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**Bridging the Socioeconomic
Gap: Integrating Cross-Border
Regions through Comparing
Different Worlds –
Region Laredo, Aquitaine-
Euskadi and Öresund**

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BRIDGING THE SOCIECONOMIC GAP:
INTEGRATING CROSS-BORDER REGIONS
THROUGH COMPARING DIFFERENT WORLDS -
REGION LAREDO,
AQUITAINE - EUSKADI
AND
ÖRESUND

Ph.D. Dissertation

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OUR DREAMS WILL BREAK THE BOUNDARIES OF OUR FEARS

BRANDON FLOWERS

Gracias...

Cuando uno comienza su proyecto doctoral jamás pasa por su mente el día en que tendrá que escribir esta sección. Como en todo, se ha llegado el tiempo, a solo unos días de enviar la tesis para imprimir y con ello cerrar un capítulo más de mi vida. Llego a esta sección con sentimientos encontrados: por un lado alegría, felicidad, éxtasis, incredulidad, y todo lo que se le parezca, por poder terminar tan importante proyecto. Mas sin embargo, del otro lado existe tristeza, nostalgia y mucho sentimiento por saber que aquí concluye una etapa magnífica que me ha dado los mejores años de mi vida, algunas de mis mejores amistades, y los más grandes aprendizajes, tanto personales como profesionales.

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México, D.F a 17 de agosto del 2015

P.D. Gracias a “The Killers”, por ser el soundtrack de esta tesis.

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1

OVERVIEW

The first section of this introductory chapter, "Research Journey," details the author's road to and along writing his dissertation. The second section of this chapter explores the structure of this dissertation and what the reader can expect to find along the way.

1.1 Research Journey

The author applied to the Ph.D. program in Business Competitiveness and Economic Development at the University of Deusto Business School in the summer of 2011, a summer that undoubtedly changed his life. With an academic background in business administration and political science, as well as professional experience in the public sector (specifically in economic development and competitiveness), the parting point for our research emerged from a somewhat inevitable consideration of a combination of all of the above-mentioned subjects. Ultimately though, it was the author's time spent in a cross-border region and the cultural identity which that period branded that further influenced the direction of his research.

With an invitation from the program's director, Dr. Mario Davide Parrilli, to conduct research along the lines of the doctoral program, the essence of this dissertation became the merging of socioeconomics, cross border development, and theories of Innovation Systems, Growth and Territorial Competitiveness. Once situated within these ample parameters, the author felt that the study of a cross-border economy, and all of its contributors, would not be complete without a consideration of the unique social dynamics that characterize these regions. The author was born and raised on the border between the United States and Mexico, in the cities of Laredo (Texas) and Nuevo Laredo (Tamaulipas). He resided on the Mexican side of the border for 30 years (though he was born on the U.S. side), and almost the entirety of his education was completed in the U.S., including primary and secondary schooling, as well as two post-graduate degrees from Texas universities. And while the author was thoroughly acquainted with the unique qualities of life within that particular border region, his interest in and knowledge of borderlands grew even more after having lived and studied in the Aquitaine-Euskadi region.

A general idea was then conceptualized to conduct research on the social dynamics of cross-border regions and how these dynamics ultimately impacted the economy within such regions. Discussions with our dissertation director, Dr. Miren Larrea, eventually narrowed the focus of this dissertation to include how the economic social relations

are formed, under which circumstances they are developed, and how they impact economic development and competitiveness strategies in cross-border regions. These economic social relations refer to the interactions that occur in a cross-border region between social and economic actors, with regard to fostering economic development and competitiveness.

Out of the convergence of the topics discussed earlier, three main themes emerged as starting points for the theoretical foundations of this dissertation: cross-border cooperation, regional innovation systems (which later evolved to territorial innovation models), and the social side of economics (encompassed within both social capital and social innovation). These three theoretical constructs are very much interrelated, because of the important social dynamics shared between them. All three (cross-border cooperation, territorial innovation models, and both social capital and social innovation), placed special emphasis on the importance of social linkages and interