrated on figure 7.2.

Furthermore, as already indicated, storylines involve a reduction of complexity: *"This framing through reduction of complexity relies on exclusion of alternative understandings and hence of alternative future scenarios, while at the same time rendering certain images and policies 'thinkable'."* (Jensen 2006, p. 86). In this way, storylines are also related to values as aspects are prioritised and some excluded, while others are included. The close connection between storylines, meanings and values are also stressed by Fischer: *"Storylines, in this way, function to condense large amounts of factual information intermixed with the normative assumptions and value orientations that assign meaning to them."* (Fischer 2003, p. 87). As Fischer underlines, values also affect the meanings assigned to a phenomenon and are, thus, central to the content of a storyline.
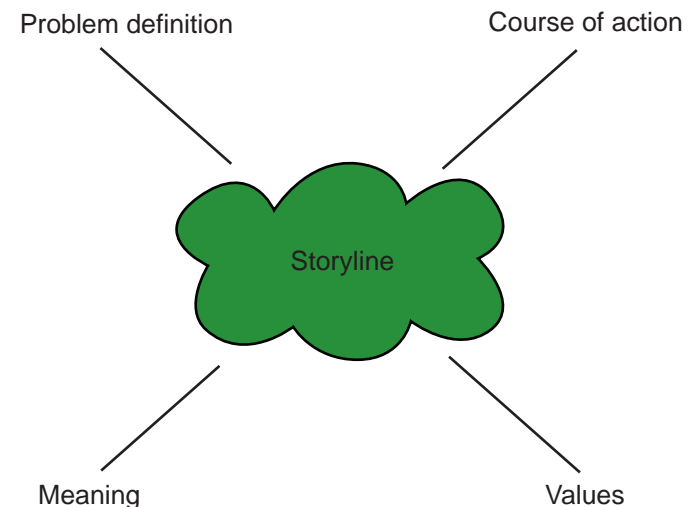
Figure 7.2: illustrates that storylines are connected to the four elements of a frame: problem definition, course of action, meaning and values.

The understanding of a storyline as a 'sum up' of a frame makes storylines useful in the analysis of framings. In the following, we look closer at how we have identified storylines and how we have gone from storyline to frame.

Identifying and Analysing Storylines and Frames
As we see storylines as a 'summery' of a frame, identifying a storyline also means identifying a frame. The starting point in the identification of storylines was a thorough reading of the collected documents. This reading allowed us to get an overview and understanding of how mobility is expressed in each of the regions. In connection with the reading of the documents, all statements relating to mobility were identified and copied to a piece of paper. A discussed above, the analysis of statements is central to a discourse analysis (Hajer 2005).
The collected statements from each of the regions were grouped around problem definitions expressed in the statements. Problem definitions were, thus, the first element of the storylines identified. We chose to identify storylines by identifying problem definitions, as we understand storylines and framings as only containing one problem definition. Taking a starting point in for example course of action would not necessarily mean that the identification of one course of action corresponds to one storyline, because several courses of action can be connected to one problem. As the analyses in chapter 10-12 will show, all of the regions have more than one course of action related to the majority of the identified mobility problems.

After identifying problem definitions, we identified the remaining elements of the storyline, as illustrated on figure 7.3. Hereby, the problem

definitions gave us 'clues' as where to look for the other elements. The identification of problem definitions resulted in a second reading of the documents, where we looked for statements, which expressed courses of action, meanings and values relating to the problem definition.

To get an overview of framings of mobility problems in the two types of regions, they were summarised using the framework figure. This was used as a starting point for developing questions for the interviews, as the interviews, as mentioned in the previous section, would give us an opportunity to get further information about the framings. The transcripts of the interviews supplement the document analyses. That is, the transcriptions were analysed for problem definitions, courses of action, meanings and values in the same way as the documents.

Figure 7.3: shows elements related to a storyline and, thereby, a frame. The figure illustrates that after identifying problem definitions it is possible to identify the remaining elements of a frame: course of action, meaning and values.

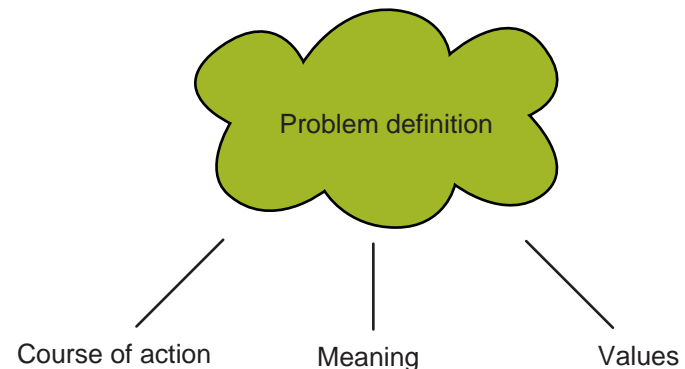After identifying storylines in the two types of regions, the elements of the storyline were analysed using the analytical framework to get a more detailed understanding of the official framings of mobility problems. The analysis of the official framings resulted in a comparison of the framings to draw a comprehensive picture of the mobility problems presented in each region. The framings are compared through the analytical framework. Through this comparison, it is possible to find potential conflicts between the two types of regions, which will be discussed in the following.

Identifying the Strength of a Frame
Our analyses show that there is not just one frame concerning mobility problems, but a number of frames in each region. As the analyses also show, some of these frames are conflicting. Therefore, it has been important to determine the strength or importance of each frame in order to get an understanding of how they are prioritised.

The identification of the strength of the frames takes its starting point in the documents. We found a number of elements in the documents that indicate the importance of a frame. First of all, the number of times a frame, or elements of it, is mentioned in a text indicates the importance of the frame. It is though not just how many times the frame is mentioned in the text, but also where. The importance of a frame could for example vary depending on it being located in a central part of a document or in an appendix. The occurrence of a frame or part of it in a headline or table of content also indicates the strength of the frame. Rediscovering a frame in different documents also indicates its strength and importance.

In some cases, we have also used the interviews to determine the balance of strength between frames. This was done by asking the interviewees e.g. how two frames were prioritised in relation to each other. The interviews though also helped to clarify the strength more generally. This was for example done by asking the interviewees about what they saw as the main mobility problems in the region.

Comparing the Regions - Identifying Conflicts
As mentioned, the comparison of the official frames within each region is basis for a comparison of the two different types of regions' official framings of mobility problems. The purpose of comparing the two different types of regions is to find potential conflicts between the official framings of mobility problems and, thereby, potential frame conflicts, cf. chapter 4. As it was identified, frame conflicts arise when a phenomenon is framed differently. Furthermore, it was also underlined that frame conflicts can be due to conflicts in any of the elements of a frame. In the comparison, the two types of regions, administrative and functional, are compared. Afterwards, the potential conflicts are discussed on this background.

This section described the process of developing the analytical framework and how it is used in analysing the two different types of regions' official framings of mobility problems. The framework was developed on basis of theoretical considerations about mobility and framing. Furthermore, it was described how storylines are helpful in identifying framings of mobility problems.

The following chapter reflects upon the methodological considerations described in both this and the previous chapter.

8

Methodology Reflections

The objective of this chapter is to reflect on the methodological considerations behind the project. Though the chapter, we discuss the strengths and weaknesses behind the choices made throughout the project and what could have been done differently. Firstly, we discuss the problem formulation, then data collection and, finally, we discuss the data analysis.

8.1 Problem Formulation
In this section, we discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the problem formulation and how the problem formulation has affected the way the project has been carried out. Furthermore, we discuss the strengths and weaknesses of having an interpretive approach.

Problem Formulation
In this project, we have chosen a relatively broad problem formulation, which affects the research strategy. Choosing a broad problem formulation was a deliberate choice, as we wanted to approach the case with a degree of openness and let the case speak for itself. Thereby, we wanted to let the regions define the mobility perspectives and define the mobility problems addressed in the analyses. In this way, the problem formulation also reflects our general curiosity about the new regional map of Denmark.

The weakness of a broad problem formulation is that the project, naturally, cannot become as focussed and detailed as a more specific problem formulation would enable. Another weakness is that the broad problem formulation has made it

more difficult to develop a theoretical frame for the empirical investigation. As the theory used in the project is relatively general. A more specific focus on especially mobility would have made it possible to specify the theoretical part more.

Generally, the broad problem formulation has resulted in a broad picture of how mobility is being framed in the two types of regions, which is the aim of the project.

Interpretivism
The main weakness with the interpretive approach to the project is that the results inevitably become subjective, as the interpretations are affected by our before knowledge, meanings and values. Hereby, we acknowledge that the results presented in this report are subjective and could have been interpreted differently by other researchers.

Even though, we acknowledge that our results unavoidably are subjective, we have tried to quali-fy our interpretations. The interviews have played a key role in this process, as we have used the interviews to confirm or disprove our interpre-tations of the frames.
Despite interpretivism's weakness with subjec-tivity, we think that interpretivism has been useful in this project. When investigating aspects such as meanings and values interpretation is unavoidable, as we construct meaning through interpretation, cf. chapter 4.

In the next section, we reflect upon our data collection methods and discuss their strengths and weaknesses.

8.2 Data Collection
The aim of this section is to reflect upon the used data sources and collections – documents and interviews.

Documents
Generally, documents have been suitable as the main form of data, as our aim is to uncover official framings of mobility problems. The key documents used are politically approved by the regional councils and government and, thereby, represent their official positions.

The main weakness with the use of documents, as the main form of data, is in relation to the urban corridor, as an actual plan for the area has not yet been developed, cf. chapter 9. Thus, we have not had access to as detailed planning documents for the urban corridor, as we have had for the two administrative regions, which we will discuss further in the following section. We though belie-ve that the accessible documents from the national level together with the interview have been suffi-cient in providing an overall understanding of how mobility is being imagined for the urban corridor.

Interviews
The interviews have been used as a secondary data source and as a way of qualifying and broaden our understanding and interpretation, cf. chapter 7. As this was the main objective with the interviews, we feel that the interviewees were the right peo-ple to interview, as they all were key actors in deve-loping the key documents. Thereby, they all had knowledge about the considerations behind the documents.

The interview questions were built on the analyses of the documents. When conducting the interviews, the document analyses were on an initial stage. Therefore, we believe that the interviews could have become more detailed and focussed if carried out at a later time. Conducting the interviews later would have allowed us to ask more detailed questions about our findings. This aspect could also have been solved by having a second round of interviews, what we though chose not to do because of the lack of time. It was though also useful to conduct the interviews when we did, as we were still relative open to changing our interpretations of the regions' framings of mobility problems. There are thus both advantages and disadvantages with conducting the interviews early or late in the analytical process.

An experience from the interviews was that some of the interviewees found it difficult to relate or answer some of our more abstract questions about values. This could indicate that the values have not been consciously dealt with through the planning processes. A way of uncovering the values in the interviews could be by using the framework more actively in the interviews. That is, bringing the framework and our findings to the interviews would provide a more concrete foundation for discussing values with the interviewees.

This section introduced documents as the main form of data, while interviews are secondary data source and, thereby, the interviews are built on the analysis of the documents. The following reflects upon our data sources and collections.

8.3 Data Analysis

The aim of this section is to reflect on the way we have conducted the empirical analysis. Main focus of the section is how we used the analytical framework and the comparison of the two types of regions.

Using the Framework

The analysis of the empirical data have been guided by the analytical framework developed in chapter 5. What we found, from using the framework, were that it was difficult to separate meaning and values in the analysis, which underlines that the two aspects are closely interlinked as discussed in chapter 4. Meaning and values are, furthermore, aspects that need a larger degree of interpretation than problem definition and courses of action, which made them more difficult to uncover. Problem definition and course of action were found more directly in the empirical data.

Despite the difficulties, we think that the framework was useful and helped us to get abroad insight into mobility in the two types of regions. The framework has especially been useful in allowing us to get an understanding of why the regions suggest the projects they do, as the framework has helped uncovering, how the regions define problems, understands and values mobility. In this way, the framework has helped us to maintain focus on the more underlying aspects of the regions' framings of mobility problems – meaning and values.

The framework though also has a more general application. As the framework can be used to investigate frames in general and not only frames related to mobility problems. Furthermore, the framework can be used as a tool in reflective

practice for planners. As a tool for reflective practice, the framework ensures that planners consciously address all four elements of the framework and make deliberate choices about problem formulation, course of action, meaning and values. Incorporating these aspects into planning documents could also create a higher degree of transparency, as it would make the considerations behind the planning documents more clear to the public.

Comparing the Two Types of Regions
As discussed in the previous, the planning documents from the two types of regions differentiated as there is not any actual plan for the urban corridor yet. This difference naturally affected the comparison of the two types of regions.
The main consequence is that the comparison could not happen on a detailed level, but had to be confined to a more general level. Thus, it has not been possible for us to discuss how e.g. concrete infrastructure projects connect across the regions. It has though not been the objective of the project to do so. Instead, it has been our objective to uncover conflicts between the two types of regions in a wider context.

This chapter completes the methodological considerations and reflections behind the project. In the next part of the report, we apply the methodology described and discussed in this part on the case – South Denmark Region, Central Denmark Region and the East Jutland urban corridor. First, the case context is described.

Part IV

Empirical Investigations

9

A Regional Context

The objective of this chapter is to discuss the context of the regions in the case – Central Denmark, South Denmark and the East Jutland urban corridor. In chapter 4, the context was described as important in order to understand specific frames. Therefore, this chapter describes the regional context of the frames investigated in the analyses.

The first section of the chapter discusses the two administrative regions, South Denmark and Central Denmark, whereas the second section describes and discusses the East Jutland urban corridor. The last section of the chapter discusses potential conflicts between the administrative regions and the urban corridor.

9.1 South Denmark and Central Denmark Regions

The aim of this section is to describe the two administrative regions of the case – South Denmark and Central Denmark regions and their context. A map and short description of respectively South Denmark and Central Denmark can be seen in box 9.1 and 9.2.

This section addresses three overall questions: What are the theoretical characteristics of administrative regions? What is the background for the administrative regions in Denmark? And what is the administrative regions' role within planning?

A Theoretical Perspective on Administrative Regions

South Denmark and Central Denmark are what Jensen & Gyldenkærne refer to as 'formal regions': *"The formal region is a determined administrative division – an administrative region established to ensure clear areas of responsibility and the subdivision of a country or an area."* (Jensen & Gyldenkærne 2007, p. 169, translated). In this way, the role of administrative regions is to carry out specific tasks and authority execution in a given area.

In relation to planning, Jensen & Gyldenkærne describe the administrative regions as: *"The formal region demarcates the geographical area, which an authority plans and regulates in relation to. It is an arrangement of political and administrative structures that develops and/or implements planning."* (Jensen & Gyldenkærne 2007, p. 170, translated). An administrative region is, thereby, also a geographical area, which an authority plans in relation to.

In this connection, Jensen & Gyldenkærne underline that there is large differences in the type of planning carried out in different administrative regions. The differences for example arise in relation to the degree of regional self-governance and the division of tasks between state, regional and municipal levels. (Jensen & Gyldenkærne 2007)

The Danish Administrative Regions

South Denmark and Central Denmark are two out of five Danish administrative regions created as a result of the resent Structural Reform in Denmark, cf. chapter 1.

The main task of the administrative regions is health care and this was initially the only tasks ascribed to the new administrative regions: *"When the Government back in April 2004 presented its original suggestion to the municipal reform the regions only had responsibility for health and hospital operation. It was also on basis of this formulation of tasks that the geographical demarcation of the regions was establis-*
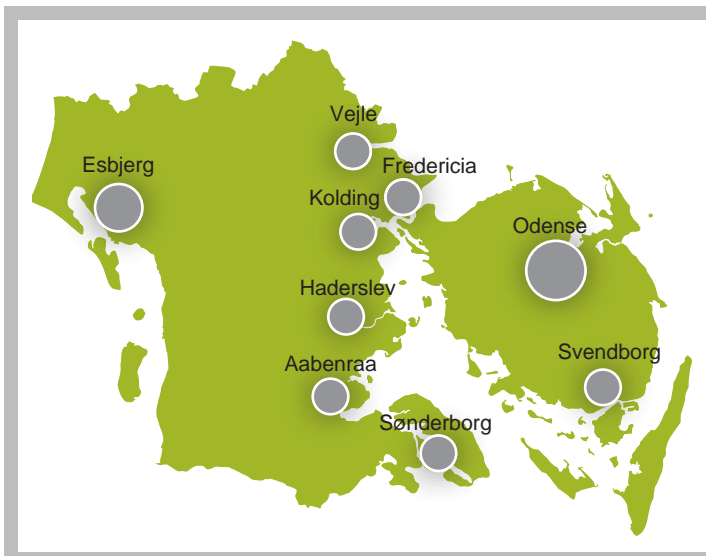
Box 9.1: South Denmark Region

South Denmark is the country's third largest administrative region and consists of four former counties. The region consists of 22 municipalities and has a population of approximately 1.2 million. Geographically, the region encompasses the southern part of Jutland and Funen. The region borders to Central Denmark Region, Zealand Region and Germany. (Region Syddanmark 2008c)

hed." (Jensen 2008, p. 4, translated). In this way, planning was not part of the initial considerations behind the establishment of the five administrative regions. The scope of the regions was though broadened, and when the final reform was presented two months later the administrative regions had been given more tasks – including planning tasks (Jensen 2008).

The initial plan, where the administrative regions were limited to being hospital communities, was what determined the geographical demarcation of the regions (Jensen 2008). The demarcation was, therefore, not made on basis of functional considerations, which resulted in administrative regions cutting through functional areas in the country. Map 9.1 shows commuting regions and the new regional borders, which illustrates that the new division of regions have not followed the functional areas illustrated by commuting patterns. The administrative regions not only consist of a number of commuting regions, they also cut

commuting regions in two – as can be seen along the border between the Central Denmark and South Denmark regions.

When the division of tasks had finally been established between the state, regions and municipalities, the regions had been given tasks and responsibilities in relation to hospital services and health insurance, operation of institutions for groups with special needs, operation of regional transport companies and the preparation of regional spatial development plans.

This is a limited scope of tasks compared to the former counties. The former counties had a larger responsibility on the planning area, as they were responsible for the preparation of legally binding spatial plans that placed limitations for spatial development in the municipalities. The former counties were also the key authority in relation to nature and environmental protection. (Overgaard & Vagnby 2005)

Box 9.2: Central Denmark Region

Central Denmark Region is the second largest region in the country with approximately 1.22 million citizens. The region consists of parts of four former counties. The region consists of 19 municipalities. Geographically, the region encompasses the middle part of Jutland. The region borders to South Denmark Region and North Jutland Region.   (Region Midtjylland 2008b)
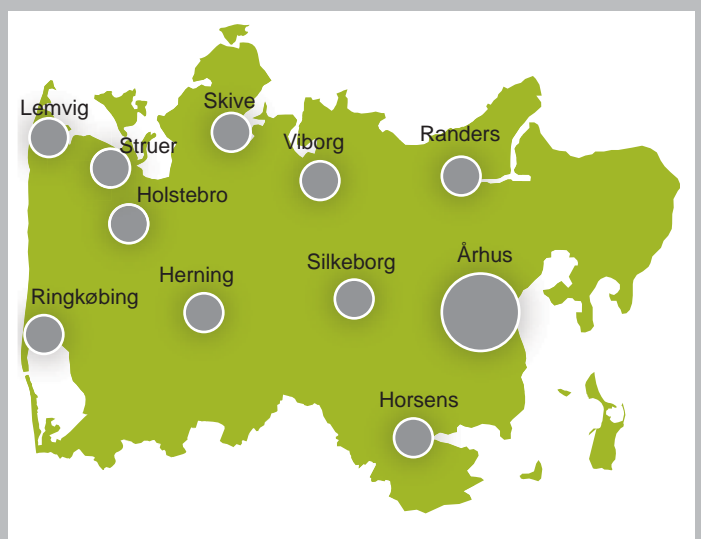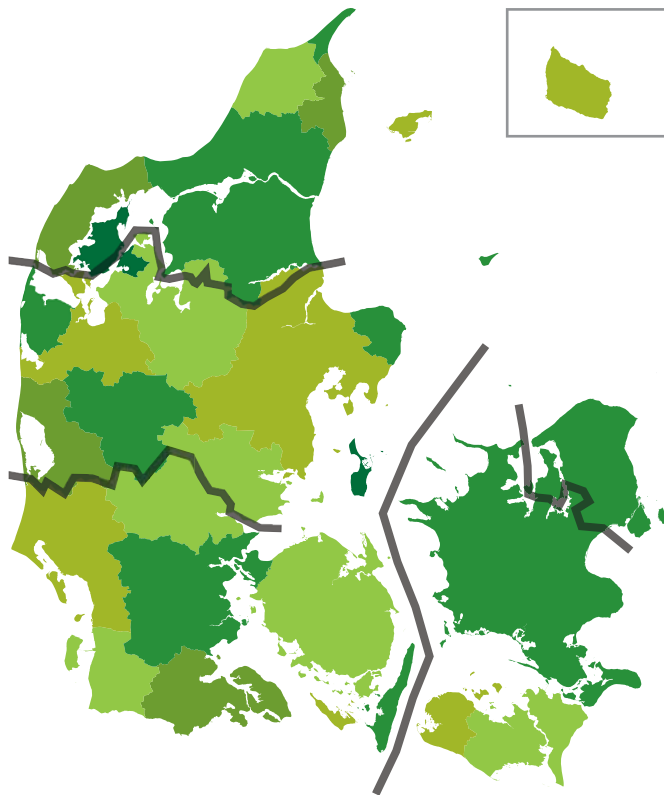
Map 9.1: illustrates the new administrative regional borders and commuting regions. Based on (Miljøministeriet 2006).

Planning for the Administrative Regions

The task of developing regional spatial development plans is a new planning task in the Danish planning system, see box 9.3. As the name indicates, the intention is that the regions should have a development oriented focus on planning: *"The regional development plan is something quite different than the regional plan. The development plan is not about authority execution, but a strategic document that points forward."* (Hansen & Fabrin 2007, p. 2, translated). The role of the plan is described as being an overall strategy for the future development of the administrative region and should be developed in cooperation with municipalities, the business community, the regional council and other regional actors (Miljøministeriet 2006).

The cooperative approach to the regional spatial development plan is stressed as an important parameter for the success of the plan: *"A close cooperation between the regions and the municipalities is decisive for the quality of the regional spatial develop-ment plans. Opposite for example governmental actors, the municipalities and regions have a stronger stand with joint wishes than they do separately."* (Danske Regioner & KL 2007, p. 13, translated).

The development oriented focus in planning is stressed in the national planning report as also discussed in chapter 1. Here the administrative regions' role is described as creating or facilitating development in the entire region across dif-ferentiated areas such as large cities, medium-seized towns and peripheral areas: *"The regional councils and the regional growth forums in partnership with the municipalities should therefore build bridges from the cities and towns to the rural districts and small-town regions such that all regions of Denmark become an integral part of development and growth…"* (Ministry of the Environment 2006, p. 9). The logic

Box 9.3: The Regional Spatial Development Plan and the Danish Planning Act

Subsection 3. Based on comprehensive assessment, the regional spatial development plan shall describe a desired future spatial development for the administrative region's cities and towns, rural districts and small-town (peripheral) regions and for:
1) nature and the environment, including recreational purposes;
2) business, including tourism;
3) employment;
4) education and training; and
5) culture.
Subsection 4. The regional spatial development plan shall describe:
1) the relationships between future spatial development and the state and municipal spatial planning for infrastructure;
2) the context for any cooperation between the public authorities in countries bordering on the administrative region on topics related to spatial planning and spatial development; and
3) the action that the regional council will take to follow up the regional spatial development plan.
(Ministry of the Environment 2007)

behind the administrative regions is, thereby, focused on creating coherent regions and initiating development in all parts of the regions. This logic can be seen as having element belonging to 'left regionalism'.

Left regionalism is described by Veggeland as an ideology or logic that underlines levelling out social and regional differences (Veggeland 2000). Furthermore, this type of regionalism is focused on the relationship between periphery and centre. It should, though, be noted that the region's influence by left regionalism is limited compared to the former counties.

9.2 The East Jutland Urban Corridor
The aim of this section is to describe and discuss the East Jutland urban corridor – the functional region in the case. The geographical demarcation of the urban corridor can be seen on the map in box 9.4. In this section, we start by discussing functional

regions from a theoretical perspective, before we move on to discuss the background for the development of the urban corridor and planning for the corridor.

Functional Regions in a Theoretical Perspective
The East Jutland urban corridor can be seen as an example of a functional region. Functional regions are defined as "… *a specific geographical frame that is functionally cohesive.*" (Jensen & Gyldenkærne 2007, p. 169, translated). This can for example be an area with a centre and its hinterland (Jensen & Gyldenkærne 2007). In the national planning report, the East Jutland urban corridor is described as a cohesive labour market and commuting region. Thus, the areas in East Jutland are functionally connected.

It should, though, be noted that a background analysis to the national planning report conclude: "*Even though, the urban corridor is not a cohesive*

Box 9.4 – The East Jutland Urban Corridor

The East Jutland urban corridor consists of 17 municipalities from Randers in north to Kolding in south. The main cities and towns in the corridor, from north to south, are: Randers, Århus, Silkeborg, Horsens, Vejle, Fredericia and Kolding. The area is characterised by the municipalities in the corridor having a larger interaction with other municipalities in the corridor than with municipalities outside the corridor (Nielsen 2008).
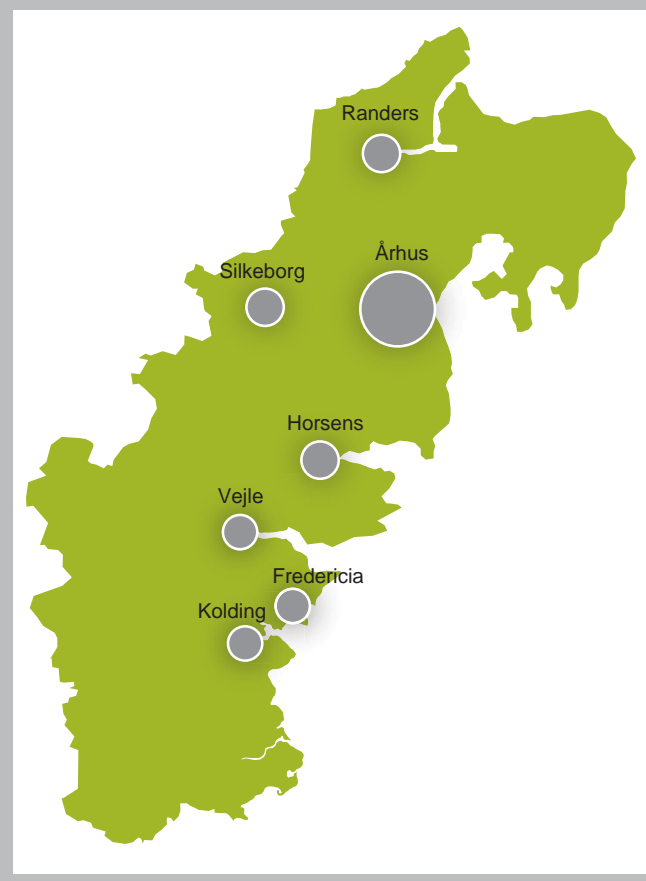
functional unit today, the relatively large growth in commuting in the urban corridor points towards a development in this direction. But this is a functional whole, which is underway and in the future, but not yet an established fact." (Nielsen 2005, p. 25, translated). In this way, the urban corridor is not yet one functional region, but instead a number of overlapping functional areas that seem to be developing in the direction of one functional region. (Nielsen 2008)

An important aspect in relation to functional regions is that their boundaries are dynamic and change in accordance with changes in economic development, changes in mobility etc. (Jensen & Gyldenkærne 2007). The East Jutland urban corridor can, thereby, be expected to develop further as a consequence of for example economic development and increased mobility.

In this way, a functional region evolves independently of administrative borders. Jensen & Gyldenkærne stress that when a functional region evolves across the administrative borders, it is time to reconsider the administrative borders to better match the functional connections (Jensen & Gyldenkærne 2007). This has not been the case in the case of the East Jutland urban corridor and the Central Denmark and South Denmark regions as discussed in the previous section.

The Background for the East Jutland Urban Corridor

The idea of the urban corridor developed during the work with the present and the previous national planning report. Through the national planning report 'A Denmark in Balance – What Should be Done?' from 2003, East Jutland and Copenhagen were identified as two growth centres (Nielsen 2008). This identification was the first step on the way towards the East Jutland urban corridor: *"From*

this the thought naturally originated that one could say … does the country consist of a few areas, which have a growth core … that there was two of this type of area also opens up for that one can say then each of them can be the centre in two units, which can balance each other." (Nielsen 2008, translated). In this way, the identification of the East Jutland growth area is connected to an objective of creating balance in the country. East Jutland though differentiates itself from the Copenhagen area, as the Copenhagen area has one clear centre, whereas East Jutland has a

number of centres on a line - centres that are getting more and more integrated. (Nielsen 2008)

The East Jutland urban corridor was first introduced with the present national planning report 'The New Map of Denmark', which takes its starting point in globalisation and the challenges globalisation pose for Denmark. One of the responses to globalisation is the creation of strong city regions - Copenhagen and the East Jutland urban corridor. (Miljøministeriet 2006) The national planning

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Box 9.5 – Planning for the East Jutland Urban Corridor

The national planning report presents an initiative as follow-up on the introduction of the East Jutland urban corridor: *"The Ministry of the Environment will together with the Ministry of Transport and Energy invite to a dialog between the affected municipalities, regional councils and the state about the future development of the East Jutland urban corridor. The dialog should concern how to secure a coordinated and appropriate spatial regulation of the East Jutland urban corridor in the light of the need for the creation of new frames for development."* (Miljøministeriet 2006, p. 20, translated). This process has recently been initiated by the Ministry of the Environment. The project consists of two phases:
1. Establish political ownership. This phase has the aim of creating political agreement and a common vision for the project.
The phase includes three analyses - an analysis of interaction and infrastructure in the East Jutland urban corridor, an analysis of the landscape in the area and a business analysis. The analyses and vision are to be presented for the political owner group on the 20th August 2008. (Nielsen 2008)
2. This phase will only proceed, if there is political support from the political owner group. The intention of the phase is to develop 3-4 alternatives for the future development of the area.
(By- og Landskabsstyrelsen 2007)
The project is organised as follows:
Project owners: the 17 municipalities and the Ministry of the Environment.
Political owners: the 17 mayors and the Minister of the Environment.
Administrative steering committee: managers from the 17 municipalities, the Road Directorate, the Traffic Agency, the Ministry of Transport and the Urban and Landscape Agency.
Advisory group: the Central Denmark and South Denmark regions, KL, the regional growth forums and the municipal contact committees.
(By- og Landskabsstyrelsen 2007)

report presented an objective to strengthen the development of the East Jutland urban corridor.

The East Jutland urban corridor can be seen as an example of what Veggeland refers to as 'growth regionalism'. Growth regionalism has a liberal foundation and focus on economical strong regions as motive power in the economical development of the national state (Veggeland 2000). This corresponds well with the description of the East Jutland urban corridor in the national planning report: *"It is decisive for growth potentials in the entire country that the large city region's strengths are utilised and further developed."* (Miljøministeriet 2006, p. 13, translated). Veggeland stresses that growth regionalism emphasises regional competition and the creation of 'winner' regions (Veggeland 2000). The East Jutland urban corridor can be seen as an attempt to create or strengthen a 'winner' region.

Planning for the Urban Corridor

Veggeland underlines that regions, seen from the growth regionalism point of view, should be free from regulation and planning structures. Instead, the regions should develop their own development strategies outside existing structures. (Veggeland 2000).

Tendencies of this development can be found in connection with the East Jutland urban corridor. An organisation has recently been established by the Ministry of the Environment to prepare a strategy for the future development of the urban corridor.

This work is undertaken outside the official planning system and participation from the municipalities within the corridor is voluntarily. Box 9.5 describes the organisation and process in more detail.

Table 9.1: Characteristics of the Administrative Regions and the Functional Region	
The East Jutland Urban Corridor - the Functional Region	Central Denmark and South Denmark - the Administrative Regions
- A (beginning) functional area in relation to labour market and commuting regions. - Dynamic development and change of borders. - Politically prioritised 'winner' region - Developed around growth centre(s). - Prioritisation of increasing the competitiveness of 'winner' regions as motive power for the entire country. - Planning and regulation outside the formal planning system.	- Politically and administratively created. - Handling of administrative tasks. - Static borders. - Mix of different functional areas. - Facilitate development in all parts of the region and creating links between different types of areas. - Formal planning tasks as part of the planning system. - Harmonisation of differences. - Vision: create a balanced development in the regions and manage the balance between periphery and centre.

The process was initiated on a meeting on 21st January 2008 between the 17 municipalities in the area and the Minister of the Environment. The meeting marked the start of phase one of the process. (By- og Landskabsstyrelsen 2007). As box 9.5 shows, the main actors in the planning process are the 17 municipalities and the Ministry of the Environment. The administrative regions, Central Denmark and South Denmark, are also included in the organisation. Their role is though rather peripheral, as they are only included in an advisory group.

9.3 Potential Conflicts

The previous sections presented and discussed accordingly the two administrative regions, South Denmark and Central Denmark, and the functional region the East Jutland urban corridor, which together constitutes the project case. This section looks closer at the potential conflicts between the two types of regions.

Table 9.1 shows some of the characteristics of accordingly the East Jutland urban corridor as a functional region and the two administrative regions.
As the characteristics in the table shows, the regions differ significantly. The similarities are confined to all of them being geographically definable regions within the same area of Denmark. Besides this, there are a number of differences and potential conflicts between the East Jutland urban corridor and the two administrative regions.

As the table illustrates the areas in the regions differ, as the urban corridor is a growth area, while the administrative regions consist of both growth and peripheral areas.

Additionally, a difference is also identifiable in relation to the planning tasks, as the administrative regions are placed inside the formal planning system, whereas the urban corridor is not limited by the same system.

Though, the most fundamental difference is the different and contrasting objectives or visions behind the two types of regions. The objective of the East Jutland urban corridor is to create a competitive and functional region that can generate growth and development and function as a motive power for the entire country. Hereby, this is a vision logic that focuses on existing centres.
The opposite focus exists in connection with the administrative regions. The objective of these regions is described as facilitating balanced development in the regions and, thereby, balances the relationship between centre and periphery. That is, there is a potential conflict in finding the balance between these two logics and how much emphasise there should be on accordingly periphery and centre.

In the three following chapters, we analyse South Denmark Region, Central Denmark Region and the East Jutland urban corridor separately before we return to the potential conflicts between the regions in chapter 13.

South Denmark Region
- Economy and the Environment

The aim of this chapter is to analyse the official framings of mobility problems in South Denmark Region. Before analysing the frames, we briefly describe the documents and the interview used in this analysis.

10.1 Identifying Storylines and Frames

As described in chapter 7, the analysis of South Denmark's official framings of mobility problems is primarily based on the region's spatial development plan, 'The Good Life', the region's contribution to the Infrastructure Commission and an interview with the manager of regional development, Mikkel Hemmingsen (MH).

Five Mobility Problems

The vision behind the regional spatial development plan is to create 'the good life' for the citizens in the region. The vision is put into practice through three values and five strategies. The values are: outlook, open-mindedness and sustainability. These three values are described as being the leading considerations behind the realisation of the vision. The five strategies are: 'Living', 'Knowledge and Learning', 'Growth and Prosperity', 'Experience and Leisure Time' and 'Connectivity and Accessibility'. (Region Syddanmark 2008)

Especially, the strategy 'Connectivity and Accessibility' relates to how South Denmark works with mobility. In connection with this strategy, South Denmark emphasises three issues in relation to mobility: congestion, connectivity between areas in South Denmark far from the overall

infrastructure network and traffic related CO_2 emissions. Other strategies though also relate to the way South Denmark works with mobility. Mobility is also being connected to the creation of economic growth in the region and linking the region to the global world. (Region Syddanmark 2008)

Some of these issues are also identified in the region's contribution to the Infrastructure Commission: traffic's contribution to climate change, increasing congestion and international access. (Region Syddanmark 2007) Overall, South Denmark defines five problems in relation to mobility in the region: increasing congestion, traffic related CO_2 emissions, connecting peripheral areas to the overall network, linking the region to the outside world and creating economic growth through mobility.

From Problem to Storyline to Frame
Through the identification of the five problems above, we have identified five storylines, which represent five official framings of mobility problems in South Denmark, cf. chapter 7. The five storylines are:

– Congestion – a Barrier for Development
– Reduction of Traffic related CO_2
– Strengthening Growth Axes through Mobility
– Strengthening Peripheral Areas
– Connections Outside the Region is Important

In the following five sections, we deconstruct each of the storylines using the analytical framework to gain an understanding of how mobility problems are being framed in South Denmark. Each of the storylines is used as heading for the frames analysed. The analyses are structured according to the analytical framework presented in chapter 5.

In the last section of the chapter, we combine the five framings in order to draw a comprehensive picture of mobility in South Denmark and identify potential conflicts. This is used to compare the two types of regions in chapter 13. To draw this comprehensive picture, we use the questions developed in the analytical framework.

10.2 Congestion – a Barrier for Development
A dominant storyline in the planning documents from South Denmark concerns congestion: *"We have to solve the already large problems with congestion we have today and give our answer to transport solutions for the future."* (Region Syddanmark 2008, p. 2, translated). The quotation underlines that South Denmark has to consider how to limit congestion both now and in the future. South Denmark Region is presenting congestion as being time-consuming and primarily taking place on the motorways and the railway.

The issue about congestion is centrally placed in both the regional spatial development plan and the region's contribution to the Infrastructure Commission. Congestion problems are one out of three challenges that the region especially emphasises in relation to the Infrastructure Commission (Region Syddanmark 2007). In the same way, congestion is placed as one of the main challenges in the regional spatial development plan, which have to be solved in order to ensure the region's development potentials (Region Syddanmark 2008).

Problem definition: Time Consuming Congestion in the 'Backbone'
The region emphasises congestion as problematic, as congestion limits the region's potential for development. Furthermore, congestion is characterised as a problem because it is time

consuming, as a headline in the region's contribution to the Infrastructure Commission underlines: *"Congestion costs time."* (Region Syddanmark 2007, p. 2, translated). Hereby, congestion is described as a problem because it is a time consumer that functions as a barrier for fulfilment of the region's development potential.

Congestion is not a problem in all parts of the re-gion. According to MH, congestion is mainly an issue in the larger urban areas in the region – Odense, Trekantsområdet and Esbjerg. In the contribution to the Infrastructure Commission, congestion is described as being a problem in the: *"Backbone of the infrastructure …"* (Region Syddanmark 2007, p. 2, translated). Using 'backbone' as a metaphor in relation to congestion also underlines the seriousness of the problem for all parts of the region – if the backbone is broken the whole body will experience problems.

Course of Action: Improvement of Motorways and Rail at First

The region has a number of suggestions for reducing congestion, which also underlines how seriously the region perceives the problem. First of all, it is emphasised that the problem has to be solved in the near future: *"Congestion in the large H must necessarily be solved very soon."* (Region Syddanmark 2007, p. 2, translated). In this connection, South Denmark works with two time perspectives: *"The problems with congestion have to be solved. More asphalt can solve the problems here and now – but in the longer run there has to be thought in a broad spectrum of solutions."* (Region Syddanmark 2008a, p. 4, translated). Thus, South Denmark proposes two types of solutions – increased capacity and road construction and other initiatives.

Although, South Denmark states that increased capacity and road construction are only a short term course of action to the problem, most of their proposals fall into this group. South Denmark proposes that the capacity of the motorways is increased, to build a third Lillebælt connection, a middle Jutland motorway corridor and improve alternative routes (Region Syddanmark 2007). These proposals are primarily based on the private car, but South Denmark though also proposes that the rail network should be improved.

These suggestions are relatively concrete, which cannot be said about the region's more long term course of action: *"A fast expansion of the motorway network can though, in the best case, only keep up with the development in car traffic. Therefore, it is important – also for the sake of sustainability considerations – to understand to complete with many other solutions that together can reduce congestion."* (Region Syddanmark 2007, p. 2, translated). Thus, the region's long term course of action for reducing congestion involves a strengthening of other modes of transport than the car with emphasis on sustainability. Though, the region does not present a more detailed plan for what this involves. The only aspect, which the region underlines in this connection, is Intelligent Transport Systems (ITS) (Region Syddanmark 2007; Region Syddanmark 2008).

Meaning: Accessibility and Connectivity enable Economic Growth

In South Denmark, mobility is connected to the region's development potential. Thereby, mobility is something that can facilitate development in the region, or in terms of congestion, something that is a barrier for the development. This also builds on an understanding of mobility as accessibility

and connectivity, as congestion is seen a barrier for exchange of valuables between different parts of the region and between the region and the surrounding world.

The two different time perspectives also indicate that ensuring accessibility and connectivity in the near future are more important than environmental considerations, as sustainability considerations are to be involved in the long term, whereas the short term is more focussed on 'business as usual'.

Values: Economic Growth

Mobility is not simply movement between places, but something that generates or hinders development of the region. In this way, ensuring optimal development opportunities in terms of accessibility and connectivity are highly valued. Additionally, the focus on environmental considerations is down prioritised.

This frame has indicated a close connection between mobility and economic growth. South Denmark's main concerns with congestion are that it is a time consumer and barrier for development. The problem definition and courses of action in relation to congestions are expressing how South Denmark understands and which aspects of mobility they value. The courses of action in relation to congestion problems are primarily based on roads and more asphalt by which the environmental concerns are secondary in relation to growth and development. Thereby, South Denmark understands mobility as accessibility and connectivity.

10.3 Reduction of Traffic related CO_2

Another central element in the documents from South Denmark is sustainability and environmental issues. The environment is also part of the three main considerations, South Denmark presents in the contribution to the Infrastructure Commission. Here the region states: *"The contribution to climate change from traffic must be reduced."* (Region Syddanmark 2007, p. 1, translated). The environmental aspect is also central in the regional spatial development plan. The plan is based on three values where one is sustainability (Region Syddanmark 2008). This indicates that 'Reduction of Traffic related CO_2' is a frame that is strongly emphasised by South Denmark.

Problem Definition: CO_2 from Traffic must be Reduced

As mentioned, sustainability is a central aspect in South Denmark's development plan. When the environmental side of sustainability is investigated, in relation to mobility, the plan underlines CO_2 emissions. The problem in relation to mobility and the environment are, thereby, what is expressed in the quote above – traffic's contribution to climate change. South Denmark describes the problem, under the headline 'Traffic creates Greenhouse Effect', as: *"Despite a strong focus on CO_2 in a number of years, we have seen a development where the traffic's contribution to the CO_2 impact has been increasing. It must be a main purpose to turn this development around."* (Region Syddanmark 2007, p. 2, translated). By focussing on CO_2 and greenhouse effects, South Denmark links mobility in the region to a global problem. Thereby, courses of action taken in South Denmark have consequences beyond the borders of the region. Thereby, the problem is defined as how to reduce traffic's contribution to greenhouse effects.

Seen from our point of view, this is a relatively limited understanding of environmental sustainability, which was also confirmed by MH: *"… sustainability,*

at least in my terminology, is more than CO_2, it is also noise." (Hemmingsen 2008, translated). Hereby, MH extends the environmental issues from being CO_2 emissions to also including traffic noise. Additionally, emissions in general and the protection of nature could have been included.

Course of Action: Public Transport, Alternative Fuels and Infrastructure

A central course of action is an improvement of public transport. It is one of South Denmark's objectives: *"The public transport system is – among others for commuters and people under education – an actual alternative to the car both regarding price and access for the individual."* (Region Syddanmark 2008, p. 30, translated). Thereby, a course of action is to reduce the reliance on the car and also CO_2 emissions by making the public transport system more attractive. More detailed plans for how the public transport system should be made more attractive are not presented.

Besides public transport, South Denmark proposes that the environmental impacts from traffic are reduced by using alternative fuels and constructing infrastructure with respect for nature and environment (Region Syddanmark 2008).

Meaning: Road Based Mobility is an Environmental Problem

By focussing on the environmental effects of traffic, mobility is understood as having a negative side. It is though not all types of mobility, but the road based mobility that is considered problematic. In this connection, South Denmark underlines that public transport should be given a higher priority and, thereby, improve its competitiveness. This seems to conflict with the course of action that South Denmark suggests in relation to congestion, as the proposals mainly focus on the private car and an expansion of the road capacity.

Values: Balance between Economy and Environment

As already discussed, sustainability is an explicit value behind the development plan. This is elaborated in the following: *"On the whole, the region's development shall build on the realisation that economic resources originate from a combination of humans' and nature's resources. The region's future shall, in brief, be based on a sustainable development in environmental, social and economical sense, so that future generations also can take part in the good life."* (Region Syddanmark 2008, p. 10, translated). Thus, development in the region should balance environmental, social and economic considerations and ensure opportunities for future generations. In this way, protection of the environment is also linked to economical development. This link is further emphasised in the following: *"Nature's resources will always be the first step on the road to growth and prosperity."* (Region Syddanmark 2008, p. 10, translated). Hereby, the protection of the environment is linked to economic growth.

As opposed to the previous frame where focus was on the private car, South Denmark is also aware of the negative side of mobility. South Denmark emphasises that mobility within the region is linked to a global problem with traffic's contribution to climate change. In the region, CO_2 emissions are outlined as the environmental side of sustainability. The course of action to the problem is an improvement of public transport to make it more attractive and, thereby, reduce the reliance on cars. Besides the environmental side of sustainability, the region also emphasises the social

and economical sides, as the future development of the region has to consider future generations.

10.4 Strengthening of Growth Axes through Mobility

A storyline from the development plan is 'Strengthening of Growth Axes through Mobility', see figure 10.1. This is one of the key diagrams presented in the strategy 'Living' and is closely related to the following framing about a strengthening of peripheral areas.

The diagram symbolises two corridors going north-south and east-west in the region linking the main urban centres. The growth axes are connected to mobility: *"North-south and east-west. It is because they follow the motorway."* (Hemmingsen 2008, translated). Besides linking the region together, the diagram also illustrates the main corridors out of the region. The directions the arrows are pointing could illustrate what the region views as the most important connections out of the region.

Problem Definitions: Developing and Strengthening the Growth Axes

The term 'growth axes' indicates that the two corridors are where South Denmark is experiencing and is expecting to experience most development. Therefore, it is important for the region to strengthen the development of axes: *"The South Denmark's towns are partners in the construction and strengthening of visible development corridors north-south and east-west, which stretches beyond the region's borders, and the urban development is happening with special attention towards transport and traffic, functional connections and the separation between rural and urban."* (Region Syddanmark 2008, p. 14, translated). The problem is, thereby, defined

as developing and strengthening the axes. This is also directly stated by South Denmark: *"The north-south and east-west going growth axes are to be strengthened."* (Region Syddanmark 2008b, p. 3, translated).

Course of Action: High Mobility in Growth Axes

In relation to mobility, South Denmark underlines: *"Traffic execution in the growth axes is to be given high priority, also including the connections beyond the region's borders."* (Region Syddanmark 2008b, p. 2, translated). Hereby, South Denmark stresses that traffic in the growth axes should be frictionless. Thus, the growth axes are closely related to the framing of congestion and the projects described, in connection with congestion, also relate to the development of the two axes.

Meaning: Accessibility and Connectivity enable Economic Growth

Connecting mobility to the growth axes indicates that South Denmark sees mobility as interlinked with economic growth and development. This is confirmed by MH: *"The places where you have the opportunity to commute to have a larger growth. Mobility and growth are very connected in my opinion…"* (Hemmingsen 2008, translated). Thus, mobility is creating growth in the axes by linking labour to workplaces and urban centres. Therefore, it is important that there is high accessibility in the two axes enabling connections between the urban centres and hinterland. Moreover, it is important that the urban centres in the axes are well connected to each other and other centres outside the region. In this way, accessibility and connectivity are seen as preconditions for economic growth and development.

Befolkningsudvikling 2007-2017

Øst-vest
udviklingsbånd

Nord-syd
udviklingsbånd

**Befolkningsudvikling
2007-2017**

3 til 5,9%
0 til 3%
-1 til 0%
-5 til -1%
-11,1 til -5%

Kilde: Danmarks Statistik

Større byer og
bykoncentrationer
(over 30.000 indb.)

Mellemstore byer
(10-30.000 indb.)

Mindre byer (5-10.000 indb.)
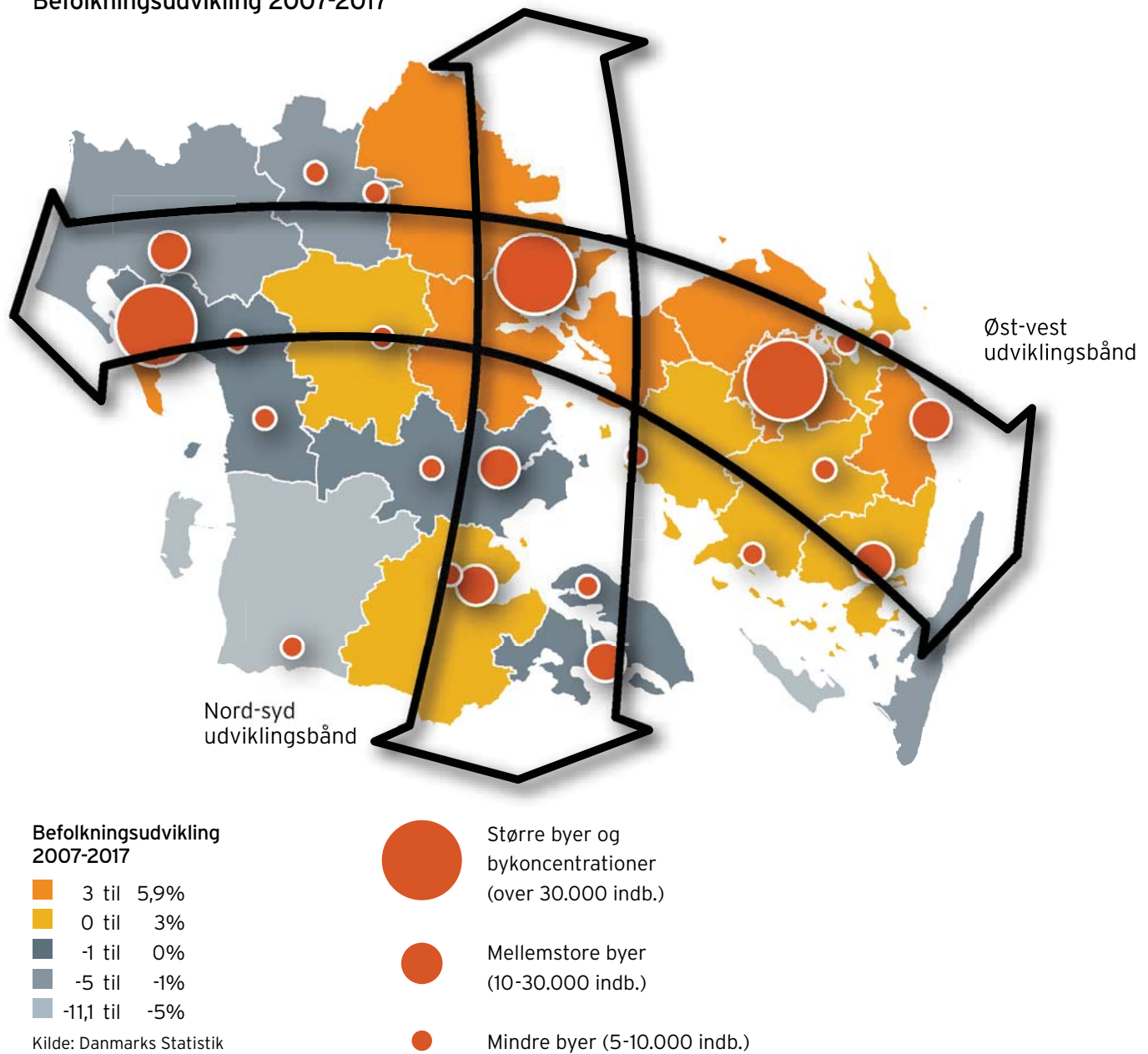
Figure 10.1: shows north-south and east-west growth axes in South Denmark Region. Moreover, the figure illustrates the population development and size of the towns. (Region Syddanmark 2008)

Values: Economic Growth
Through South Denmark's emphasis on the growth axes, it can be concluded that the region is giving a high priority to the creation and strengthening of economic growth. The axes also illustrate that the region is prioritising growth generation along the main transport corridors in the region. Thus, not all areas of the region can expect the same growth and development.

The purpose of the growth axes is to link the main urban centres and at the same time link the growth axes to the hinterland. Mobility and the growth axes are closely interlinked, as the axes follow the motorways. Furthermore, the axes and mobility are interlinked, as high accessibility is seen as a precondition for economic growth. The growth axes are where the region is experiencing and expecting further growth and are, thus, also expected to be the most accessible areas. Thereby, improvement of traffic in the axes has a high priority, as it is the basis for economic growth and development.

10.5 Strengthening Peripheral Areas
A storyline that is found in the development plan is about development in the more peripheral areas of South Denmark: *"We have to strengthen development of the peripheral areas."* (Region Syddanmark 2008, p. 2, translated). In the interview, MH stressed that accessibility between the peripheral areas and the urban centres are central, as it should be possible to live in the peripheral areas.

Problem Definition: Avoid Breaking Apart – Secure Accessibility
According to MH, it is a political objective in South Denmark to secure settlement in the more peripheral areas of the region. MH describes the importance of keeping balance between growth areas and peripheral areas as: *"Otherwise we will brake apart. That is, if we do not create the accessibility some parts will die – close down."* (Hemmingsen 2008, translated). Thus, the mobility issue in this connection is defined as creating accessibility to and from the peripheral areas. More concretely, MH defines the problem as: *"… the challenge is how you get people from Bagenkop [A small town on the island Langeland] to have access to places where there are jobs."* (Hemmingsen 2008, translated). Thereby, the problem is how to connect people living in peripheral areas to workplaces in other parts of the region – a balance between the periphery and the urban centres.

Course of action: Connecting Peripheral Areas to the Overall Network
The course of action in relation to the problem defined is not concretely described in the plans. Thus, the course of action is discussed in overall terms as: *"The regional structure of roads, railways and ferries work without problems and connect areas in South Denmark with long distance to the overall structure efficiently and energy optimal together."* (Region Syddanmark 2008, p. 30, translated). South Denmark emphasises that it is important to connect the areas outside the overall network to each other: *"The remaining part of the region is to have good access to the overall traffic network."* (Region Syddanmark 2008b, p. 2, translated).
Figure 10.2 shows a diagram from the regional spatial development plan. The diagram illustrates how the smaller towns overall are connected to each other and to the overall network.
The course of action in relation to ensuring settlement in the peripheral areas is to link the areas together and to link these areas to the overall infrastructure network. South Denmark does not

Transportens infrastruktur i Syddanmark

Regionale transportterminaler

Regionale havne

Billund lufthavn

Nationale transportkorridorer

Regionale transportkorridorer

Større byer og
bykoncentrationer
(over 30.000 indb.)

Mellemstore byer
(10-30.000 indb.)

Mindre byer (5-10.000 indb.)

Særligt trafikalt problemområde
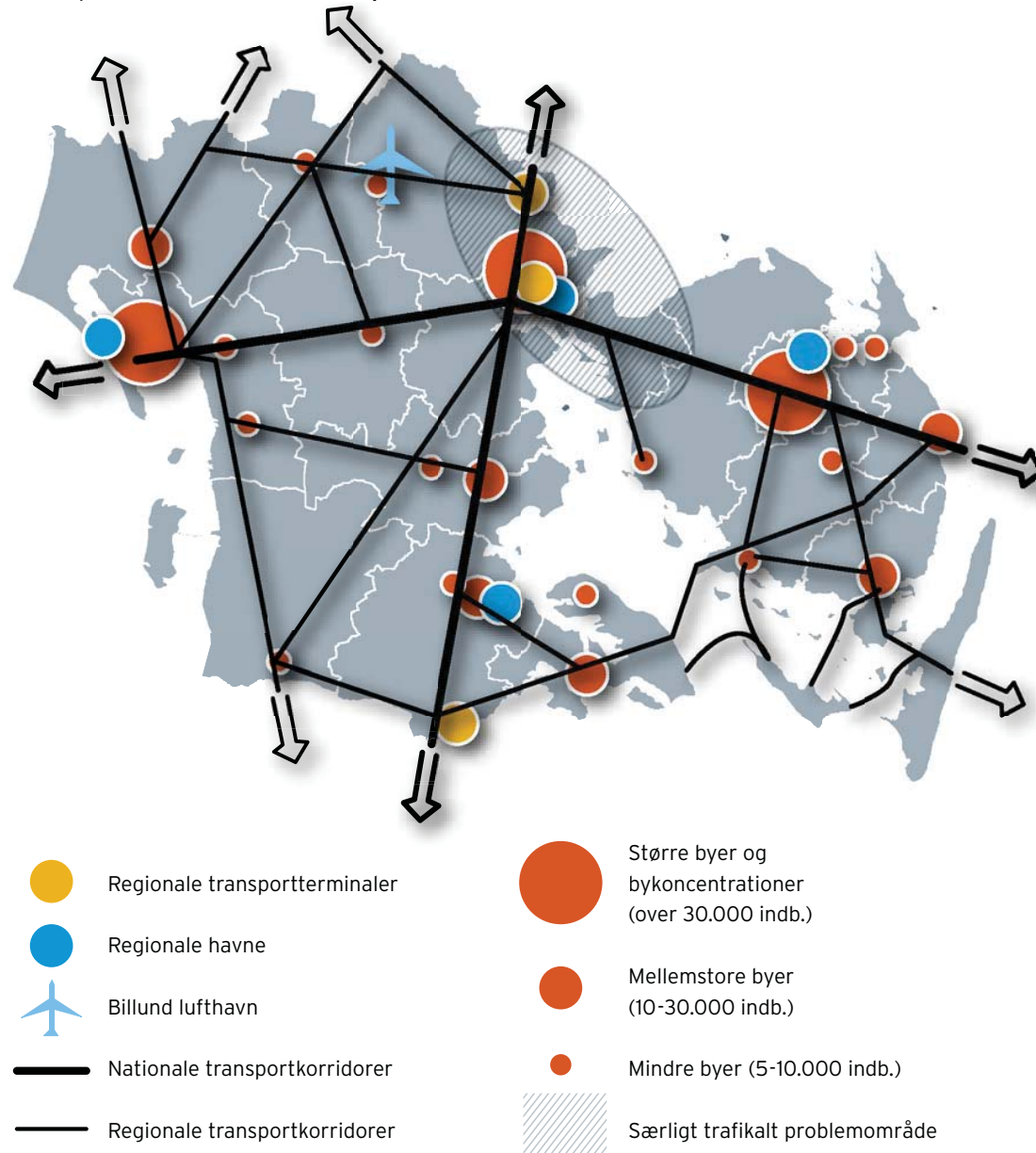
Figure 10.2: illustrates connectivity and accessibility in South Denmark Region. The figure illustrates, how the smaller towns are connected to the overall network and each other. The figure illustrates elements such as ports, airports and regional transport corridors. (Region Syddanmark 2008)

present a more detailed course of action for how to deal with this.

Meaning: Accessibility and Connectivity enable Economic Growth

In this frame, the meaning attached to mobility is accessibility and connectivity, as stated by MH: *"When you talk about connectivity you talk about mobility."* (Hemmingsen 2008, translated). Thus, by connecting areas by infrastructure they become more accessible and make it possible for people to live in one area and work in another.

The importance of accessibility and connectivity are also underlined in the regional spatial development plan. In the plan, South Denmark presents five overall strategies that together should strengthen the development in the region. One of these five strategies is 'connectivity and accessibility'. (Region Syddanmark 2008).

Values: Balance and Cohesion

As discussed earlier in this section, it is important for South Denmark that the region does not 'break apart'. This could be seen as a wish for balance and cohesion in the region. Cohesion and balance are seen as created by accessibility and connectivity and are, thereby, interlinked with mobility. Cohesion is a central value for South Denmark according to MH: *"… there is the value about cohesiveness and then there is the value about sustainability. Sustainability and cohesiveness are like, sustainability can be extended to be about… that you have to maintain the entire region as a settlement area…"* (Hemmingsen 2008, translated). In this way, MH emphasises a social sustainability where it is prioritised to maintain the opportunity for people to live in all parts of the region – also the peripheral areas.

In this section, we have examined how South Denmark frames internal cohesion and connectivity as important. This is especially important in relation to securing settlements in the peripheral areas. Otherwise, the areas will 'die out' and the region will break apart. Therefore, mobility as connectivity is important, as mobility connects the areas and, thereby, creates accessibility. South Denmark emphasises a balanced and cohesive region, which is created through connectivity and accessibility.

10.6 Connections Outside the Region are Important

One of the three, previously mentioned, basic values in the development plan is 'outlook' (Region Syddanmark 2008). South Denmark defines outlook as the interplay with its surroundings: *"The interplay with the surroundings – not just the neighbouring regions, but also the rest of the world – has in many years been a precondition for the development and wealth in South Denmark."* (Region Syddanmark 2008, p. 9, translated). In this way, connections to areas outside the region are considered important for the economic development in South Denmark. In the quotation both national and international connections are highlighted, but the analysis of the documents reveals that South Denmark mainly focuses on connections to Hamburg and Copenhagen-Malmø (Region Syddanmark 2007).

Problem Definition: Maintain and Improve Accessibility

International connections are highlighted in South Denmark because the region sees these connections as decisive for participating in globalisation (Region Syddanmark 2008). The problem in terms of international connections is, thereby, to develop or strengthen a position in a globalised network. In terms of mobility, the problem is defined as: *"South*

Denmark orients itself towards the European metropolis Hamburg (and the entire important central European market) and Copenhagen-Malmø… Therefore, it is – especially for freight transport – important that good accessibility is maintained." (Region Syddanmark 2007, p. 3-4). The problem for South Denmark is to maintain and improve accessibility to nodes in an international network.

Course of Action: Increase Capacity and Lower Toll

The course of action in connection with improving accessibility towards Copenhagen-Malmø and Hamburg is explicitly described by South Denmark. In relation to connections to Hamburg, the region stresses the need for increased road and rail capacity on both the Danish and German side of the border. To connect South Denmark closer to Copenhagen-Malmø the region suggests that the Great Belt toll is lowered. (Region Syddanmark 2007) These courses of action illustrate that South Denmark sees accessibility as both capacity and money. Thus, accessibility is measured in both time and money.

Meaning: Accessibility and Connectivity enable Economic Growth

As with strengthening of peripheral areas, mobility is interpreted in terms of connectivity. In this case, South Denmark emphasises the importance of connectivity and accessibility through increased rail and road capacity and also a lowered toll. Connectivity and accessibility are, hereby, related to economic growth and competitiveness.

Values: Economic Competitiveness

In order for South Denmark to be competitive in a global world, connections to international nodes, such as Hamburg and Copenhagen-Malmø, are considered crucial. International infrastructure connections are thus valued because they are seen as an opportunity for competitiveness and economic growth.

In this frame, connections with areas outside the region, especially connections to Hamburg and Copenhagen-Malmø, are emphasised as important as a precondition for development and wealth in South Denmark. The region wishes to maintain and improve accessibility and connectivity to international nodes, which is created through mobility. Thus, mobility creates connectivity and accessibility and, thereby, economic growth and competitiveness.

10.7 Concluding Remarks

The objective of this section is to conclude on the analysis of South Denmark's official framings of mobility problems. The frames are combined using the analytical framework, thus, we discuss similarities and differences between the frames using problem definition, course of action, meaning and values as described in chapter 7. The key elements from each frame are summarised in figure 10.3. As already indicated through the analysis, the way mobility problems are framed in South Denmark is not coherent, but to some degree conflicting, which we will examine more closely in this section.

Problem Definitions

South Denmark frames five main challenges in relation to mobility in the region: congestion, strengthening growth areas, strengthening peripheral areas, connecting South Denmark to the outside world and reducing traffic's environmental impacts.

The last problem relates to the negative environmental impacts from especially road based

Problem Definition	**Course of Action**
Congestion – a Barrier for Development - Time Consuming Congestion in the 'Backbone' **Reduction of Traffic related CO2** - CO2 from traffic must be reduced **Strengthening Growth Axes through Mobility** - Developing and strengthening the growth axes **Strengthening Peripheral Areas** - Avoid breaking apart - secure accessibility **Connections Outside the Region are Important** - Maintain and improve accessibility	**Congestion – a Barrier for Development** - Increased capacity of motorways - A third Lillebælt connection - A Middle Jutland motorway corridor - Improvement of alternative routes - Improvement of rail network - Long term sustainable solutions - ITS **Reduction of Traffic related CO2** - Improve public transport - Use alternative fuels - Construct infrastructure with respect for environment **Strengthening Growth Axes through Mobility** - High mobility in growth axes - Connect growth axes outside the region **Strengthening Peripheral Areas** - Connect local infrastructure to main network - Connect remote areas to each other **Connections Outside the Region are Important** - Increased road and rail capacity to Hamburg - The toll on the Great Belt should be lowered

Meaning

Congestion – a Barrier for Development: Accessibility and connectivity enable economic growth

Reduction of Traffic related CO2: Road based mobility is an environmental problem

Strengthening Growth Axes through Mobility: Accessibility and connectivity enable economic growth

Strengthening Peripheral Areas: Accessibility and connectivity enable economic growth

Connections Outside the Region are Important: Accessibility and connectivity enable economic growth

Values

Congestion – a Barrier for Development: Economic growth

Reduction of Traffic related CO2: Balance between economy and environment

Strengthening Growth Axes through Mobility: Economic growth

Strengthening Peripheral Areas: Balance and cohesion

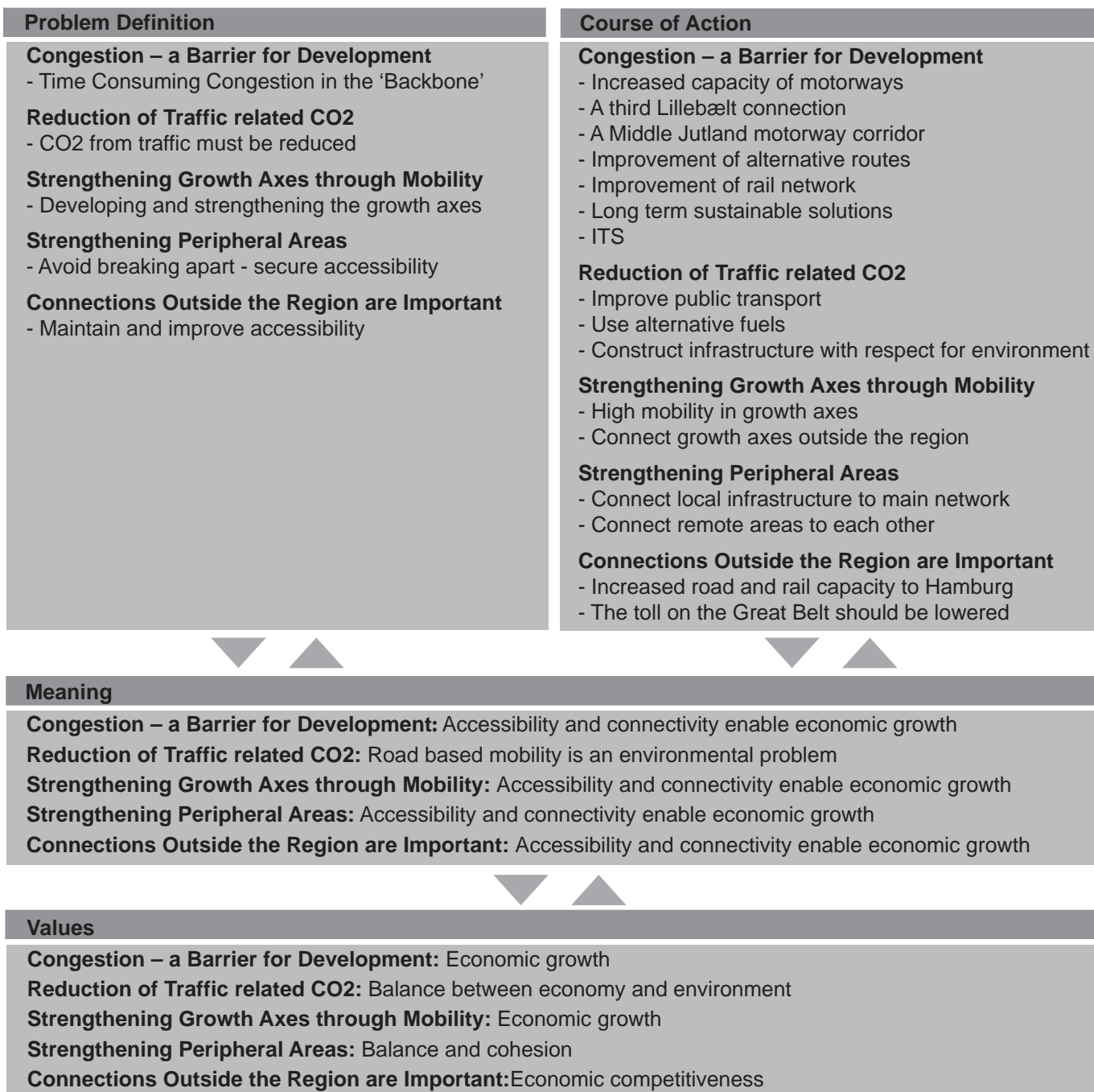**Connections Outside the Region are Important:** Economic competitiveness

Figure 10.3: summarises the frames outlined in the analysis of South Denmark Region.

traffic, whereas, the first four problems relate to the importance of connectivity and accessibility for the creation of economic growth. Thus, it is important for South Denmark to be well connected and accessible both internally and externally. In connection with external connections, South Denmark mainly focuses on its international connections and not its national connections.

The problem definitions illustrate that South Denmark focus on strengthening both growth axes and peripheral areas. On one side, South Denmark emphasises that development should be concentrated in growth axes and on the other side they emphasise that it is important that the peripheral areas do not 'die out'. Furthermore, South Denmark states: *"It is important that the regional growth benefits the entire region."* (Region Syddanmark 2008, p. 21, translated). There is no direct conflict between the two frames, as the frame 'Strengthening Peripheral Areas' recognises that growth and development primarily will take place in the growth axes. This is expressed by South Denmark only characterising peripheral areas as settlement areas – not areas for business development. Business development should instead be concentrated in the axes. Hereby, they define a division of labour between the areas in the region. In this way, economic growth has been combined with a social sustainability that takes all parts of the region into consideration.

Courses of Action

As the summery in figure 10.3 shows, most of the courses of action relate to road infrastructure as either the construction of new roads or increased capacity of existing. This illustrates that South Denmark sees the private car as the main form of transportation in the region. It, furthermore, indicates a traditional 'predict and provide'

approach to traffic planning as for example congestion is primarily suggested solved through increased road capacity.

The figure also indicates a conflict between the frames. In connection with the frame 'Reduction of Traffic Related', South Denmark states that public transport should be improved in order to reduce the reliance on the private car. This objective is contradictory to the 'predict and provide' approach where the private car continues to be the main transportation mode through a continued development of the road network. This conflict is also evident in relation to meaning and values, as we will discuss in the following.

Meanings

A coherent element in South Denmark's official framings of mobility problems is how the region understands mobility. As the summery in figure 10.3 shows, four out of five frames sees mobility as connectivity and accessibility. The only frame, which does not make sense of mobility in this way, is 'Reducing Traffic Related CO_2'.

Hereby, South Denmark understands mobility as something that connects different urban centres, something that connects the more peripheral areas to the growth areas and something that connects the region to the world outside. Connectivity between different areas is dependent on the area's accessibility. In this way, it is important for the connectivity between peripheral and growth areas that the growth areas are accessible e.g. by reducing congestion.

A rationality connected with connectivity and accessibility is that it will result in economic growth and development. Thus, South Denmark argues that the peripheral areas will be able to attract new inhabitants and, thereby, economic growth by connecting the areas to workplaces in

the growth axes. Similar, rationalities apply to the frame about international connections though at another geographical scale.

In the frame 'Reduction of Traffic Related CO_2', South Denmark makes sense of mobility in another way. In this frame, road based mobility is understood as something negative, as it has a negative impact on the environment.

The two different understandings of mobility also illustrate a frame conflict between economic considerations on one side and environmental considerations on the other, as discussed above.

Values

The frame conflict between 'Reduction of Traffic Related CO_2' and the other frames can be traced back to the values underpinning each frame. On one side, South Denmark frames car based mobility as an environmental problem, while it on the other side is framed as connectivity and accessibility that creates economic growth. Thus, it is two different values that are prioritised, as figure 10.3 illustrates. The values underpinning 'Reduction of Traffic Related CO2' are balance between economical and environmental considerations as protection of the environment is seen as a basis for economic growth in the future. In the frames 'Congestion – a Barrier for Development', 'Strengthening of Growth Axes' and 'Connections Outside the Region is Important', economic growth and development are the main priorities.

The conflict in course of action suggests that both frames cannot be realised at the same time. The question is then, which frame is the strongest? South Denmark's contribution to the Infrastructure Commission indicates the answer to this question. In the contribution, South Denmark emphasises three mobility challenges: traffics contribution

to climate change, increasing congestion and improving access to international transport networks (Region Syddanmark 2007). Thus, the contribution to the Infrastructure Commission covers both the environmental and the mo-re economical framings of mobility. The con-tribution also includes a list of future projects, which gives an indication of, which frames are the strongest and highest prioritised.

The list encompasses ten suggestions. Out of these ten suggestions seven concerns increased capacity of or new motorways, expressways and other roads, one concerns lowering tolls on the Great Belt crossing and three concerns improvement of the rail network (Region Syddanmark 2007). This indicates that the economic considerations are prioritised higher than the environmental.

MH is aware of this conflict between the region's environmental and economical goals in relation to mobility, as he expresses: *"The challenge in reality is to create a balanced approach to mobility… What makes it cheap counteract the environment, because if cars gets cheap more people will have one and then you get larger CO_2 emissions."* (Hemmingsen 2008, translated). MH underlines a balanced approach to mobility. It can though be discussed how balanced South Denmark's approach is on basis of the framings presented in this chapter. South Denmark seems to prioritise economic considerations, as most of the projects they suggest are new road projects.

This conclusion was also confirmed by MH: *"I think, you will give the highest priority to growth in praxis. Because if growth starts going down, then everything else gives in… So the challenge is actually more about prioritising growth and then make sure that the burden on sustainability do not get to heavy."* (Hemmingsen 2008, translated). In reality, South

Denmark will prioritise economic growth higher than environmental considerations. In this way, environmental considerations will be made within the frames of economic growth and the region will not make environmental decisions that will have a negative impact on the region's growth potential. Thus, South Denmark is less environmental than their plans indicate at a first glance. The relationship between economy and environment in relation to mobility is further discussed in chapter 15.

Generally, South Denmark frame mobility as connectivity and accessibility, which enable economic growth. In this connection, South Denmark emphasises that it is important to strengthen the development in both existing growth areas and in the more peripheral areas of the region.
As we have discussed in the final section, the framings of economic growth contradict with a focus on reducing the environmental impact from traffic. The analysis shows that the economic considerations are given a higher priority than the environmental considerations in relation to mobility problems in South Denmark.

Central Denmark Region
- Economic Growth and Balance

The objective of this chapter is to analyse the official framings of mobility problems in Central Denmark Region. Before we analyse the framings, we explain how each frame have been identified and introduce the documents and interview used in the analysis.

11.1 Identifying Storylines and Frames

The analysis of the official framings of mobility problems is primarily based on Central Denmark's spatial development plan, the region's and municipalities' contribution to the Infrastructure Commission and an interview with Head of Regional Development Anders Debel (AD) and planner Hanne-Marie Sieg Sørensen (HMSS) from Central Denmark Region. Furthermore, various backgrounds material to the plans are used to gain a larger understanding of the plans. A more detailed description of the documents and the interview can be found in chapter 7.

Central Denmark's Four Mobility Problems

The documents listed above have been used to identify which mobility problems Central Denmark is emphasising. Both the region's contribution to the Infrastructure Commission and the regional spatial development plan emphasise three main problems in relation to mobility: connections to the surrounding world, accessibility and a region in balance. The three problems are described as being decisive for a positive development in Central Denmark. The challenge about connections to the outside world refers to the region being an international growth region, which demands access to, from and through the region. Accessibility

relates to congestion and the growing pressure on the road system. The last challenge, a region in balance, refers to the differences between the areas in the region and how to ensure development in the entire region and create a region in balance. (Region Midtjylland 2007: Region Midtjylland 2008)

In relation to connections to the surrounding world, Central Denmark defines two overall problems. First of all, the region identifies the problem on a national scale as a need to create a cohesive Denmark (Region Midtjylland 2007b). Central Denmark though also sees it as a challenge to connect the region internationally (Region Midtjylland 2007). Thus, Central Denmark overall identifies four problems in relation to mobility: Congestion, creating a region in balance, creating a cohesive Denmark and connect the region internationally.

From Problem to Storyline to Frame
Through the identification of the four problems above, we have identified four storylines, which represents four official framings of mobility problems in Central Denmark. The four storylines are:

– An International Growth Region Needs International Connections
– A Coherent Denmark – Connecting Growth Centres
– Congestion Reduces Economic Growth
– Central Denmark as a Region in Balance

The storylines are used as a heading for each frame as each storyline is understood as a 'summery' of a frame, cf. chapter 7. In the following four sections, we deconstruct each of the storylines using the analytical framework to gain an understanding of how mobility problems are being framed in Central

Denmark. The analyses are structured according to the analytical framework.
In the last section of the chapter, we combine the four framings in order to draw a comprehensive picture of the mobility problems in Central Denmark, which are used to compare the two types of regions and identify potential conflicts in chapter 13.

11.2 An International Growth Region Needs International Connections
As described in the previous, one of the four storylines in Central Denmark is: 'An International Growth Region Needs International Connections'. This is a storyline that is repeated throughout both the region's contribution to the Infrastructure Commission and the regional spatial development plan (Region Midtjylland 2007: Region Midtjylland 2008). That the storyline is repeated in both plans, indicate that it is an aspect, which is considered important in Central Denmark. In relation to international connections Central Denmark mainly refers to the European mainland and Scandinavia (Region Midtjylland 2008).

Problem Definition: Creating International Connections
The problem definition related to this frame is indicated in the storyline – creating international connections: *"The Central Denmark Region is an international growth region which is why the connections between the region and the outside world are important."* (Region Midtjylland 2007, p. 26, translated). Thus, in relation to this frame the problem is defined as securing the region's connections to the outside world in order to maintain its position as an international growth region. Under the headline 'Global Perspective' Central Denmark further describes the problem as:

"The Central Denmark Region shall be an international growth region based on good connections to the surrounding world. This necessitates access to, from and through the region for goods and persons." (Region Midtjylland 2008, p. 47, translated). In this way, the overall objective with the creation of international connections is for Central Denmark to develop into an international growth region.

Course of Action: Fast Connections, Accessibility and Broadband
The overall course of action to the problem is described by Central Denmark as: *"It shall be possible to use fast connections both to and from the central part of Jutland, whether it is towards east to the capital, south to the rest of Europe or north to the rest of Scandinavia."* (Region Midtjylland 2008a, p. 51, translated). Hereby, Central Denmark underlines that it is not only important to be connected internationally, but that the quality of the connection also depends on time. Central Denmark does though not clarify what 'fast' in this connection means.

Central Denmark also presents a number of more concrete courses of action in relation to the creation of international connections. One of these is to improve access to the European motorway network from the entire region. Furthermore, Central Denmark emphasises the region's airports and ports as important in an international context and their accessibility should, therefore, be improved. (Region Midtjylland 2008: Region Midtjylland 2008a).
Central Denmark also underlines virtual infrastructure as important to maintain an international position. Broadband network is further underlined, as a way to access the global marked (Region Midtjylland 2007a).

Meaning: Connectivity and Accessibility enable Economic Development
The meaning connected to the frame is indicated in the region's contribution to the Infrastructure Commission. Here Central Denmark describes how the future will look like if their plans relating to international connections are carried out: *"The improved access to the surrounding world has also contributed to the attraction of investments and new companies to the region and not least to maintain companies that otherwise would move to Copenhagen or abroad."* (Region Midtjylland 2007, p. 31, translated). Thus, mobility is understood as something that enables the attraction and maintaining of investments and companies to the region through improved accessibility. Attracting and maintaining investments and companies connect mobility to economic development. The understanding of mobility as something that enables economic development is also indicated in the storyline and problem definition. The storyline and problem definition link Central Denmark as an international growth region to the region's international connections. Thus, mobility in terms of accessibility and connectivity enable Central Denmark to be an international growth region.

Values: Economic Growth
The overall objective for Central Denmark in relation to this frame is to create economic growth through increased international connectivity and accessibility. Thus, Central Denmark's aim is to become an international growth region. The aim of becoming an international growth region underlines that economic growth is valued and prioritised in relation to mobility in this frame.
This framing draws a picture of mobility as something that enables economic growth in Central

Denmark through the creation of connectivity and accessibility. The overall objective of the frame is to strengthen or develop Central Denmark's position as an international growth region. In order to develop this position, Central Denmark's international connections must be developed. Central Denmark presents a number of courses of action, including good accessibility to the European motorway network and regional airports and ports. Furthermore, the region sees broadband as an opportunity to strengthen the region's international accessibility and connectivity.

11.3 A Coherent Denmark – Connecting Growth Centres

The storyline 'A Coherent Denmark – Connecting Growth Regions' represents the second framing related to Central Denmark's connections to the outside world. The frame concerns the development of a fixed link across Kattegat connecting the East Jutland growth area to the growth area in Copenhagen.

Compared to the previous frame 'An International Growth Region Needs International Connections', this frame is presented more strongly by Central Denmark. This is among others indicated by the fact that Central Denmark together with a number of municipalities have formed a 'Kattegat Committee' to push the idea forward (Sørensen 2008). Moreover, the fixed link is one out of five infrastructure projects Central Denmark recommended in their contribution to the Infrastructure Commission (Region Midtjylland 2007).

Problem Definition: Linking Two Growth Areas
The problem definition in relation to this frame is described by Central Denmark as: "*The different parts of Denmark must be linked further together to secure development and growth."* (Region Midtjylland 2008a, p. 51, translated). The problem is thus defined as linking the different parts of Denmark closer together. The region especially underlines that the growth area in East Jutland and Copenhagen should be linked closer together. This aspect was also underlined by HMSS: "*Because you can say that Denmark is actually too small a country to have two separate growth areas as it appears in the national planning report. Therefore, we see some development perspectives in linking the two areas closer together and use the strengths and specialisations each have together."* (Sørensen 2008, translated). In this way, the rationality behind linking the areas together is that the areas will become stronger together than separately. Thus, Central Denmark believes that it will be possible to create more development by combining East Jutland and Copenhagen than each area will experience individually.

On an international level Central Denmark argues that connecting East Jutland and Copenhagen can create a North European growth centre. Development in this centre will as 'rings in the water' spread to the rest of the country. Thus, combining East Jutland and Copenhagen will benefit the entire country, as it will create 'a coherent Denmark'. (Region Midtjylland 2007b). Figure 11.1 illustrates that Central Denmark sees the connection between East Jutland and Copenhagen as benefiting the entire Central Denmark Region. As the figure shows there is though some parts of the country that is left out, this indicate, that not all parts of the country will experience equal benefits from the connection.

Course of Action: A Fixed Link across Kattegat

The course of action suggested in order to fulfil the vision about one growth centre is a fixed link across Kattegat for high-speed trains and cars. The aim of the fixed link is to create a new access road to Zealand, to the capital area and to Copenhagen Airport. Additionally, the region believes that a fixed link will result in increased settlements of people and businesses from the capital area to Central Denmark. (Region Midtjylland 2007). The region imagines a high-speed train forming a circle lane between Copenhagen-Kattegat-Århus-Odense-Copenhagen, where it will be possible in both directions to have a travel time below one hour between the country's largest cities (Region Midtjylland 2008a).
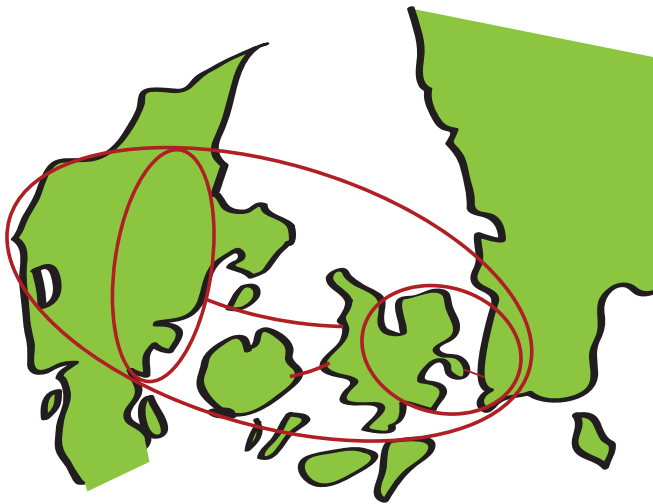
Figure 11.1: illustrates Central Denmark Region's emphasis on the connection between the East Jutland urban corridor and Copenhagen (Region Midtjylland 2008).

Meaning: Connectivity enables Economic Development

In this frame, mobility is understood as something that enables the creation of one strong growth centre in Denmark: *"Increased mobility between the parts of the country will be able to create new dynamic and better utilisation of the country's combined resources."* (Region Midtjylland 2007b, p. 3, translated). Thus, mobility enables connections between East Jutland and Copenhagen that can create new economic development potentials.

The new opportunities for economic development are created through the development of a coherent Danish labour market. Thus, through the construction of a fixed link across Kattegat it will be possible to live in Jutland and work in Copenhagen and vice versa. Hereby, the Danish labour market becomes more flexible and more competitive. (Region Midtjylland 2007)

Values: A Cohesive Denmark and Economic Development

In the vision for the fixed link across Kattegat, Central Denmark states that the main value behind the project is: *"… that it [the fixed link] shall benefit the Danish society and citizens in all parts of the country. The link shall contribute to the creation of a new and more cohesive Denmark."* (Region Midtjylland 2007b, p. 2, translated). As it is expressed, Central Denmark emphasises the creation of a more coherent Denmark and a development that benefits the entire country. Though, as discussed previously, it can be discussed whether all parts of Denmark will benefit equally from the fixed link.

The fixed link across Kattegat is suggested as Central Denmark sees the link as an opportunity to connect the two main growth centres in Den-

mark: East Jutland and Copenhagen. The logic behind the link is that East Jutland and Copenhagen will be stronger together than separately. Thus, it will be possible to create more economic development together than separately and, furthermore, the areas will be able to create a strong international position. The development of East Jutland and Copenhagen to one growth area is seen as benefiting the entire country and as creating a coherent Denmark.

11.4 Congestion Reduces Economic Growth

One of the considerations presented in the introduction to this chapter concerned accessibility. A storyline in connection with accessibility is 'Congestion Reduces Economic Growth'. Congestion is identified as one of the main problems in relation to mobility in Central Denmark. Especially, the region's contribution to the Infrastructure Commission emphasises congestion as an important problem to solve for Central Denmark (Region Midtjylland 2007).

Problem Definition: Congestion reduces Accessibility

In connection with Central Denmark's contribution to the Infrastructure Commission traffic projections have been carried out. The conclusion on the projections is: *"Everything indicates that there, in future years, will be a continued increase in traffic amounts with congestion and accessibility problems as a consequence. A wish for increased economic growth increases the demands to an efficient transport system."* (Region Midtjylland 2007, p. 25, translated). Thus, congestion is considered a problem because it reduces accessibility. Congestion is also being linked to the fulfilment of the region's wish for increased economic growth: *"… it can slow down the development."* (Region Midtjylland 2007, p.

27, translated). In this way, congestion is seen as a barrier for the creation of economic growth in Central Denmark. Thereby, the problem is defined as reduced accessibility due to congestion. Congestion is not described as a problem in all parts of the region, but mainly in the eastern part of the region and in connection with the larger cities and towns in Central Denmark (Region Midtjylland 2007).

Course of Action: Increased Capacity, Light Rail, Public Transport and Broadband

In relation to reducing congestion and, thereby, increase accessibility, Central Denmark presents three infrastructure projects as a course of action in the recommendations to the Infrastructure Commission: constructing light rail in the Århus area, increase the capacity of the motorway between Kolding and Randers and upgrade the road between Århus and Viborg. (Region Midtjylland 2007)

These suggestions are also included in the regional spatial development plan where Central Denmark also emphasises utilising the possibilities for ITS as a course of action (Region Midtjylland 2008a). In the process of securing accessibility, the region emphasises that the unfortunate impacts of increasing traffic e.g. accidents and environmental impacts have to be taken into account (Region Midtjylland 2008). Though, without making it more clear how this should be done.

Central Denmark also emphasises that public transport together with a well functioning infrastructure is basis for regional development. Public transport in the region includes trains, busses and planes – ways to travel both in and out of the region. Additionally, the region suggests that

public transport on some distances has to be a competitive parameter in relation to the car in travel time and, thereby, being an alternative to the families' second car. (Region Midtjylland 2008)

Central Denmark also identifies the use of IT-infrastructure as a potential course of action. The region emphasises that an extension of the broadband network would improve the businesses' opportunity for increased cooperation, knowledge sharing and communication, which could attract and maintain businesses. Furthermore, an extension of the broadband network could possible help reduce traffic and environmental impacts, as employees would have the opportunity to have a home office. (Region Midtjylland 2008).

Central Denmark presents a broad range of initiatives in relation to reducing congestion. Most emphasis is though put on the suggestions concerning increased capacity of the road infrastructure. This indicates that Central Denmark is following a traditional 'predict and provide' approach to the problem.

Meaning: Accessibility Enables Economic Development

In the previous, we have discussed the close relationship between congestion and accessibility. This relationship is underlined in the documents as Central Denmark continuously describes congestion under the headline 'Accessibility' (Region Midtjylland 2007: Region Midtjylland 2008). Thus, mobility is understood as something that creates accessibility.

Furthermore, accessibility, and thereby mobility, is being described as a basis for economic growth and development in Central Denmark.

This understanding is clearly stated by Central Denmark: *"Only by having an infrastructure that secures high mobility can growth and development in the Central Denmark Region and Denmark be maintained."* (Region Midtjylland 2007, p. 9, translated). Thus, high mobility creates growth and development, but at the same time high mobility also creates more traffic, which results in congestion and a weakening of accessibility. Thus, a desire for growth and development demands efficient transport systems (Region Midtjylland 2007).

Central Denmark supports its understanding of the relationship between mobility and economic growth by using studies from other places: *"Studies of Danish and foreign experiences show that there is a connection between investments in infrastructure and industrial development and, thereby, regional development."* (Region Midtjylland 2007, p. 24, translated). Thereby, economic growth and development within the region are dependent on well functioning mobility, which creates a network of towns and businesses (Region Midtjylland 2008). The improvement and investment in infrastructure are interrelated with the population and businesses' preferences of location (Region Midtjylland 2007a).

Values: Economic Growth and Development

The main priority in this frame is to create economic growth and development in Central Denmark. Thus, economic growth and development are something, which are valued by Central Denmark. In this way, it is not mobility and accessibility in itself that are important, but the enabling of economic growth and development.

In this frame, congestion is defined as a problem, because it reduces accessibility in Central Denmark and, thereby, reduces the possibilities for

economic growth and development. Thus, mobility is understood as something that is connected to the creation of economic growth and development by increasing accessibility in Central Denmark. The primary concern in this framing is the creation of economic growth.

In relation to reducing congestion, several courses of action are suggested e.g. extending the road capacity, establishing a light rail, improving public transport and en extension of the broadband network. Event though, Central Denmark suggests several courses of action most emphasis is put on increasing road capacity. Thereby, Central Denmark relies on traditional solutions to decrease congestion in the region.

11.5 Central Denmark as a Region in Balance

A central storyline in the documents from Central Denmark is 'Central Denmark as a region in balance'. This storyline is presented in relation to a positive development of the entire region: *"The Central Denmark Region contains a big city, larger and smaller towns and also rural areas with different conditions for development. There is a need for solutions that supports the development in the entire region and creates a region in balance with a strong coherence."* (Region Midtjylland 2008, p. 47, translated). In this way, there is a need for different solutions for each type of area. The following discusses how to balance the development in the different areas.

'Central Denmark as a Region in Balance' is a storyline that represents a strong framing of mobility in Central Denmark. This frame was also identified as central in the interview with AD and HMSS where a balanced development was characterised as the main challenge for mobility in Central Denmark.

Problem Definition: Creating a Balanced Region
As described above, it is an objective in Central Denmark to have a balanced and coherent region. This is a challenge, due to large differences between the areas in Central Denmark – especially between east and west. Two thirds of the population lives in east, while the density of the population in west is relatively low and the region assumes that the difference will increase in the future (Region Midtjylland 2007a). Thereby, Central Denmark
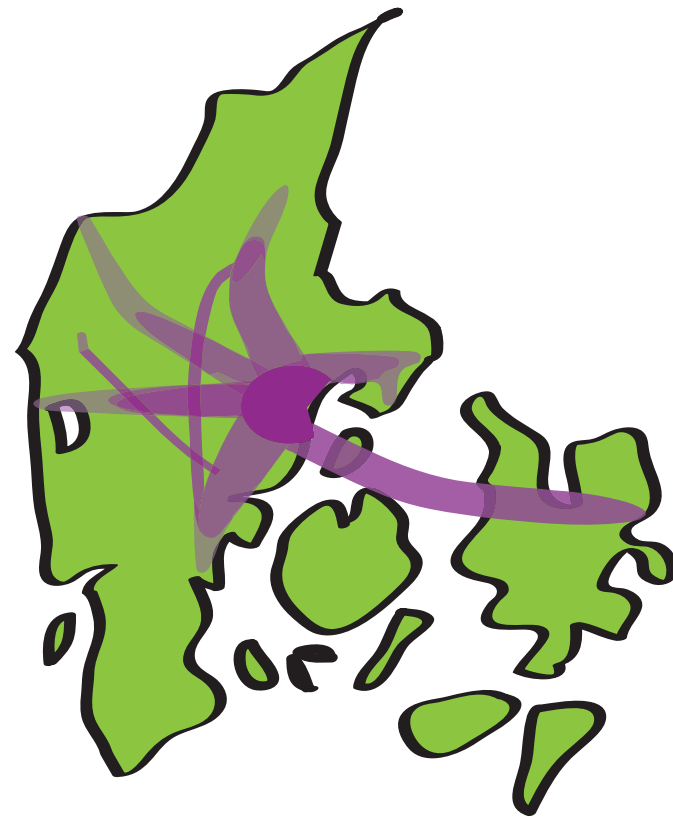

Figure 11.2: shows Central Denmark Region's version of the finger plan. The finger illustrates a number of east-west and north-south going connections and a fixed link across Kattegat (Region Midtjylland 2008).

faces different problems in planning for the areas: *"The challenge is to find a balance that considers the different development conditions you have in east and west, and I think it is a huge challenge because it is so fundamentally different challenges you are facing in east and west."* (Sørensen 2008, translated).

Central Denmark sees infrastructure and mobility as an important aspect in relation to the creation of balance in the region: *"Modern infrastructure in the entire region is necessary to ensure balance in the region. In a region in balance there is interplay between rural and urban, growth and peripheral areas, settlement and business areas."* (Region Midtjylland 2007, p. 27, translated). Central Denmark emphasises connections as important, but it is though mainly the connections between growth areas in the east and peripheral areas in the west that is in focus.

Figure 11.3: illustrates Central Denmark Region's idea about an extended urban corridor including both Aalborg and Viborg (Region Midtjylland 2008a).

The problem is, thus, defined as how to create a balanced region by connecting the eastern and western parts of the region.

HMSS underlines that a balanced development is not based on equality. This is elaborated by AD, who underlines that focus in a balanced development has shifted from equality to building development on each area's strengths and, additionally, realising: *"… what is good for one place might also in some way benefit other parts of the region – a spillover effect."* (Debel 2008, translated). Thus, Central Denmark underlines that growth will continue to be strongest in the eastern part of the region (Region Midtjylland 2007).

Course of Action: Finger Plan, New Roads and Public Transport

In relation to creating a region in balance, Central Denmark presents figure 11.2 as a course of action. The figure shows Central Denmark's version of the finger plan where it illustrates the overall internal infrastructure network and, moreover, the overall connections outside the region. The figure illustrates a number of east-west connections, which underlines Central Denmark's objective of linking growth areas in east to peripheral areas in the west. Beside east-west connections the figure also illustrates north-south connections and the fixed link across Kattegat as discussed in section 11.3.

The finger plan is closely interlinked with an idea of an extended East Jutland urban corridor, as illustrated on figure 11.3. Central Denmark has extended the East Jutland urban corridor that is presented in the national planning report to also include Aalborg and Viborg. The extension of the urban corridor can be seen as an attempt to pull the development towards west and, thereby, include

a larger part of the region in one of the country's main growth areas.

More concretely, Central Denmark proposes a motorway between Herning and Holsterbro, upgrading of main arterials and improved rail (Region Midtjylland 2007: Region Midtjylland 2007a). Another course of action emphasised in the document is an improvement of the public transport system. The region strongly emphasises that the region should not only be connected through road, but also by public transport. Thus, public transport should be an alternative to the private car to people commuting between towns in the region. (Region Midtjylland 2007a).

HMSS also underlines that it is important that public transport services are differentiated in the different areas: *"… it might be that there has to run some busses, if not empty then half empty over here [west], but they should not run over here [east] that is what you call regional development or something with balance that you accept that things are different…"* (Sørensen 2008, translated). Hereby, HMSS underlines that it is not only economic considerations that determines the public transport services. A similar consideration is made in the regional spatial development plan: *"This means that it is not only traffic amounts on roads that determine where new roads should be build. Improved infrastructure must take part in strengthening the development in urban areas and create the frames for optimal development conditions in the peripheral areas."* (Region Midtjylland 2007, p. 27, translated). Thus, infrastructure investments should be made on basis of both social and economic considerations.

Meaning: Mobility as an Economic 'Lifting Pole'
In this frame, Central Denmark understands mobility as something that can enable development in the peripheral areas by connecting peripheral areas and growth areas. In this connection, Central Denmark talks about 'distributing development' with the help of infrastructure and characterises infrastructure as a 'lifting pole' for peripheral areas (Region Midtjylland 2008). In this way, mobility is being identified as an important parameter for the development of an area, as it enables connectivity.
In more detail, Central Denmark defines the importance of connectivity as creating accessibility to workplaces, education, health services and leisure activities in the growth areas. Connectivity and accessibility are though also important in relation to enabling business development in the peripheral areas. (Region Midtjylland 2008a)

Values: Balance and Cohesion
The values connected to this frame are balance and cohesion. In the frame, balance is identified as important in terms of creating development opportunities in the entire region. It is, furthermore, described as important to spread the development from east to west. This can be seen as a form of social sustainability where all of the areas in Central Denmark should have, if not equal opportunities, then less differentiated opportunities for development than they have today. Social sustainability was also identified as a value by AD: *"… social sustainability is where balance comes in, as equal opportunities as possible dependent on where you are."* (Debel 2008). Balance in the region is also closely interlinked with a coherent region. Limiting the differences between the areas in the region also make the region more coherent.

This frame concerns the creation of a balanced region. A balanced region mainly relates to connecting peripheral areas to the growth areas. The connections between peripheral and growth areas are created through the creation and strengthening of east-west going links.

In the framing, mobility is understood as something that enables development in peripheral areas by connecting the areas to growth areas. Hereby, the workplaces and services in the growth areas are made accessible for people living in the peripheral areas. Creating balance and cohesion in the region are valued by Central Denmark. Thus, it is important for Central Denmark to create a well connected region with less difference between east and west.

11.6 Concluding Remarks

In this section, we conclude on the analysis of official framings of mobility problems in Central Denmark. In order to conclude on the analysis, we compare the four framings of mobility problems in Central Denmark using the analytical framework. The main points from the four frames are summarised in figure 11.4.

Mobility is overall framed in a relatively consistent way in the four frames of mobility problems in Central Denmark, see figure 11.4. Thus, there are no direct frame conflicts, cf. chapter 3, between the four frames. There are though slight differences between how mobility is made sense of in each frame and what the objective of mobility is.

Problem Definitions

The four overall problems in relation to mobility in Central Denmark all concerns the creation of connectivity and accessibility, as figure 11.4 shows. Thus, Central Denmark sees it as important to create and improve international connections, create a

connection between East Jutland and Copenhagen, secure accessibility by reducing congestion and create connections between growth areas and peripheral areas.

The three problem definitions about connections relates to connections on three geographical scales – the international, national and regional. The argument behind all three frames is that the connections will enable economic growth. On an international scale Central Denmark argues that the region's development potential will increase through stronger connections to international growth centres. Similarly, the region argues that the national connection to Copenhagen will strengthen the region's development potential both nationally and internationally. On the regional scale, Central Denmark frames the relationship etween growth centre and peripheral areas in the region. In this frame, Central Denmark argues that the periphery's development potential will be improved by linking the periphery to the growth centres – a balanced development.

The frame 'Congestion Reduces Economic Growth' can be seen as a wish to secure optimal connections by securing accessibility in the region.

Courses of Action

The main courses of action presented by Central Denmark in all four framings concerns development of road infrastructure. In all framings, the most concrete projects concern the constructing of new roads or increasing the capacity of existing, whereas courses of action related to public transport are more undefined and mainly described in general terms such as 'improvements of public transport' and as an alternative for the second car. Thus, Central Denmark perceives the private car as the main transportation mode. The focus on road based transport also illustrate that the

Problem Definition	Course of Action
An International Growth Region Needs International Connections - Creating international connections **A Coherent Denmark - Connecting Growth Centres** - Linking East Jutland and Copenhagen **Congestion Reduces Economic Growth** - Congestion reduces accessibility **Middle Jutland as a Region in Balance** - Creating a balanced region	**An International Growth Region Needs International Connections** - Fast connections - Improve access to motorway network - Improve access to air pors and ports - Broadband **A Coherent Denmark - Connecting Growth Centres** - Fixed link across Kattegat **Congestion Reduces Economic Growth** - Increase motorway capacity - Upgrade road between Århus and Viborg - ITS - Improve public transport - Broadband **Middle Jutland as a Region in Balance** - The finger plan - Constructing a Herning-Holsterbro motorway - Improve public transport

Meaning

An International Growth Region Needs International Connections: Connectivity and accessibility enable economic developmnt

A Coherent Denmark - Connecting Growth Centres: Connectivity enables economic development

Congestion Reduces Economic Growth: Accessibility enables economic development

Middle Jutland as a Region in Balance: Mobility as an economic 'lifting pole'

Values

An International Growth Region Needs International Connections: Economic growth

A Coherent Denmark - Connecting Growth Centres: A cohesive Denmark and economic development

Congestion Reduces Economic Growth: Economic growth and development

Middle Jutland as a Region in Balance: Balance and cohesion

Figure 11.4: summarises the frames outlined in the analysis of Central Denmark Region.

environmental concerns in relation to traffic are not given a high priority and that there is not a strong sense of sustainable mobility in the region.

The focus on roads and the fixed link across Kattegat could also indicate that Central Denmark wants the connections discussed above to be visible. Thus, a fixed link across Kattegat is a strong symbol for connectivity between East Jutland and Copenhagen.

Meanings

As the figure shows, and discussed previously, Central Denmark understands mobility as something that enables economic growth and development. The three frames 'An International Growth Region Needs International Connections', 'A Coherent Denmark – Connecting Growth Centres' and 'Congestion Reduces Economic Growth' are all primarily concerned with the creation of economic growth and development in existing growth areas.

The understanding of mobility in the frame 'Central Denmark as a Region in Balance' is slightly different. Focus in this frame is how mobility can be used as a 'lifting pole' for the peripheral areas and how mobility can 'spread' development from growth centres to the periphery. Thus, there is a difference between mobility as something that supports existing growth and development and mobility as something that can facilitate new growth and development.

Values

Figure 11.4 shows that we have interpreted the values connected to mobility in each of the four frames differently. Three of the frames though relate to the importance of creating connectivity and cohesion. The difference relates to the geographical scale.

The frame 'Central Denmark as a Region in Balance' differentiates itself from the other frames by valuing balance in the region. Thus, this value concerns evening out the differences between centre and periphery internally in the region. The other framings are more concerned with improving economic competitiveness of already strong parts of the region. Even though, there is a difference between the two perspectives, there is no direct conflict between the frames as one does not exclude the other. There is though the question of how to prioritise between the frames when resources are limited.

Overall, the analysis of Central Denmark's official framings of mobility problems shows that Central Denmark connects mobility to the region's economical development potential. In this way, Central Denmark sees connections and accessibility as a way of improving the opportunities for development in the region.

Central Denmark relates the creation of economic growth to three geographical scales – international, national and regional. The international and national scale relates to strengthening of the existing growth areas in the region by linking them to other growth areas outside the region. The regional level concerns the development of a regional network that can enable development to spread from the centres to the periphery.

12

The East Jutland Urban Corridor
- Congestion and Urban Sprawl

The aim of this chapter is to analyse the official framings of mobility problems connected to the East Jutland urban corridor. Before analysing the framings, we briefly introduce the documents and the interview used. Moreover, we describe how the framings have been identified.

12.1 Identifying Storylines and Frames

This analysis differentiates itself from the analyses of the administrative regions, as there is no plan or strategy for the urban corridor yet. As described in chapter 1 and 9, a planning process for the East Jutland urban corridor has been initiated, but has not yet resulted in a plan for the region.

Therefore, the framings are focussed on planning documents from the national level – the national planning report and the Infrastructure Commis-

sion's white paper. Both of these documents deal with mobility in the East Jutland urban corridor. Moreover, the analysis is based on an interview with Bue Nielsen (BN) from the Ministry of the Environment. BN has participated in the development of the national planning report and is taking part in the planning process for the urban corridor.

Three Mobility Problems

The East Jutland urban corridor is identified as a main focus area in the national planning report, as one out of six initiatives in the national planning report concerns the urban corridor. (Miljøministeriet 2006). The East Jutland urban corridor is also emphasised as a focus area in the Infrastructure Commission's white paper (Infrastrukturkommissionen 2008). Both in the

national planning report and in the Infrastructure Commission's white paper two issues in relation to the urban corridor and mobility are identified; urban sprawl and congestion (Miljøministeriet 2006 & Infrastrukturkommissionen 2008).

Beside these two problems, we have identified a third problem in the documents, as the documents also emphasise a wish to strengthen the urban corridor. Strengthening the urban corridor is in both documents linked to mobility, e.g. through the construction of new infrastructure. (Miljøministeriet 2006 & Infrastrukturkommissionen 2008). Thus, three problems have been identified concerning mobility in the urban corridor: strengthening the urban corridor, urban sprawl and congestion.

From Problem to Storyline to Frame

Through the identification of the three problems above, we have identified three storylines, which represents three official framings of mobility problems in the East Jutland urban corridor, cf. chapter 7. The three storylines are:

– An Urban Corridor as a Benefit for the Entire Country
– A Landscape under Pressure
– Congestion as a Barrier for Mobility

In the following analysis, we will use the three storylines as headlines for each frame as storylines can be seen as a 'sum up' of a frame, cf. chapter 7. The three identified frames are interlinked. The frame 'Creating a Strong Urban Corridor' can be seen as a more overall frame than the two others. The two other frames can be seen as part of the larger frame. In this way, the frames are nested within each other as a 'Russian doll'. We have chosen to separate the three framings to simplify the analyses and go more indepth with each frame.

In the following three sections, we deconstruct each of the storylines using the analytical framework to gain an understanding of how mobility problems are being framed in the East Jutland urban corridor. The analyses are structured according to the analytical framework, cf. chapter 5.

In the last section of the chapter, we combine the three framings to be able to draw a comprehensive picture of mobility in the East Jutland urban corridor. The comprehensive picture is used to compare the three regions in the following chapter to identify potential conflicts.

12.2 An Urban Corridor as a Benefit for the Entire Country

A dominant storyline in the national planning report concerns a strong urban corridor as a benefit for the entire country. In this connection, the national planning report emphasises that spatial planning in the context of globalisation should create: *"Strong city regions – as a benefit for the entire country."* (Miljøministeriet 2006, p. 11, translated). The East Jutland urban corridor is identified as one out of two of these city regions, which is shown on figure 12.1. In this frame, mobility is closely interlinked with both the existence and further development of the corridor.

The two other frames nested within 'An Urban Corridor as a Benefit for the Entire Country' makes this frame strong. The strength of the frame is also indicated by the urban corridor being identified as one of two main growth centres in Denmark in the national planning report (Miljøministeriet 2006).

Problem Definition: Creating a Strong Urban Corridor

The East Jutland urban corridor is identified, together with the Copenhagen area, as one of the

two main growth areas in Denmark (Miljøministeriet 2006). These two growth areas are described as important for the entire country: "*It is decisive for the growth potential in the entire country that the large city regions' positions of strengths are utilised and developed further.*" (Miljøministeriet 2006, p. 13, translated). In this quotation, the Ministry of the Environment both underlines the importance of strengthening the functional regions and also legitimises a focus on these regions by stating that a focus on these two regions will benefit the entire country.

The two functional regions are illustrated on figure 12.1 from the national planning report. The clearly
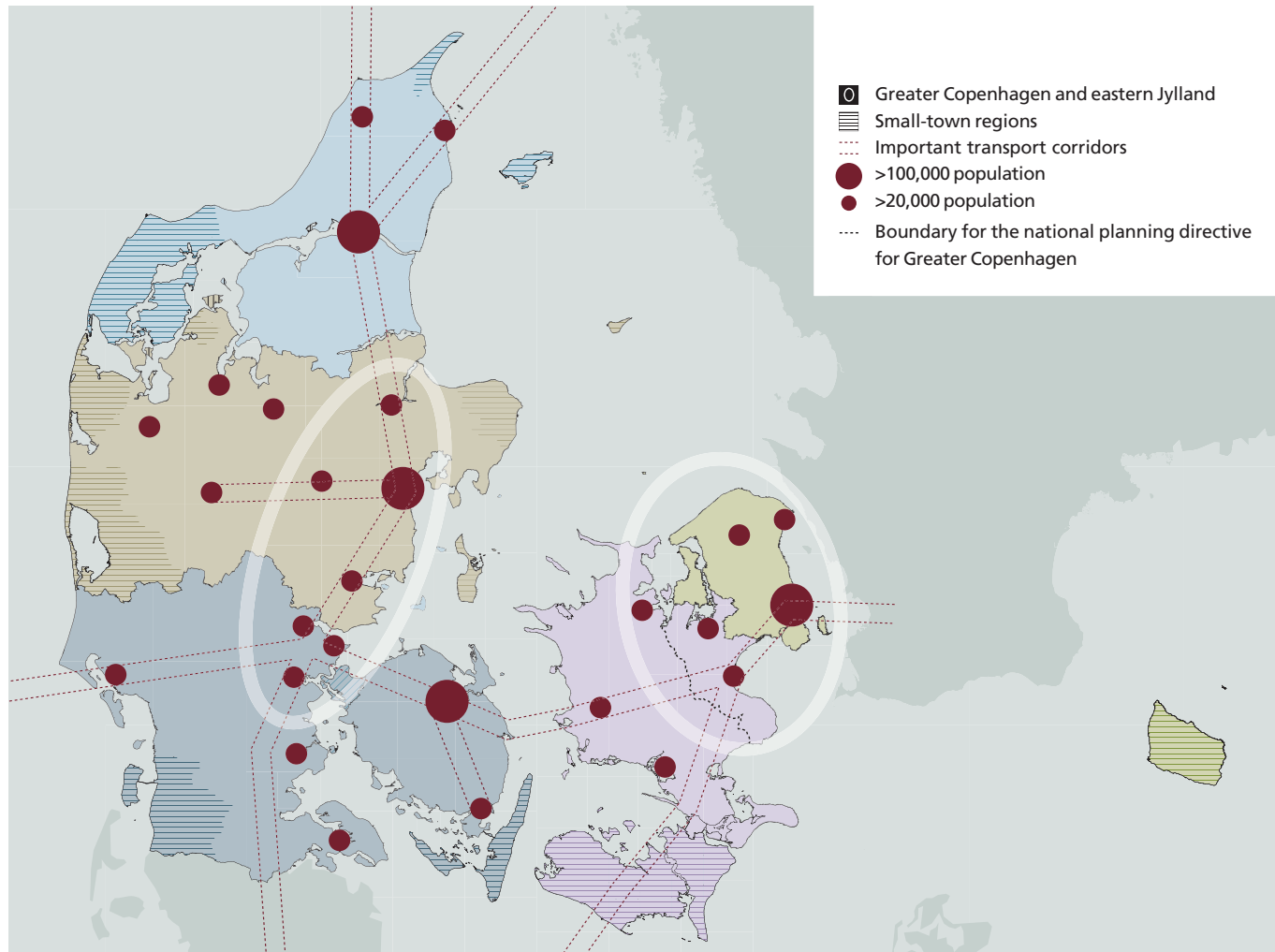

Figure 12.1: illustrates the two growth regions from the national planning report – the white circles (Ministry of the Environment 2006).

marked white circles illustrate their importance for the entire country.

In the interview, BN underlined the urban corridor as important for Denmark in the global knowledge economy: *"It is, therefore, very important that the geography in the country, so to say, and the regulation of it supports the objective, which is that Denmark should be a highly profiled country in a world where knowledge economy is important."* (Nielsen 2008, translated). The identification of and focus on the urban corridor are, thus, closely interlinked with Denmark's competitiveness in a global knowledge economy. In this way, the problem is defined as strengthening the country's competitiveness by strengthening the urban corridor, cf. chapter 9.

It is, furthermore, underlined by the Infrastructure Commission that economic development primarily will take place in the two growth centres. Due to the high degree of development, these two areas are expected to experience the largest concentration of companies and jobs as well as the largest population increase in the country. (Infrastrukturkommissionen 2008). Accommodating and strengthening this development, places infrastructure in the urban corridor under pressure: *"… the joint consequences will be increased demands for infrastructure in and around the big city areas, partly from the companies, partly from commuters."* (Infrastrukturkommissionen 2008, p. 187, translated). Thus, a further development of the urban corridor places new demands for infrastructure in the area and is, thereby, interlinked with development in mobility.

The urban corridor is, as also discussed in chapter 9, defined on basis of commuting regions. This means that the region is defined on basis of how people move in the area. Furthermore, the region is characterised by having a larger degree of interaction between the municipalities inside the corridor than with municipalities outside. (Nielsen 2005). This was also described by BN: *"… the development in mobility inside the urban corridor, between the cities in the urban corridor, is stronger than any other… mobility relation you will find between the cities in the urban corridor and anything else…"* (Nielsen 2008, translated). These connections between the cities in the urban corridor illustrate that there is a larger degree of functional connections inside the corridor than outside.

In relation to mobility, the problem in this framing is defined as ensuring mobility in the urban corridor, which supports further development of the urban corridor. This is considered important due to Denmark's competitiveness in the global knowledge economy.

Course of Action: A Plan for the Urban Corridor
The course of action on how to strengthen the development of the East Jutland urban corridor is not yet clearly defined. In both the national planning report and the Infrastructure Commission's white paper, the importance of a plan for the entire urban corridor is underlined (Miljøministeriet 2006; Infrastrukturkommissionen 2008). This planning process has been initiated, cf. chapter 9.

The Infrastructure Commission defines the reason for developing a plan for the entire urban corridor as: *"… towards 2030 a well functioning traffic infrastructure must be ensured that supports the ongoing development towards a functionally cohesive city region."* (Infrastrukturkommissionen 2008a, p. 8, translated). Thus, it is underlined that the traffic system should be developed so as to strengthen the functional connections between the towns in the urban corridor. The two framings analysed in the

following two sections can also be seen as a course of action to this overall frame.

Meaning: Connectivity and Accessibility enables Economic Growth
In this overall framing of the importance of the urban corridor, mobility is understood as accessibility and connectivity. As discussed in the previous, connectivity between the towns in the corridor is decisive for further development of the urban corridor. Thus, the functional connectivity between the cities is understood as mobility.

The national planning report describes an understanding of mobility as: *"The access to employment is an important precondition for growth and development… Especially on Zealand and in East Jutland there is a high accessibility to workplaces in many areas, what gives an opportunity for extensive integration between urban areas, e.g. in the shape of commuting and business relations."* (Miljøministeriet 2006, p. 40, translated). Accessibility to workplaces determines an areas' growth potential and, thereby, connects mobility to the creation of economic growth. Thus, connectivity and accessibility are seen as something that enable economic growth in the urban corridor.

Values: Economic Competitiveness
The urban corridor is described as decisive for Denmark's participation in the global knowledge economy (Miljøministeriet 2006; Nielsen 2008). Thus, strong city regions are identified as a precondition if Denmark's global position is to be strengthened. (Miljøministeriet 2006). The urban corridor, thereby, becomes important for Denmark's competitiveness and global competitiveness becomes a value underpinning this frame.

The overall framing of the urban corridor and mobility include a framing of the need for a strong urban corridor for Denmark's competitiveness in the global knowledge economy. For the corridor to develop further, it is important to secure that there is high accessibility and connectivity in the corridor, which the course of action, consisting of a vision for the future development of the corridor, is the first step towards. The following two sections analyse more detailed framings of mobility problems in the corridor.

12.3 A Landscape under Pressure
One of the main issues in connection with the urban corridor is urban sprawl. This is expressed in the following quotation from the national planning report: *"There must be a difference between urban and rural."* (Miljøministeriet 2006, p. 12, translated). The issue of urban sprawl in the urban corridor is central in the national planning report and it is on this background that the Ministry of the Environment proposes a plan for the entire corridor (Miljøminsteriet 2006). BN also states that the Ministry of the Environment's focus on the corridor is due to pressure on the open land in the area (Nielsen 2008).

Problem Definition: A Functional not a Physical Corridor
A problem in the urban corridor is urban sprawl, as expressed in the national planning report: *"Many growth areas are experiencing a gradual deterioration of the border between urban and rural. Once a town has broken the landscape, the aesthetics are changed forever. This development must be controlled. We have to avoid unintended urban sprawl."* (Miljøministeriet 2006, p. 12, translated). In this way, the problem is defined

as avoiding urban sprawl. Urban sprawl is considered a problem because of its aesthetic effects on the landscape in the urban corridor. It is continually stressed in the national planning report that the area should develop into a functional corridor – not a physical corridor (Miljøministeriet 2006).

The background for the problem with urban sprawl is connected with mobility and in this way the framing of urban sprawl involves a framing of a mobility problem. The national planning report describes the connection with mobility as: *"The motorway has attracted new companies – partly reinforced by the municipalities' outlay of areas close to the motorway. The many business areas that are laid out along the motorway change the character of the landscape, and some places the rural areas, both by and in between cities, characterised by urban sprawl and business developments."* (Miljøministeriet 2006, p. 55, translated). Thus, urban sprawl has developed due to a wish from companies to be located close to the overall infrastructure network as they, thereby, experience high accessibility.

The development of the urban corridor is also dependent on functional connections between the urban areas in the corridor. These functional connections rely on mobility. It is thus a challenge for future planning for the urban corridor to ensure the mobility potential for the functional connections and on the other hand limit the urban sprawl that results from this mobility.

Course of Action: High Density and Limited Business Development along Motorway

The course of action involved in this framing of urban sprawl has already been touched upon – a plan for the future development of the entire urban corridor. The purpose of the plan is to ensure the development that takes place in the

urban corridor does not happen on expense of the qualities of the area, i.e. the landscape and the nature (Miljøministeriet 2006).

In connection with the preservation of the landscape in the corridor, the national planning report states: *"The landscape in East Jutland is of high quality with large variations and good accessibility. Growth must not happen on expense of this clear welfare creating strength. Therefore, there should be build with high density so that other areas can be kept clear."* (Miljøministeriet 2006, p. 20, translated). Thus, the Ministry of the environment underlines that in order to preserve the landscape, it is neces-sary to build with a higher density and limit new business developments along the motorway. The more concrete course of action is not yet developed as the planning process has not reached this phase yet, cf. chapter 9.

Meaning: Dual Relationship between Infrastructure and Urban Development

In this frame, mobility or high accessibility are understood as something that creates urban development. This is also underlined by the Infrastructure Commission: *"There is a close interplay between spatial planning, urban development and investments in infrastructure. Urban development affects the demand for investments in infrastructure and the development of infrastructure gives new opportunities for urban development."* (Infrastrukturkommissionen 2008, p. 225, translated). Thus, the relationship between urban development and infrastructure is dual. On one side infrastructure is seen as creating urban development and on the other side urban development is seen as creating a need for infrastructure.

This frame also involves an understanding of mobility in a negative sense, as it is mobility that enables urban sprawl and, thereby, the destruction

of the landscape. Therefore, there is a need to control the relationship between infrastructure and urban development.

Values: Protection of Nature and Landscape
The frame also reveals that the nature and landscape are something that is highly valued and, therefore, should be protected. Economic development, symbolised by urban development, must not take place on expense of the landscape: *"… the landscape is under pressure in the sense that more and more towns are build also in some of the areas we [the Ministry of the Environment] do not think should be established…"* (Nielsen 2008, translated). In this way, nature and landscape should be protected from the 'uncontrolled' urban development.

The businesses' wish to be located close to the overall infrastructure network has created urban sprawl in the urban corridor. This development is considered problematic by the Ministry of the Environment, as it affects the appearance of the landscape. Protection of nature and landscape is something that is valued in the frame and it is underlined that future development of the corridor must not happen on expense of the nature and landscape. To avoid urban sprawl in the future a course of action is to produce a plan for the entire urban corridor that places limitations on business development along the motorway and sets demands for high density urban development.
In the frame, mobility is understood in a negative sense as something that enables urban sprawl and, thereby, the destruction of the landscape in the corridor. On the other hand, urban development is also seen as generating a need for increased mobility. Thus, there is a dual relationship between mobility and urban development.

12.4 Congestion as a Barrier for Mobility
'Congestion as a Barrier for Mobility' is closely interlinked with the previous frame 'A Landscape under Pressure', as it can be seen as the other side of the relationship between infrastructure and urban development – that urban development results in a need for new infrastructure.

In 'An Urban Corridor as a Benefit for the Entire Country', congestion was identified as part of the reasoning behind the initiation of the urban corridor project. Thus, the frame concerns how to solve the already existing problems with congestion and prevent increased congestion in the future: *"… there is a threat if it has not already happened that the urban corridor is blocked by increased traffic because the existing infrastructure is too underscaled to handle the traffic the urban corridor generates. It can be solved in different ways, but it is exactly what the East Jutland project is about. Or it is a part of the East Jutland project to handle this."* (Nielsen 2008, translated). Thus, this section examines how congestion is framed in relation to the urban corridor. Congestion is emphasised by both the Ministry of the Environment and the Infrastructure Commission as important in relation to further development of the corridor.

Problem Definition: Reduce Congestion
Congestion is defined as one of the main problems in relation to the urban corridor – especially around Trekantsområdet and the crossing of Vejle Fjord. Furthermore, the Infrastructure Commission's traffic calculations show that congestion will increase in the future if nothing is done. (Infrastrukturkommissionen 2008).
The problem with congestion is described as having developed due to business development along the motorway: *"Areas along the motorway with*

traditional business and office purposes will gradually change the motorway to also work as a distribution road with a lot of local traffic. This has already developed some places with increased congestion as a result." (Miljøministeriet 2006, p. 55, translated). The problem with congestion has thus developed as a result of urban development in the corridor and is, thereby, closely interlinked with the framing 'A Landscape under pressure'. This development is paradoxically as the companies have chosen to locate close to the motorway because of high accessibility (Miljøministeriet 2006). Accessibility that now is being threatened by the same business development.

The Infrastructure Commission states: *"If the transport system is not developed to an appropriate extent, and the existing capacity utilised best possible, it will potentially result in reduced mobility with negative effects for citizens and business."* (Infrastrukturkommissionen 2008, p. 150, translated). As described, congestion is considered problematic because it reduces mobility for both citizens and the business community. Thus, congestion reduces the possibility for movement. The Infrastructure Commission defines the problems in relation to the business community more detailed: *"Congestion can, moreover, have consequences for the creation of value in the business community, if time is lost at a scale that affects labour's and freight transport's efficiency and productivity."* (Infrastrukturkommissionen 2008, p. 185, translated). In this way, congestion is understood as a problem in relation to the business community. Thus, congestion is a barrier for the business community's development potential.

Congestion in the urban corridor is defined as a problem, which has developed due to inappropriate urban development along the motorway.

Congestion is considered problematic because it is seen as a barrier for business development in the urban corridor and, thereby, the problem is how to reduce existing congestion and prevent further congestion as a consequence of the expected increase in traffic.

Course of Action: A Plan, Public Transport and Increased Capacity

The course of action presented in relation to congestion is not just one solution, but a collection of different components. The national planning report presents some overall considerations in relation to reducing congestion in the urban corridor whereas the Infrastructure Commission is more specific. First of all, both the Infrastructure Commission and the Ministry of the Environment underline that there is a need for a plan for urban development in the entire corridor. This plan should, among others, address the problem with congestion. (Miljøministeriet 2006; Infrastrukturkommissionen 2008). This planning process has been initiated between the Environmental Ministry, the Transport Ministry and the 17 municipalities in the corridor, cf. chapter 9.

It is intended that the plan should consider how new urban areas could be located so as to improve the opportunity for public transport services. In this way, it is also underlined that the Ministry of the Environment does not want the corridor to develop an urban structure where the car is the only realistic mode of transport. Furthermore, the Ministry of the Environment underlines that areas close to the motorway should be reserved for transport companies. (Miljøministeriet 2006)
It is though not only urban planning and improvements of public transport that are suggested. The Infrastructure Commission emphasises

that there is a need for improved road capacity, especially on the Vejle Fjord crossing and the crossing of Lillebælt. In this connection, they suggest a third Lillebælt crossing. In relation to increased road capacity, it is also suggested that the rail network should be improved. (Infrastrukturkommissionen 2008)

Meaning: Mobility as a Competitive Resource
In this frame, Mobility is understood as a precondition for growth and for participating in globalisation. Thus, if mobility is being limited by congestion the corridor can not realise its full development potential and play a role in globalisation.
Congestion is seen in relation to economic growth in the corridor, as stated in the national planning report: *"Accessibility and mobility are valuable qualities and a precondition for the growth the area has experienced so far. Transport of goods and people are the foundation for the division of labour the globalised development is build on. Therefore, the continued development of the area relies on the opportunity for sustaining accessibility as well as mobility."* (Miljøministeriet 2006, p. 57, translated). In this way, congestion is seen as a barrier for accessibility, which is considered a precondition for economic growth.

Values: Economic Competitiveness
Mobility is also seen as a competitive resource for the East Jutland urban corridor: *"The economic development and increased wealth result in increased pressure on the infrastructure. A well functioning infrastructure without large congestion problems is an important competitive parameter in the global competition."* (Miljøministeriet 2006, p. 14, translated). In this framing of congestion, mobility is understood as a precondition for growth and a competitive resource in a global competition. Thereby, economic development is also what is

prioritised in relation to congestion opposed to for example the environmental problems connected to congestion.

In this framing, mobility and a well functioning infrastructure are seen as a precondition for growth and being able to participate in the global competition. Congestion in the urban corridor is a barrier for accessibility and, thereby, economic development. The Ministry of the Environment and the Infrastructure Commission suggest a plan for the urban corridor to among others address the problem with congestion. Furthermore, improvements of public transportation opportunities in the urban corridor are suggested as well as increased capacity of the Vejle Fjord crossing and the construction of a third Lillebælt crossing.

12.5 Concluding Remarks
The objective of this section is to conclude on the analysis of the official framings of mobility problems in the East Jutland urban corridor. The framings are combined using the analytical framework, thus, we discuss similarities and differences between the frames using problem definition, course of action, meaning and values. The key elements from each frame are summarised in figure 12.2.

Problem Definitions
In the analysis of the East Jutland urban corridor, three problems in relation to mobility have been analysed: strengthening the urban corridor, urban sprawl and congestion. As described in section 12.1, the three problems and frames are closely interlinked as both 'A Landscape under Pressure' and 'Congestion as a Barrier for mobility' can be seen as parts of the more general frame 'An Urban Corridor as a Benefit for the Entire Country'. 'An Urban Corridor as a Benefit for the Entire Country'
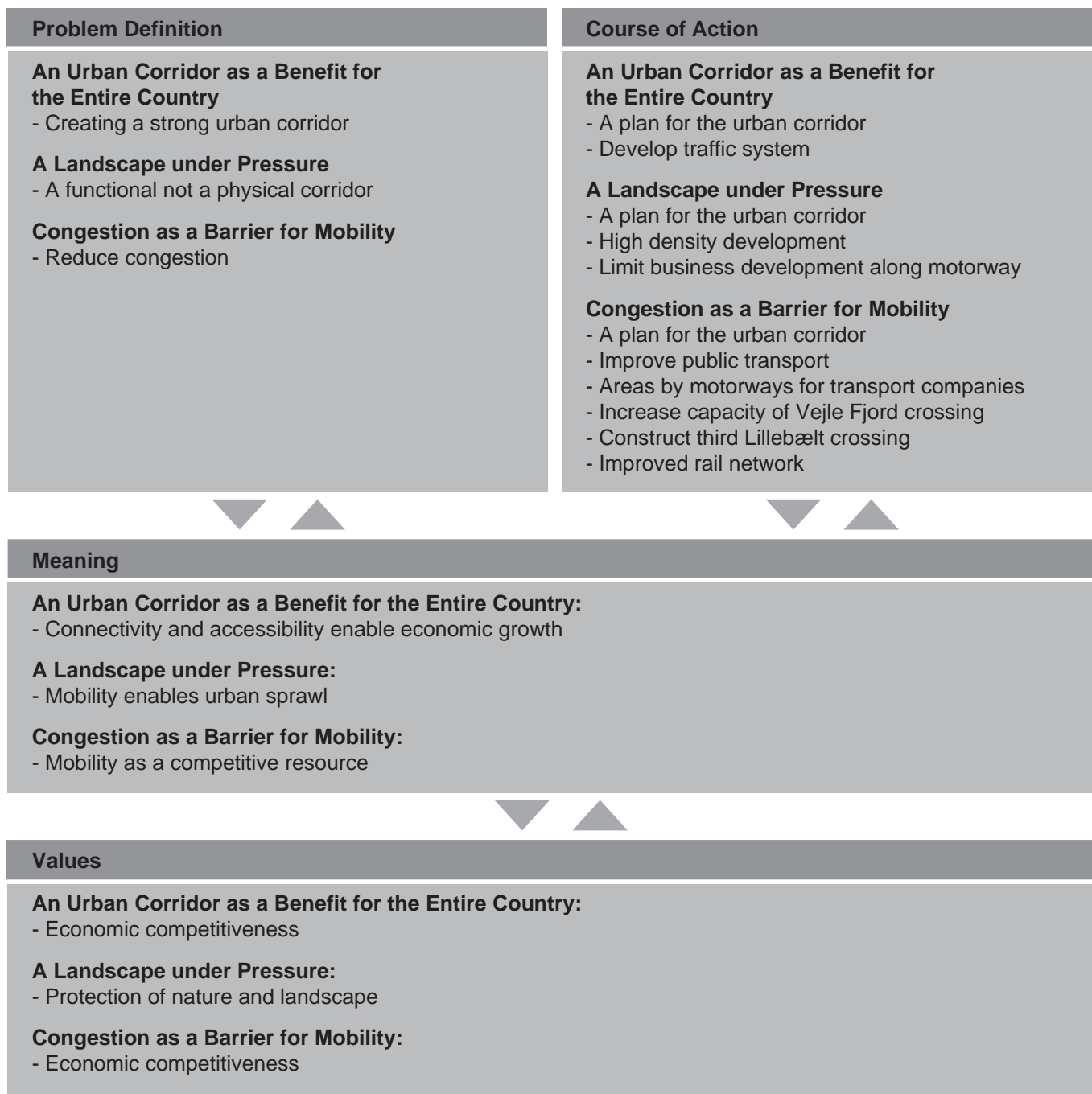
Problem Definition	Course of Action
An Urban Corridor as a Benefit for the Entire Country - Creating a strong urban corridor **A Landscape under Pressure** - A functional not a physical corridor **Congestion as a Barrier for Mobility** - Reduce congestion	**An Urban Corridor as a Benefit for the Entire Country** - A plan for the urban corridor - Develop traffic system **A Landscape under Pressure** - A plan for the urban corridor - High density development - Limit business development along motorway **Congestion as a Barrier for Mobility** - A plan for the urban corridor - Improve public transport - Areas by motorways for transport companies - Increase capacity of Vejle Fjord crossing - Construct third Lillebælt crossing - Improved rail network

Meaning

An Urban Corridor as a Benefit for the Entire Country:
- Connectivity and accessibility enable economic growth

A Landscape under Pressure:
- Mobility enables urban sprawl

Congestion as a Barrier for Mobility:
- Mobility as a competitive resource

Values

An Urban Corridor as a Benefit for the Entire Country:
- Economic competitiveness

A Landscape under Pressure:
- Protection of nature and landscape

Congestion as a Barrier for Mobility:
- Economic competitiveness

Figure 12.2: summarises on the frames outlined in the analysis of the East Jutland urban corridor.

frames the urban corridor in a broader context, as it takes its starting point in general tendencies in society – globalisation and the knowledge economy. In this way, the urban corridor itself can be seen as a course of action to an even broader problem definition, e.g. how Denmark's global competitiveness is improved.

In this way, 'A Landscape under Pressure' and 'Congestion as a Barrier for Mobility' can be seen as an answer to the overall frame, i.e. both securing a difference between urban and rural and also reducing congestion are elements in strengthening the development opportunities of the urban corridor.

Courses of Action

Courses of action in relation to the framings are generally vague, which reflects that the actual plan for the urban corridor has not yet been developed. A general course of action to all three frames is the development of a plan for the urban corridor. The Infrastructure Commission though presents more concrete courses of action in relation to 'Congestion as a Barrier for Mobility'.

The suggestions in the national planning report indicate a focus on control and restriction, as it is underlined that for example business development along the motorway should be reduced. Hereby, the Ministry of the Environment indicates that urban development in the urban corridor should be regulated.

Meanings

Generally, mobility is seen as closely interlinked with economic growth and accessibility and connectivity of the urban corridor.

In the framings, mobility is identified as important in order to create connectivity between the urban areas in the corridor and, thereby, create functional connections between the cities. Mobility is defined as both the background for the corridor's existence and a precondition for further development of the corridor.

High accessibility and connectivity are central for the development of the corridor. Accessibility and connectivity are seen as important because it increases the accessibility to workplaces (Miljøministeriet 2006). Thus, connecting the urban areas means increasing the number of workplaces accessible to people living in the urban corridor. The number of accessible workplaces is seen as a measurement for the area's growth potential (Miljøministeriet 2006). A development of the urban corridor is, thereby, dependent on accessibility to workplaces. Therefore, congestion becomes a serious problem because it reduces accessibility to workplaces and reduces connectivity between the urban areas in the corridor.

The frame 'A Landscape under Pressure' has a slightly different approach to mobility as mobility in this frame is seen as creating one of the main planning problems in the corridor – urban sprawl. Hereby, mobility is still linked to development, but the physical manifestation of this development is considered problematic. It is, thereby, not all types of developments that are considered positive from a planning perspective.

There could potentially develop a conflict between on one side 'A Landscape under Pressure' and on the other side 'An Urban Corridor as a Benefit for the Entire Country' and 'Congestion as a Barrier for Mobility'. The potential development of the conflict will depend on the results of the ongoing planning process and how landscape and economical considerations are balanced.

Values

The values connected to 'An Urban Corridor as a Benefit for the Entire Country' and 'Congestion as a Barrier for Mobility' is competitiveness and are thus connected to the creation of economic growth in the urban corridor. In connection with 'A Landscape under Pressure' the protection of nature and landscape is something that is valued and given a high priority. In this way, the difference between economical considerations on one side and the protection of nature and landscape on the other is also manifested in the values underpinning the three frames.

In this chapter, we have analysed three frames - 'An Urban Corridor as a Benefit for the Entire Country', 'Congestion as a Barrier for Mobility' and 'A Landscape under Pressure'. 'An Urban Corridor as a Benefit for the Entire Country' is a more overall frame than the two others, which can be seen as nested within this overall frame. Thus, the overall problem defined is strengthening the urban corridor. In order to strengthen the corridor, it is important to reduce congestion and urban sprawl.

In the three frames, mobility is overall understood in two ways – as something that enables economic growth and development and as something that enables urban sprawl. Thereby, mobility has both a positive and a negative side. This difference is also reflected in the values underpinning the frames. The difference can potentially develop to a frame conflict, but this will depend on the more detailed planning strategy developed through the ongoing planning process.

13

Comparing the Two Types of Regions

The objective of this chapter is to compare the analyses of the three regions in order to reveal how mobility problems are framed within the two types of regions. Thereby, the aim of the chapter is to bring the regions back together and see them in a full picture, as illustrated on figure 13.1. The figure illustrates the process behind the project, where the regions are analysed separately to gain an understanding of each region before they are put back together to gain an understanding of the potential conflicts between the two types of regions.
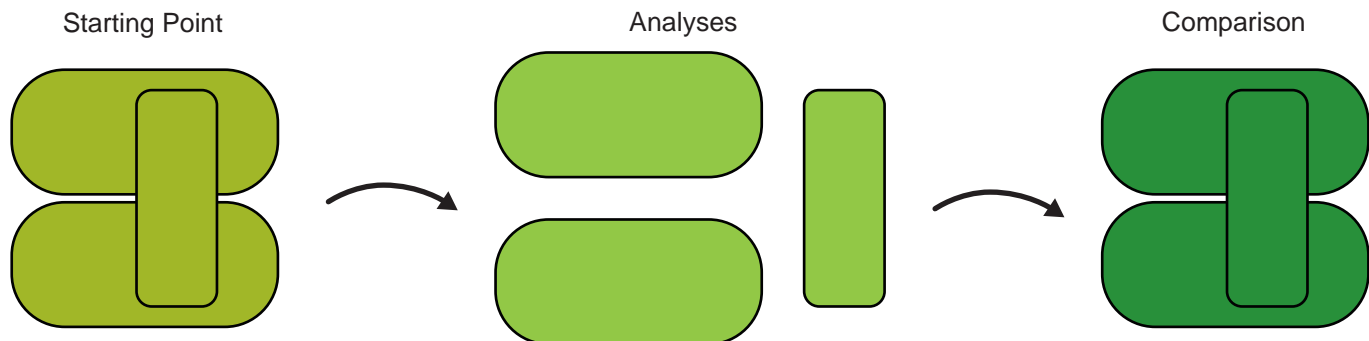
Starting Point   Analyses   Comparison

Figure 13.1: shows the process of the overall data analysis. In this chapter, the analyses are brought back together to identify potential conflicts between the two types of regions.

The basis for the comparison of the two types of regions is the mobility problems identified in the analyses. The mobility problems are shown in table 13.1. As the table shows, the regions have framed mobility problems within five main categories – congestion problems, connections to the world outside, strengthening growth axes, the relationship between centre and periphery and traffic's negative impacts. These five categories are the starting point of the comparison of the two types of regions. The following five sections discuss similarities and differences between the regions within the five categories before we conclude on the analysis to reveal potential conflicts.

13.1 Congestion Problems

A consistent element in the two types of regions is the identification of congestion as one of the main mobility problems in the regions, as also shown in table 13.1.

Congestion and Economic Development
The logic behind the identification of congestion, as a main mobility problem, is relatively consistent in the two types of regions. All the regions argue that congestion is a barrier for development. Generally, the regions understand mobility as being interlinked with economic growth through accessibility and connectivity. Thus, congestion is seen as a problem, because it reduces accessibility and connectivity. Reducing congestion and, thereby, ensuring accessibility and connectivity is not the goal in itself. Instead, the two types of regions see the creation of economic growth and development, as the overall objective and mobility as a precondition for fulfilling this objective.

Region/Category	South Denmark Region	Central Denmark Region	East Jutland Urban Corridor
Table 13.1: Five Main Categories of Mobility Problems			
Congestion Problems	Congestion reduces accessibility and growth	Congestion reduces accessibility and growth	Congestion reduces accessibility and growth
Strengthening Growth Areas	Strengthening the two growth axes	Connecting two growth areas	Creating a strong urban corridor
External Relations	Connections to Hamburg and Copenhagen	International relations and connections to Copenhagen	
The Relationship between Centre and Periphery	Creating balance and cohesion	Creating balance and cohesion	
Traffic's Negative Impacts	Reducing traffic related CO_2 emissions		Avoiding urban sprawl

Increase Capacity of the Motorway and Construct new Roads

A course of action in relation to congestion repeated in the regions is a need to improve the capacity of the north-south going motorway. This course of action is, furthermore, the main course of action suggested in all regions in order to reduce congestion. In this way, the regions agree that congestion should be reduced through improved capacity of the motorway.

The courses of action suggested by the two administrative regions differentiate themselves from the course of action suggested for the urban corridor, as the administrative regions suggest relieving the pressure on the north-south going motorway by constructing a new parallel motorway in the middle of Jutland. Hereby, the corridor is moved towards west, which is outside the scope of the urban corridor and against the visions of the urban corridor. The logic behind the urban corridor is to focus development and activity in the corridor and create a highly competitive growth area opposite spreading development to a wider area through a network.

The administrative regions also propose other road projects between the towns in the regions as an alternative to the motorways. In this way, the administrative regions underline a strengthening of regional networks, whereas the urban corridor underlines a corridor approach, which will be discussed further later in the chapter.

The differences in courses of action illustrate that even though congestion is defined as a problem in a consistent way in the two types of regions it becomes something else in practice - the administrative regions create a network, whereas the urban corridor creates a corridor.

The Private Car or Public Transport

Increasing the capacity of the motorway and constructing new roads, as a course of action to prevent congestion, suggests a traditional 'predict and provide' approach to planning in the regions. It also indicates that the private car is seen as the main form of transportation in the regions in the future and that there is not a strong sense of sustainable mobility in the regions.

Even though, the regions highlight the need for increased capacity of motorways, they also suggest that public transport should be improved. The regions' argumentation for public transport is coherent, as they link the improvement of public transport to a reduction of the reliance on the private car. In connection with the urban corridor, the Ministry of the Environment states that the car should not develop into the only viable mode of transport in the urban corridor and, therefore, future urban development should be located so it is easier to service with public transport (Miljø-ministeriet 2006). In the administrative regions, it is emphasised that public transport should be an alternative to the private car (Region Syddanmark 2008; Region Midtjylland 2008a).

The regions' argumentation in relation to public transport seems to conflict with our previous conclusion, as the main courses of action presented relate to increasing the capacity of or constructing new roads. We are, therefore, sceptical as to whether the reliance on the private car will be reduced, as they are also improving the conditions for car drivers. It could, furthermore, seem that the road based courses of action would be given the main priority, as the main objective for all three regions is to create economic growth.

Congestion Problems – a Consistent Element?
This section discussed the regions focus on congestion. In both types of regions, congestion is perceived as a barrier for economic growth and, thus, the problem with congestion is defined similarly in all the regions. The regions see accessibility and connectivity as something that can create economic growth. To improve accessibility and connectivity, the regions suggest increased capacity of the motorway. The two administrative regions also underline a need to strengthen alternative routes to the motorway and, hereby, strengthening the regional infrastructure network. That is, the way congestion problems are addressed become something different in the administrative regions and the urban corridor, even though, the problem is defined similarly.

The focus on roads as a primary course of action, indicates a traditional predict and provide approach, where the private car is seen as the main transportation mode. This conclusion is in opposition to another course of action proposed by the regions. The two types of regions propose improvement of public transport and, thereby, reducing the reliance on the private car. The prioritisation between the private car and public transport illustrates a potential conflict in the regions.

13.2 Strengthening Growth Areas
One category of mobility problems in the two types of regions concerns strengthening growth areas through mobility. This category can be seen as more overall and general than some of the other categories as for example congestion problems and traffic's negative impacts. Especially, congestion problems are closely related to strengthening growth areas and can be seen as nested within this category.

Same Logic – Mobility Creates Economic Growth
In the regions, strengthening existing growth areas are considered important. All of the regions also see mobility as playing an important role in strengthening the areas by ensuring the areas' accessibility and connectivity. Accessibility and connectivity are seen as something that enable growth and development of the existing growth areas. Thereby, the regions understand the link between mobility and economic development in similar way – a logic linking mobility to economic growth.

Different Outcomes
Even though, the logic linking mobility and economy in the regions is similar, the way it is manifested in the strategies are different. As discussed in the previous section, the two administrative regions propose a strengthening of networks to reduce congestion and, thereby, strengthening growth potentials in the region. In the urban corridor, focus is on strengthening the corridor. Central Denmark, furthermore, suggests a fixed link across Kattegat as a way of strengthening the East Jutland growth area by tying the area closer to Copenhagen. Thereby, Central Denmark suggests strengthening the urban corridor area in a different way than the urban corridor does.

13.3 External Connections
The third category of problem definitions concerns how the two types of regions are connected externally. It is only the two administrative regions, which have frames that focus specifically on how the regions are connected externally, but the urban corridor implicitly addresses this issue as well. External connections refer to three geographical scales – the international, national and regional.

International Connections

Both South Denmark and Central Denmark emphasise international connections as important for the development of the regions. Central Denmark is oriented north to the rest of Scandinavia and south to the European mainland. South Denmark is especially oriented towards Hamburg and central Europe and Copenhagen-Malmø.

In South Denmark, international connections are described as important for the region's possibilities for participating in globalisation. To participate in globalisation, it is important to be connected to an international network. Hereby, connections outside the region also become interlinked with the economical development of the region. The logic behind international connections is similar in Central Denmark, as it is the region's goal to develop into an international growth region and international connections are, therefore, decisive. In this way, the two administrative regions understand mobility in terms of connectivity and accessibility, which enable economic growth in the regions.

Even though, there are no specific frame about connections outside the region in the urban corridor, connections outside the region are included in the other framings of mobility problems in the urban corridor. The objective of the urban corridor itself is being related to Denmark's position in the global competition and, thereby, international connections become important and linked to the economical development of the entire country.

Connections to Copenhagen

South Denmark and Central Denmark both stress the importance of linking the regions to Copenhagen. The difference between the two administrative regions arises in courses of action.

Central Denmark stresses a need for a fixed link across Kattegat to connect Copenhagen and East Jutland closer together. This suggestion is not included by South Denmark. Instead, South Denmark suggests improving accessibility across the Great Belt by lowering the toll and constructing a third Lillebælt connection. The two administrative regions, thereby, stress two different transport corridors that potentially can be conflicting.

Relations between the Two Types of Regions

Generally, none of the regions emphasise the relationship to the neighbours – the two other regions. When the two administrative regions discuss relations outside the region, they mainly refer to international connections and connections to the capital. There are though a few references to the neighbouring regions, which we will discuss here.

The urban corridor is not relating directly to the two regions it intersects. Instead, the urban corridor is linked to the country in general, as the objective of the corridor is to strengthen the entire country by strengthening the urban corridor.

The two administrative regions have been included in the planning process for the urban corridor, but they have only been given a peripheral role as participating in an advisory group, cf. chapter 9. BN also underlined that there is no coordination between planning for the urban corridor and the two administrative regions (Nielsen 2008). He sees coordination between the urban corridor and the administrative regions as a task for the administrative regions: "… *it is a disadvantage that we have some administrative regions, which have a development planning, which is not at first coordinated with the thought about an urban corridor*

across regional borders…" (Nielsen 2008, translated). Hereby, it is seen as the administrative regions' role to coordinate their planning to the plans for the urban corridor and not the other way around. This indicates that the Ministry of the Environment views the urban corridor as dominant compared to the administrative regions. Furthermore, it seems that there is no wish for cooperation between the urban corridor and the administrative regions, as the administrative regions should coordinate their plans to the plan for the urban corridor instead of developing the plan in cooperation. This indicates the power balance between the two types of regions.

Central Denmark does relate their mobility framings to the idea of an urban corridor, as they have incorporated and developed the idea of the urban corridor in their planning. Central Denmark has transformed the idea of the urban corridor to an idea about an extended urban corridor, which better matches the objectives in Central Denmark about creating a balanced region. AD also underlined that he thinks it is important to ensure connections between the urban corridor and areas outside: *"We will try, with the role we have in the advisory group, to ensure openness around this [the urban corridor] and that you are not part of the community not necessarily means that you are prevented for ever, because it must also benefit the development of the urban corridor if there is a larger exchange or more intensive exchange between the urban corridor and those standing outside the urban corridor…"* (Debel 2008, translated). Thereby, it is Central Denmark's goal to strengthen the relationship between the urban corridor and areas outside. Central Denmark, thereby, has a goal of leaving its own mark on the urban corridor instead of merely coordinate their plans to the urban corridor.

South Denmark does not clearly describe the relationship between the region and the urban corridor. The analysis of South Denmark's planning material reveals that there is not any clear relation between South Denmark and the urban corridor. This is for example illustrated by the urban corridor only being mentioned twice in South Denmark's regional spatial development plan. MH though describes it as being important for the region to take part in planning of the urban corridor: *"… as I see it [the urban corridor], then it is about that you are distributing those infrastructure millions or billions, and says half to Copenhagen and the rest to the East Jutland urban corridor and then there will not be any more … That is why it is important to participate."* (Hemmingsen 2008, translated). Hereby, MH underlines that the urban corridor is powerful, as it is backed by economic resources. He, furthermore, stresses that it is important to participate in the planning process to gain influence on how the resources are spent.

International and National Connections
As discussed in this section, the two types of regions are primarily focussed on international and national connections opposite the direct relations to the neighbouring regions. This could be due to that the regions primarily focus on linking their growth areas to larger growth areas in order to create growth and development in the regions. The lack of relationship between the regions indicates that there is no coordination between the plans.
The two administrative regions are not clearly relating to the urban corridor. This could be because an actual plan for the corridor is not yet developed. In this perspective, Central Denmark's idea about an extended urban corridor could be

seen as an attempt to influence the future planning of the urban corridor.

13.4 The Relationship between Centre and Periphery

One of the main differences, between the administrative regions on one side and the urban corridor on the other, is how the regions address the relationship between centre and periphery. It is only the two administrative regions that address this issue. Thereby, there is a gap between the problems addressed in the administrative regions and the urban corridor.

Left Regionalism and Growth Regionalism

Both of the administrative regions stress a need to strengthen the peripheral areas by connecting them to the regional growth centres. In this way, connectivity is seen as something that can strengthen the development of the peripheral areas. Moreover, the values underlying this focus in both of the administrative regions are balance and cohesion.

These values underline that South Denmark and Central Denmark are influenced by left regionalism, cf. chapter 9, as they focus on levelling out social and regional differences (Veggerland 2000). Though, both South Denmark and Central Denmark underline that they do not focus on creating total equality in the regions but improving the opportunities for the peripheral areas. The reason behind the administrative regions' focus on the relationship between centre and periphery is also the geography of the regions. South Denmark and Central Denmark contain both growth and peripheral areas and have to address problems in both, as discussed by HMSS: *"…as a region we*

cannot go out and say that we only should have recommendations for infrastructure in East Jutland." (Sørensen 2008, translated).

The reason for the administrative regions' focus on the relationship between centre and periphery is also due to legislation, as the Danish planning act states: *"Based on comprehensive assessment, the regional spatial development plan shall describe a desired future spatial development for the administrative region's cities and towns, rural districts and small-town (peripheral) regions…"* (Ministry of the Environment 2007, § 10a). In this way, it is a legal requirement for the administrative regions to consider the future of the peripheral areas in the region. Left regionalism can, thereby, also be seen as being embedded in the Danish planning system.

The relationship between centre and periphery is naturally not addressed in the urban corridor, as the urban corridor is seen as one coherent growth area and as the corridor is not part of the formal planning system. This underlines that the urban corridor can be seen as an example of growth regionalism, as discussed in chapter 9, where focus is on strengthening 'winner' regions (Veggerland 2000).

The centre-periphery discussion underlines that how regions are constructed affects the issues that are being addressed in the regions. The construction of regions both relate to the geographical demarcation of the regions and how the regions are institutionalised through e.g. legislation.

Network and Corridor Visions

In the administrative regions, the construction of new roads does not only refer to reducing congestion. New roads are also seen as a course of action in connection with strengthening the peripheral are-

as in the region. In this way, the courses of action in the administrative regions can be seen as an attempt to create a regional network with connections between centre and periphery. Thereby, the logic behind the administrative regions is a network-logic, where the region becomes stronger by having a well functioning internal network.

The logic behind the urban corridor can instead be described as a corridor-logic, where emphasis is on strengthening the area by strengthening the corridor. This again illustrates the previously discussed tension between the two types of regions.

Cohesion and Balance in the Administrative Regions

As discussed in this section, the centre-periphery discussion is central to the administrative regions, whereas the urban corridor does not consider it. The administrative regions are focusing on strengthening the peripheral areas through connecting them to growth areas within the regions. Thereby, focus is on balance and cohesion in the administrative regions, which is reached by creating an internal network.

The administrative regions' focus on the relationship between centre and periphery is due to the geographical division of regions and the planning legislation they are subject to. The planning documents for the urban corridor do not address the centre-periphery issue, but it will be interesting to see how the urban corridor is being related to its surroundings when the plan has been developed.

13.5 Traffic's Negative Impacts

The last category of mobility problems concerns negative impacts from traffic. It is only South Denmark and the urban corridor, which frames other negative impacts than congestion. In South Denmark, CO_2 emissions are identified as a mobility problem, whereas urban sprawl is identified in the urban corridor.

Traffic related CO_2 Emissions and Urban Sprawl

In South Denmark traffic related CO_2 emissions is framed as one of the major issues for planning. Both Central Denmark and the urban corridor mention CO_2 in relation to traffic, but it is not something that is being strongly emphasised as a problem that should be addressed compared to other frames in the regions. Our analysis of South Denmark though also concluded that the frame about CO_2 emissions is weak compared to the other more economical framings of mobility problems.

In the urban corridor, urban sprawl is identified and defined as a problem in relation to mobility. This problem is not addressed in the two administrative regions, even though the problem also exists in these regions, as the urban corridor is located within the administrative regions.

These two frames are the only ones that do not directly relate to some form of economic growth in the regions. Thereby, it can be concluded that the regions primarily frame mobility problems in relation to growth and development and that growth and development are the region's main priority.

The negative consequences of mobility are generally not given much emphasise in the two types of regions compared to mobility's economic advantages.

13.6 Potential Conflicts

The aim of this section is to draw the comparison together to identify the similarities and differences

between the two administrative regions and the urban corridor. Hereby, it is also the aim to identify and discuss potential conflicts. Table 13.2 shows an overview of the main similarities and differences between the administrative regions and the urban corridor.

Same Problem Definitions and Mobility Understandings

The understanding of mobility is similar in both the administrative regions and the urban corridor. Mobility is being linked to economic growth and development through an understanding of mobility in terms of accessibility and connectivity. In this way, mobility is being used as a tool to create economic growth and development in the regions. In both the administrative regions and the urban corridor, mobility is seen from an economic development perspective, which indicates that both types of regions have a development oriented focus in planning.

The similar understanding in both types of regions is also reflected in the way the regions define mobility problems. In relation to congestion, growth areas and external connections, the problems are defined similarly in both the administrative regions and the urban corridor. Thereby, the way the regions argue for the problem's importance and the way mobility is linked to the problem are coherent.

An interesting aspect is that even though the problems are defined similarly and the underlying understanding is the same, the outcomes become something different in the administrative regions and the urban corridor, which we will discuss in the following.

Different Spatial Development Visions

The common understanding of mobility related to economic growth and the similar definitions of mobility problems lead to different spatial development visions in accordingly the administrative regions and the urban corridor. The spatial development visions in each of the regions are illustrated in figure 13.2, 13.3 and 13.4.

Spatial development visions for the administrative regions are seen on figure 13.2 and 13.3. As the figures show spatial development in both Central Denmark and South Denmark are dispersed to large parts of the regions and not centralised in one area. Both regions though stress that the majority of the development will take part in the existing

Table 13.2: Similarities and Differences between the Two Types of Regions	
Similarities	Differences
- Same problem definitions of congestion, external connections and growth areas - Mobility is understood as accessibility and connectivity that enables economic growth - The private car is the dominant transportation mode - Weak sustainable focus - No coordination between planning strategies	- Spatial visions are different: network or corridor - Different focus: periphery or centre - Administrative regions address more mobility problems

growth areas in the regions. In Central Denmark, this is considered to be the east and middle part of the region and in South Denmark it is the two growth axes. In relation to mobility and infrastructure, this mean that the two administrative regions are trying to create regional networks, as the figures also illustrate.

The spatial development vision for the East Jutland urban corridor is illustrated on figure 13.4. As previously discussed and illustrated on the figure, the spatial development vision for the urban corridor is based on a corridor logic. The figure illustrates that development in the region is concentrated like beads on a string along a north-south going transport corridor.

These two spatial development visions are fundamentally different and conflicting, as the network logic spreads development to large parts of the regions, whereas the corridor logic concentrates development in an existing growth area. The two logics are not compatible, as it is two different ideas about how the Danish society should develop, as we will discuss in the following chapter. Moreover, two logics do not only result in different visions of spatial development, but also different ideas about mobility.

The mobility idea behind the urban corridor is connected to an idea about efficiency through concentration. That is, people living in the corridor become highly mobile, as infrastructure becomes concentrated in the urban corridor. The infrastructure in the urban corridor allows people to use the corridor as one city – living in one town, working in another, shopping in a third etc.

In the administrative regions, mobility is more dispersed and focussed on connectivity instead of efficiency. Thus, it is important to connect all parts of the regions in networks, which allow everyone

Figure 13.2 and 13.3: illustrate the spatial development vision for Central Denmark and South Denmark.

Figure 13.4: illustrates the spatial development vision for the East Jutland urban corridor.

to take part in the development in other parts of the region.

Centre and Periphery

Part of the reason for the different spatial development visions is due to the way the regions relate to peripheral areas. It is only the two administrative regions that directly frame the problem about peripheral areas. For the administrative regions, it is important and part of their values to create coherent and balanced regions and they, thus, try to spread development from growth areas to peripheral areas. This is also illustrated on figure 13.2 and 13.3 by the connections between the peripheral areas and growth centres.

The urban corridor is not focussed on the relationship between growth areas in the corridor and more peripheral areas outside. This is also underlined on figure 13.4, which shows that it is only the north-south going transport corridor that is underlined and not how the corridor is linked towards more peripheral areas in the western part of Jutland.

In this way, the urban corridor is focussed on strengthening an area that is already strong and can be seen as an example of growth regionalism, cf. chapter 9. Oppositely, our analyses have shown that the administrative regions are influenced by left regionalism, as they focus on strengthening the peripheral areas of the regions and create balanced regions.

The Car and Sustainable Mobility

On a more concrete level our analyses have shown similarities between the two types of regions in relation to transportation modes and the environment. Though, this does not illustrate a conflict between the two types of regions, but a conflict between economic and environmental considerations in relation to traffic.

Generally, the car is seen as the main form of transportation in the regions, as the primary courses of action suggested are increased capacity or construction of new roads. In this way, neither the administrative regions nor the urban corridor have a strong sense of sustainable mobility and are proactive in reducing the reliance of the private car. Instead, the regions have a 'business as usual' approach to mobility. The regions though stress that public transport should be strengthened, but these suggestions are less detailed than the suggestions for new roads. The lack of detail indicates that public transport is given a lower priority than the construction of new roads.

The focus on the private car is closely linked to the regions' focus, or lack of focus, on the environmental side of sustainability. In the regions, the economical side is given a higher priority than the environmental side as mobility continuously is being linked to the economical development in the regions. The main objective of both types of regions seems to be to create economic development, which we also discussed in chapter 1 and 9. This illustrates a changing focus on the regional level in Denmark that previously have been characterised by an environmental focus in the former counties.

Concluding Remarks

The main similarity between the administrative regions and the urban corridor is how mobility problems are defined and how mobility is understood. In both types of regions, mobility is understood from an economical perspective as something that enables growth and development through accessibility and connectivity.

The economical perspective has also resulted in a down prioritisation of the environmental side of sustainability in relation to traffic in all the regions.

We have, thereby, found a conflict between the economical and environmental considerations in both types of regions. This way of managing mobility is further discussed in chapter 15.

Even though, the understanding of mobility is the same in the two types of regions and the definitions of mobility problems are similar, the spatial development visions are different. As we have shown in this chapter, the spatial development visions in the two types of regions are fundamentally different and not compatible. In the following chapter, we will discuss the implications of these conflicting spatial development visions for regional development in Denmark and for practice.

Part V

Discussion and Conclusion

14

Two Types of Regions
- Two Spatial Development Visions

The objective of this chapter is to discuss our empirical findings. In the previous chapter, we found that there were significant differences between the two types of regions, which especially became apparent in their spatial development visions. In this chapter, we discuss the wider implications of the two spatial development visions and whether the conflict has any implications for practice.

Two Conflicting Spatial Development Visions
In the previous chapter, we concluded that the spatial development visions differ between the two types of regions. The spatial development vision behind the administrative regions is a network logic, whereas the vision in the urban corridor is a corridor logic. The question then is whether these two different spatial development visions are compatible or conflicting.

The two spatial development visions are fundamentally different and, therefore, not compatible. The major difference between the two visions is that one logic argues for centralising spatial development and infrastructure investments, whereas the other argues for dispersing development and infrastructure across the region.
The understanding of mobility underpinning both spatial development visions is similar and both types of regions use the same argumentation to support their different visions. Thereby, the overall goal is to create economic growth and development, which is argued to be improved by improving connectivity and accessibility. In this way, the two types of regions use the same arguments to support different spatial development visions.

The difference between the two types of regions partially arises due to a difference in values. In this way, our findings can be seen as an example of a frame conflict, as discussed in chapter 4. The values underpinning strategic planning in the administrative regions are balance and cohesion within the regions, cf. chapter 10 and 11. Thus, the administrative regions' objective is to create cohesive regions with balanced development considerations between the different types of areas within the regions. As discussed in chapter 9, this value is also embedded in the Danish planning system and thus institutionalised.

Planning for the urban corridor is not underpinned by the same values. It is not part of the objective of the urban corridor to create balance and cohesion in Jutland. Instead, one of the objectives of the urban corridor is to create balance on a national scale, as discussed in chapter 9. From a national perspective, the urban corridor is seen as a way of balancing development between east and west Denmark. The attempt to create balance on the national scale though creates unbalance on the regional scale – between east and west Jutland.

The two spatial development visions generated by the administrative regions and the urban corridor are thus not compatible. In the following, we discuss the consequences of the two conflicting spatial development visions within the same space.

Does it Matter?

A discussion of the implications of the existence of two types of regions and spatial visions within the same space must start with the question whether or not the difference matters. This is a question that can be answered in more than one way depending on the perspective of the person answering. Our answer to the question is both: 'yes, it matters' and 'no, it does not'.

The question could be answered no, it does not matter that the two spatial development visions are different because in practice one is dominating the other and there will, therefore, not be any coordination conflicts between the two. Thereby, one type of region is left to coordinate its planning to the other. Thereby, the conflict might exist in theory, but practice is something else. Our impression is that the spatial development vision for the urban corridor is more dominant than the vision for the administrative regions. The advantage of the vision for the urban corridor is that it is supported by both the Ministry of the Environment and the Ministry of Transport, cf. chapter 9. There are, thereby, strong actors involved in planning for the urban corridor both in terms of funding and decision-making. Furthermore, the urban corridor is identified in both the national planning report and the Infrastructure Commission's white paper as an area that should be given more attention and strengthened. In this way, the conflict between two different spatial development visions might not cause any coordination conflicts in practice as the economically strong actors already have taken side for the urban corridor. In this way, the conflict does not matter if it is seen from a coordination perspective.

The introduction of the urban corridor into the regional landscape in Denmark could also reflect a view on the administrative regions as inadequate – even before they have had the chance of proving themselves. That is, the administrative regions are seen as unable to lift the task of addres-

sing the problems in the east Jutland area – congestion and urban sprawl. In this way, the administrative regions could seem to have lost the battle over the future regional spatial development and, thereby, the conflict matters.

It matters because this is not just a conflict about where spatial and infrastructure development should take place, but also a larger discussion about what sort of Denmark we are trying to create through regional strategic planning. In this way, we are in line with Frello's understanding of mobility, cf. chapter 3, as she argues that the way ideas about mobility are constructed matters because they have social consequences for who gains from mobility. The focus on the urban corridor in the national planning report and in the Infrastructure Commission's white paper means that the vision about balance between the eastern and western part of Jutland is abandoned: *"And offhand that also seems as both logical and correct to invest there, where the need is biggest. But with yesterday's report the Infrastructure Commission simultaneously says goodbye to the thought of motorways and new fast trains as regional development – as support to a geographical area that needs a lift."* (Hansen 2008, translated). Thereby, the difference matters if we care about a balanced development in Denmark. The conflict, thereby, also becomes a sensitive political question that should be addressed in an open political discussion. The dominance of the East Jutland urban corridor poses a risk of loosing the objective of ensuring development in the entire country.

The Implications
The implications of this development could become a less balanced Danish society where the differences between core areas and the periphery

are greater than they are today and, thereby, a less social sustainable country geographically. That is, the focus on the urban corridor represents a centralisation ideology on the regional level where development and growth become centralised in East Jutland and Copenhagen. The rest of the country becomes excluded from taking part in the development, as big investments, such as big infrastructure projects, become centralised in the two growth hubs. In this way, only having informal functional regions would mean a risk of some places and issues being excluded from the regional perspective. Thereby, the dominance of the urban corridor represents a tendency of dividing the country into an A and a B team, the A team being the growth areas and the B team the peripheral areas, which have also been labelled 'The Rotten Banana'. This development can be seen in continuation of the development in Danish planning legislation, which has moved from a focus on equal development in the entire country to a focus on appropriate development in the entire country (Sørensen 1999).

This development seems gloomy for the future role of the administrative regions, as they seem to be overrun by the more powerful urban corridor. Hereby, part of the intended role of the administrative regions gets taken over by the functional urban corridor. Thereby, strategic planning for the eastern part of Jutland is developed by other actors than the administrative regions. The administrative regions should then coordinate their strategic planning to the strategic planning for the urban corridor, cf. chapter 13. Thereby, the administrative regions' holistic role shifts towards an isolated focus on the areas outside the urban corridor, mainly the peripheral areas of the regions.
BN defines the role of the administrative regions

as: *"There is a request in the national planning report … for the regions to take their regional development strategy seriously in the sense that the prioritisation of peripheral areas, as the strategy contains according to legislation that they are actually followed up and, thereby, there is a pressure or a request for the regions to strongly redistribute the limited development funds they have to the weakest areas within each region."* (Nielsen 2008, translated). Hereby, BN defines the administrative regions' role as primarily related to trying to facilitate development in the peripheral areas.

If this is the future role of the administrative regions, their future within strategic planning is questionable. A role of facilitating development in the peripheral areas does not justify their geographical demarcation, which indicates that the demarcation of the administrative regions was not based on functional or planning considerations, cf. chapter 9.

A Possibility for Convergence?

As discussed in the previous, the two spatial development visions are not compatible, but the spatial development vision behind the urban corridor is the most dominant. The administrative regions, thereby, seem to be overruled and left with the task of coordinating their spatial visions to the vision for the urban corridor. In this section, we want to discuss if there is an alternative possibility for convergence between the two spatial development visions.

The two spatial development visions are fundamentally different, which makes agreement between the two types of regions difficult. We, therefore, do not find it realistic that the two different types of regions would develop a mutual spatial development vision, as the underlying values for planning in the two types of regions are different. Furthermore, there does not seem to be much cross regional cooperation, cf. chapter 13.

An alternative could be that the decision could be made on the governmental level. It could be argued that the decision in fact has already been made on the governmental level, as the Ministry of the Environment has chosen to introduce the urban corridor into the regional landscape. This development is to us problematic, as it conflicts with one of the fundamental principles behind Danish planning – decentralisation. By introducing the urban corridor from the governmental level, part of the decision-making competence is moved from the regional level to the national.

In our opinion, the urban corridor should have been introduced differently and the governance structure constructed in another way. The urban corridor should have been introduced as a joint project between the two administrative regions and affected municipalities. In this way, we think that the administrative regions should have been the main project managers instead of the Ministry of the Environment. Changing the governance structure would strengthen the administrative regions role and maintain the decentralisation principle. Furthermore, it would ensure convergence between spatial development in the administrative regions and the urban corridor. Giving the two administrative regions a central role in the process would also open up for thinking about the urban corridor as a more integrated part of Jutland.

But what could be done today to reach convergence between the two spatial development visions? First of all, we think it is important with a large degree of cooperation between the regions, which

could be reached by bringing the two administrative regions more actively into the planning process for the urban corridor. Furthermore, the scope of the plan for the urban corridor should include how the urban corridor is linked to its hinterland and, in this way, also address how the development in the urban corridor can benefit the rest of the country, as the national planning report claims, cf. chapter 1 and 9.

Furthermore, we think that there is a need for an open discussion about the future of spatial development on the regional level in Denmark that addresses the question about what sort of regional Denmark we are trying to create. This discussion could with advantages be addressed in the next national planning report though without dictating development, so as to ensure room for local solutions to regional challenges.

In this chapter, we have discussed the potential implications of having two types of regions with different spatial development visions within the same space. The two visions represent two different ideas about how regional Denmark should develop in the future. We see it as important that this issue is addressed in the upcoming national planning report so as the role of each type of region is addressed and the connections between them clarified.

The Regions and Sustainable Mobility

The aim of this chapter is to discuss how sustainable mobility is being managed in the regions. Through our analyses, we have shown that especially the environmental side of mobility is being down prioritised in the regions compared to the economic side of sustainability. In this chapter, we discuss the potential implications of the lack of focus on sustainable mobility and how both types of regions could develop a more sustainable focus.

Sustainable Mobility
In chapter 13, we concluded that the there is not a strong sense of sustainable mobility in the spatial development strategies for the regions. This conclusion was especially reached on background of the courses of action presented by the regions. In all three regions, the main courses of action proposed related to the expansion of the road network and indicates a 'business as usual' approach to mobility. Furthermore, a main focus on increasing the road network illustrates that the car is seen as the main form of transportation in both the administrative regions and the urban corridor.

The regions though stated that public transport should be developed to become a viable alternative to the car. The courses of action related to public transport are on a more general level than those related to new roading projects, which indicate that it is not given as high a priority or is as far in the development process as the other projects.

Another aspect, which illustrates that sustainable mobility is not a strong theme in the regions, is the meanings and objectives connected to mobility. As discussed in chapter 13, the main objective of mobility in both types of regions is to create economic growth and development in the regions.

In this connection, especially the environmental side of sustainable mobility is being down prioritised. This was particularly evident in South Denmark where we found a direct frame conflict between the economic and environmental considerations. In this way, sustainable mobility are not the primary focus of the two types of regions, but instead a more 'economic mobility'. In the following, we discuss what implications we see as the result of not working actively with sustainable mobility.

Reinforces Path Dependency
The implications of reinforcing the private car as the main form of transportation are discussed by Urry who characterises the dominance of the private car as a 'system of automobility'. Urry describes the system of automobility as the most important cause of environmental resource use (Urry 2005). Thereby, sustainable mobility must inevitable deal with the problems about the dominance of the private car.
The regions' focus on the private car and the road network reinforces the path-dependency of the system of automobility, as described by Urry: *"This system of automobility stemmed from the path-dependent pattern laid down from the end of the 19th century… Social life more generally was irreversibly locked in to the mode of mobility that automobility generates and presupposes."* (Urry 2005, p. 27). Hereby, Urry describes the system of automobility as a path-dependency that society is locked in to and as a system that is difficult to break away from (Urry 2005). Through strategic planning for the regions this path-dependency is reinforced as the private car continuously is stressed as the main form of transportation mode.

The car being the main transportation mode is caused by the advantages of the car. Urry underlines that the car's flexibility creates freedom for the individual, but at the same time this flexibility creates a need for an expansion of the network: *"It is through automobility's restructurings of time and space that it generates the need for ever more cars to deal with what they both presuppose and call into existence."* (Urry 2005, p. 27). That is, the expansion of the road network proposed by the regions will cause more traffic and, thereby, a need for a further expansion – an ongoing process. Expanding the road network is not a long term solution for e.g. congestion problems as it generates more traffic. Furthermore, the environmental impacts from traffic are not addressed. In this way, the regions' 'business as usual' approach is only a short termed solution, which pushes mobility problems to the future.
Urry underlines that the system of automobility is not only reinforced through transport systems, but also through the dominant ideas about 'the good life' in society. According to Urry, the private car has a central place in the dominant discourse of what constitutes 'the good life'. (Urry 2005). In this way, the private car is also part of the values underpinning society. That is, reinforcing path-dependency does not only relate to the courses of action proposed by the two types of regions, but also the values underpinning these proposals.

Denmark as Environmental Leader
The lack of especially environmental focus on mobility, to us, conflicts with Denmark's attempt to position the country as an environmental leader. At the moment, environmental impacts and climate changes are on the international agenda. Denmark is participating and has a central position in the

global debate, which is illustrated by Denmark hosting the international climate summit in 2009.

This strong environmental focus is in opposition to our findings, as they do not strongly focus on the environmental impacts in relation to mobility. This indicates a difference in the way Denmark is being marketed internationally and strategic planning at both the regional and national level. Prior to the Structural Reform, the counties had an overall assignment in protecting the environment, which has not been transferred to the new regions. Given the increasing international and national focus on the environment and climate, we find it notable and worrying that the environmental focus on the regional level is diminishing.

Additionally, it is our impression that the regions' focus on the private car as the primary transportation mode, as discussed in the previous, locks mobility development in a certain direction and, thereby, do not open up for new and alternative solutions. This means that focus on the environment and alternative solutions to the private car are down prioritised, which could cause increased environmental problems in the longer run.

Planning Practice

As discussed, the absence of sustainable mobility has consequences for the future transport system in Denmark and the reduction of the environmental impacts. We, furthermore, see implications for planning practice on both regional and municipal level.

The role of the administrative regions have been described as creating a forum for the municipalities – a forum that our results have shown does not cover sustainable mobility. This, furthermore, results in that the administrative regions are not putting pressure on or guides the municipalities through the regional spatial development plan to

consider a more sustainable approach to mobility. It is, thereby, left to the municipalities to think in more sustainable perspectives if they are not influenced in this direction from the national level. Our analysis of the urban corridor though shows that there is not a strong sense of sustainability mobility in either the national planning report or the Infrastructure Commission's white paper.

The Possibilities of Changing the System of Automobility

Urry does not see a continued reinforcing of the existing system of automobility as the only possible future. Instead, he sees a potential for braking away from path-dependency. (Urry 2005). In this connection, he criticise present thinking: *"Current thinking about automobility is characterized by linear thinking: can existing cars be given a technical fix to decrease fuel consumption or can existing public transport be improved a bit?"* (Urry 2005, p. 33). Instead, Urry underlines: *"The current car-system could not be disrupted by linear changes but only by a set of interdependent changes occurring in a certain order that might move, or tip, the system into a new path."* (Urry 2005, p. 33). Thereby, Urry underlines that a change from the system of automobility to more sustainable mobility is a complex process involving a number of interdependent changes.

Urry describes the post-car system as: *"In this post-car system there will be a mixed flow of slow-moving semi-public micro-cars, bikes, many hybrid vehicles, pedestrians and mass transport integrated into a mobility of physical and virtual access."* (Urry 2005, p. 35). Urry sees implementations of a number of changes as a way to influence the car based system. These changes both include an improvement of the public transport and improvement of the

car technology as a way to limit environmental impacts.

Urry also underlines planning as an important aspect in braking away from path-dependency as he identifies planning or policy as one out of six components for braking away from path-dependency. In this connection, he identifies the 'traditional' predict-and-provide approach as contributing to the dominating role of the private car. Instead, Urry underlines that future mobility planning should: *"Increasingly, 'new realist' policies see the expansion of the road network as not neutral but as increasing car-based travel. The focus of policy moves to changing driver behaviour through demand-reduction strategies, although this is difficult without heavy coercion or marketized inducements."* (Urry 2005, p. 35). Hereby, Urry underlines that planning must develop a more nuanced or holistic view of the continued development of the road network in order to brake away from the present non-sustainable system.

Breaking away from Path Dependency

Even though, we have not seen tendencies towards this change in our analyses of the two types of regions, a proposal made by Danish Regions indicates a change in this direction. Danish Regions propose a new type of plan, a 'mobility plan', with the objective of ensuring efficient mobility, increase competitiveness and create a better environment. In the proposal, Danish Regions emphasises that basis for economic growth and development at the regional level is a plan that describes and contains the necessary tools and resources for mobility planning. Danish Regions suggests that the plan should contain considerations about a vision for future transport, suggestions for improving the use public transport, suggestions for spatial planning principles, connections between different

transport modes, suggestions for decreasing the environmental impacts, suggestions for economic incentives and suggestions for the use of ITS. It is, furthermore, suggested that mobility planning should be carried out on national, regional and municipal level. (Danske Regioner 2008).

We would recommend an implementation of Danish Regions' proposal, as we see a mobility plan as a way of pushing the different planning authorities to think about mobility in a more holistic way and in this way brake away from the 'business as usual' approach. It is, though, important that a mobility plan is not only implemented on the regional level, but also on the national and municipal levels to ensure that a more sustainable way of thinking about mobility is taking place all the way through the Danish planning system. In this way, it will also be ensured that both functional and administrative regions think about mobility in more sustainable terms as all planning authorities would be working within the same frame.

In this chapter, we have discussed the lack of a sustainable focus on mobility in both types of regions. The lack of sustainable focus is illustrated by a 'business as usual' approach to mobility, which we believe reinforces the existing path-dependency where the private car is the dominating mode of transport. In order to create a more sustainable approach to mobility, we think it is important with a more holistic view on mobility. This view could be ensured by introducing a new type of plan into the Danish planning system – a mobility plan.

16

Conclusion and Reflections

The starting point of this project was a key spatial diagram from the national planning report 'The New Map of Denmark' illustrating the regional geography in Denmark with five new administrative regions and two functional regions. The two different types of regions exist within the same space. This awoke our interest and curiosity to examine the present development within regional strategic planning in Denmark. The case in this project concerns Central Denmark and South Denmark regions and the East Jutland urban corridor. These two types of regions within the same space interested us, as we saw it as a cause of potential conflicts, because the two types of regions have different objectives and purposes within planning.

In this chapter, we draw out the conclusions from our analysis of the two types of regions' official framings of mobility problems. Thereby, we conclude by returning to the problem formulation and answer:

How are mobility problems officially framed in the two types of regions in the case and what potential conflicts arise?

In order to answer the problem formulation, we take a starting point in the sub-questions, which are answered in the following three sections. The first section contains the conclusions and reflections on the sub-questions related to the theoretical part, while the sub-questions related to the empirical part are the point of departure for the conclusions and reflections on the empirical analyses in

the second section. The third section draws a conclusion and reflects upon the sub-questions referring to the discussion.

16.1 Concluding on Our Conceptualisation of Mobility and Framing

The purpose of this section is to answer and reflect on the two sub-questions related to the theoretical part:

- How can mobility and framing be understood theoretically?
- How can official framings of mobility problems be investigated?

To be able to develop a framework for analysing the two types of regions, we needed to develop an understanding of the concepts mobility and framing. The first subsection concludes on how we develop a conceptual understanding of mobility, while the next concludes on our conceptualisation of framing. The last subsection deals with the conceptual framework for investigating official mobility framings.

Understanding of Mobility

Through analysing mobility, we discovered mobility to be an ambiguous concept, as mobility has different meanings to different actors in different contexts. Therefore, it was necessary for us to conceptualise mobility in order to develop a conceptual framework to use it in the analyses. For this reason, the starting point of the theoretical part was to discuss the concept of mobility. In the process of conceptualising mobility, we discovered mobility as closely interlinked to meaning and discourse.

Our point of departure in defining mobility was Frello's and Cresswell's understandings, as they

place meaning central in relation to mobility. Both Cresswell and Frello emphasise that how we represent and make sense of mobility affects the empirical movements that takes place in reality. However, the importance in this project is the meanings connected to mobility and not the empirical movement in itself.

The theoretical part of defining mobility also contained a discussion of mobility as a product of social construction. Given that mobility is connected to how we view and construct the world and society we live in. Thereby, mobility becomes interlinked with discourses, as it is through discourses that meaning is socially constructed. The discussion resulted in an understanding of mobility as: *movement that is made sense of through the discursive construction of meaning.*

Understanding of Framing

Like mobility, there is no definite understanding of framing and, therefore, it was necessary for us to conceptualise framing and investigate the elements of a frame. In the process of conceptualising framing, we emphasised a frame or the process of framing as an interpretation of information about a phenomenon into something meaningful. More specifically, the discussion led to a conceptualisation of framing as: *a meaningful story that defines a given problem and describes a course of action. A frame is developed through the process of transforming accessible information about a phenomenon into a meaningful whole through interpretation governed by values.*
Thereby, meanings and values are central to a frame when establishing a problem formulation and course of action. Like mobility, a phenomenon can be framed differently as different actors interpret information differently. Frame conflicts

arise when different actors frame a phenomenon differently. Frame conflicts are central to this project, as we investigate how mobility problems officially are framed within the two types of regions. The theoretical part, furthermore, emphasises framing as central in relation to planning and policy making, as planning can be seen as a struggle over how to frame planning issues. A phenomenon becomes a planning issue because there are different understandings and, thereby, different framings.

Through the theoretical part of the project, we gained an understanding of both mobility and framing. The process of exploring the concepts has helped us to get a better understanding of mobility.

That is, different theoretical approaches have opened up for an understanding of that there are some visible and invisible meanings and values attached to the different problems and courses of action.

Framework for Analysing Mobility Problems

The conceptual framework for investigating mobility problems in the regions should be seen in relation to our conceptualisation of mobility and framing. Our conceptual understanding of mobility is used as basis for the development of the framework, whereas our conceptualisation of framing presents and discusses the different elements of a frame.

The framework is used as a way to open up for how different framings of mobility problems can be investigated. The conceptual framework consists of four elements, problem definition, course of action, meaning and values, which are interdependent. Thus, the different elements are affecting each other and, thereby, in order to understand a frame each element needs to be investigated.

In this case, the framework is used to analyse the regions' official framings of mobility problems, but the framework can also be used in more general terms. The framework is applicable in e.g. other planning contexts by which it will be possible to outline the meanings and values attached to a problem definition and related courses of action.

The framework can also be used as a tool for reflexive practice by planners. In this way, planners can use the framework to reflect upon the four elements of the framework. We see the framework as having both a personal and more formal application. Formally, the framework could be used in planning organisations, such as the administrative regions or municipalities, to discuss the four elements of the framework and, thereby, consciously discuss and consider the elements. The framework would for example allow a planning organisation to consciously discuss and consider the values they incorporate into planning. The framework could also be used in connection with planning conflicts, as these could be based on frame conflicts. In this connection, the framework opens up for a larger understanding of where the disagreement lies and potentially how to solve it. On a more personal level, the framework could be used by planners to challenge their own ways of thinking and working, as the framework opens up for alternative understandings of the four elements.

16.2 Concluding on Our Empirical Findings

In this section, we conclude and reflect on the sub-questions related to the empirical part of the project:

- *What are the official framings of mobility problems in the case?*

- What are the potential conflicts between the two types of regions' official framings of mobility problems?

To be able to identify potential conflicts, we analysed the regions official framings of mobility problems. The first three subsections present the findings, after which we bring out the similarities and differences between the two types of regions in order to be able to identify the potential conflicts.

South Denmark Region
Through analysing the official planning documents in South Denmark Region, we found five official framings of mobility problems: 'Congestion – a Barrier for Development', 'Reduction of Traffic Related CO_2', 'Strengthening Growth Axes', 'Strengthening Peripheral Areas' and 'Connections Outside the Region is Important'. Overall, the region frames mobility as connectivity and accessibility, which enable economic growth. South Denmark puts emphasis on both strengthening the development in existing growth areas and more peripheral areas.
Our analysis revealed a frame conflict between the economical and environmental focus in South Denmark. In this conflict, the economical considerations seem to be given a higher priority than the environmental.

Central Denmark Region
In the analysis of Central Denmark Region's official framings of mobility problems, we found four official frames: 'An International Growth Region Needs International Connections', 'A Coherent Denmark – Connecting Growth Centres', 'Congestion Reduces Economic Growth' and 'Central Denmark as a Region in Balance'. Like South Denmark, Central Denmark overall connects mobility to the region's economical development potential. Thus, Central Denmark sees connectivity and accessibility as a way to improve the development opportunities in the region. South Denmark relates economic growth to the international, national and regional geographical scales. That is, the international and national scale relates to strengthen the existing growth areas in the region by linking them to other growth areas outside the region. The regional level concerns developing a regional network to enable development to spread from the core to the periphery.

The East Jutland Urban Corridor
In the analysis of the East Jutland urban corridor, we discovered three frames: 'An Urban Corridor as a Benefit for the Entire Country', 'Congestion as a Barrier for Mobility' and 'A Landscape under Pressure'. 'An Urban Corridor as a Benefit for the Entire Country' is an overall frame to the two other framings. The overall frame concerns strengthening the urban corridor and for this reason it is important to reduce congestion and urban sprawl in the corridor. Mobility in the urban corridor is overall understood in two ways, as something that enables economic growth and development and as something that enables urban sprawl. Thereby, mobility has both a positive and a negative side. It is our impression that the difference potentially can develop into a frame conflict depending on the future planning of the urban corridor.

Potential Conflicts
After analysing each region, we brought the analyses back together to get a full picture of how mobility problems are framed within the two types of regions. In this process, we identified that the regions have framed mobility problems within

five categories: congestion problems, connections to the world outside, strengthening growth axes, the relationship between centre and periphery and traffic's negative impacts.

A main similarity between the two types of regions is how mobility problems are defined and how mobility is understood. In both types of regions, mobility is understood from an economical perspective as something that enables growth and development through accessibility and connectivity. The economical perspective has also resulted in a down prioritisation of the environmental problems with traffic in the two types of regions as the main transportation mode is seen as the private car.

Although the understandings of mobility are similar in the two types of regions, the spatial outcomes are different. The spatial development visions in the two types of regions are fundamentally different and not compatible. The spatial development vision behind the administrative regions is a network logic, whereas the vision in the urban corridor is a corridor logic. The difference between the visions illustrates a difference in the values behind the two logics as the administrative regions is about balance and cohesion, whereas the objective of the urban corridor is to create balance on a national scale.

16.3 Concluding on the Discussions

In this section, we conclude and reflect upon the sub-questions related to the discussions:

- What are the implications for planning of having two types of regions within the same space?
- How is sustainable mobility being managed in the two types of regions?

First we conclude and reflect on what the implications for planning are of having two types of regions with different spatial development visions within the same space. Secondly, we conclude and reflect on the implications of the lack of focus on sustainable mobility in the regions.

Implications for Planning with Two Types of Regions

The comparison of the two types of regions revealed a significant difference between the regions – two fundamentally different spatial development visions. The spatial development vision in the two administrative regions is based on a network logic, whereas the vision in the urban corridor is based on a corridor logic. As our analyses have revealed the difference is fundamental, as it is based on a difference in values in the two types of regions.

The two different spatial development visions illustrate two different visions for how Denmark should develop and, therefore, the conflict matters. The spatial development vision behind the urban corridor symbolises a vision about a future development of Denmark where development is centralised in strong competitive cores. The spatial development vision in the administrative regions symbolises a vision of a balanced and coherent Denmark where there is development opportunities in the entire country.

It is our impression that it is the spatial development vision behind the urban corridor that is the most dominant, as it is included in the national planning report and the Infrastructure Commission's white paper. The dominance of the urban corridor could result in the development of a less balanced regional Denmark than we see today, as the development would be concentra-

ted in the functional regions – the urban corridor and Copenhagen. Thus, the development could result in a large difference between core areas and periphery and a risk of dividing the country into an A and a B team.

The regional level in Denmark is facing a significant challenge in deciding which spatial development vision should be pursued for the future. We do not see any easy way of settling this conflict. We would though suggest that the governance structure around the urban corridor is changed so as to give the administrative regions a large role in the planning process. Involving the administrative regions more actively in planning for the urban corridor could also open up for a plan for the urban corridor that clearly links the urban corridor to the rest of Jutland. We also stress a need for the next national planning report to address the regional conflict and discuss how Denmark should develop on the regional level in the future. In this connection, it is though important that the national planning report do not become to detailed, but allows room for local solutions to the regional challenges.

Managing Sustainable Mobility in the Regions

Our analyses of the regions revealed that there is not a strong sense of sustainable mobility in either of the two types of regions. This conclusion was reached on background of the analyses where we found the main course of action to be improvements of the road network. Generally, mobility in the regions seems to be addressed from a 'business as usual' approach where the car is seen as the main transportation mode.

We see the 'business as usual' approach as problematic as it reinforces an existing path dependency, as discussed by Urry, where the car is the most dominating mode of transport (Urry 2005). By reinforcing path dependency for example the environmental problems related to mobility are pushed to the future where they might be larger than they are today. The lack of focus on sustainable mobility in the regions also means that the regions do not push the municipalities to work with mobility in a more sustainable perspective.

Planning and policy making are identified by Urry as having an important role in braking society away from the existing path dependency (Urry 2005). Therefore, we see it as important for both types of regions to address sustainable mobility in their regional strategies. In order for the regions to address sustainable mobility, it is crucial that the role of the private car is being questioned in the regions.

We suggest that sustainable mobility is addressed in the regions through the introduction of mobility planning. Developing a mobility plan would ensure that the fundamental aspects of sustainable mobility are addressed in the regions and that the existing 'business as usual' approach to mobility is being questioned.

16.4 Reflections on Mobility and the New Regional Map of Denmark

Through the examination of each sub-question, we have answered the problem formulation and, thereby, how mobility problems officially are framed within the two types of regions in the case and what potential conflicts it might result in.

In the introduction to this report, we presented our starting point – the digram from the national planning report which showed the two types of regions overlapping within the same space. Through this project, we have gained a more detailed knowledge about what first seemed like a 'messy' regional map of Denmark which opens

up for a discussion about the new regional map of Denmark.

The Upcoming National Planning Report

We see the upcoming national planning report as crucial in addressing the issues identified throughout this project. Our findings reveal a difference in objectives and purposes of the two types of regions, which could cause conflicts. In trying to prevent the conflicts, the roles of the regions should be discussed and defined by which the ambiguity might disappear. Regional strategic planning is crucial for future planning and, therefore, it is important that the upcoming national planning report opens up for a discussion about the future role of the two types regions to prevent the regions working in different directions. Furthermore, we see the national planning report as a natural forum for addressing the role of the regions as the national planning report presents the overall planning considerations for the country. It is also through the national planning report that the urban corridor was introduced.

The discussion about sustainable mobility should also be something that is discussed in the upcoming national planning report. The upcoming national planning report should put emphasis on sustainable planning as a way to inspire the regions and municipalities to focus more on the environmental impacts in relation to mobility. Additionally, the national planning report could outline some of the problems and suggest courses of action in relation to future planning of sustainable mobility.

We, thereby, see the national planning report as a key tool in opening up for a discussion about planning at the regional level. We though want to stress that the national planning report should not become to detailed and dictate the development in the regions, but instead provide overall guidelines and allow for local grounded solutions to the challenges.

It is though important that the national planning report clearly states the role of the two types of regions and how they are connected. Furthermore, the planning report should state whether the overall objective is to create a centralised or balanced Denmark and then leave it up to the regions and municipalities to find out how they will fulfil this objective. In relation to sustainable mobility, the national planning report could also develop goals for the development on this area that the regions and municipalities should address in their more detailed planning.

The Planners in the Regions and Municipalities

Having two different types of regions within the same space demands attention from the regional planners, as they, have to consider and relate to the other regions. From our point of view, it is important that the administrative regional planners take the urban corridor into considerations and, furthermore, discuss how it is connected to the rest of the region. That is, the administrative regions have to clearly state the connections, as the urban corridor from different points of view can be seen as either positive or negative. It could for instance be seen differently from municipalities inside or outside the urban corridor. On the other hand, it is also important that the urban corridor considers and relates to the areas outside the corridor, as the purpose of the corridor in the national planning report is described as securing a development that benefits the entire country (Miljøministeriet 2006). Thereby, a discussion of

how development within the corridor will benefit the entire country will be appropriate so the objective in the national planning report does not become empty words.

Having two types of regions within the same space could also cause problems on the municipal level, as mixed signals could be sent from the administrative regions and the urban corridor to the municipalities. Hereby, the municipalities could experience difficulties in interpreting and fulfilling the different regional visions. This could especially be the case with the municipalities located in the urban corridor, as the administrative regions and the urban corridor have different objectives and perspectives. Therefore, it also becomes important that the national planning report clarifies the role of each region as discussed above.

All things considered, our initial impression of the new regional map of Denmark as a 'messy' regional Denmark was confirmed through the analyses. Regional Denmark stands before a number of challenges. First of all, it is important that the role of each type of region is clearly determined and connections between the two types established. We see the upcoming national planning report as having a key role in this process. It is crucial that the report addresses the question of what type of Denmark should be created on the regional level.
We also think that it is important that sustainable mobility becomes more present in both types of regions.

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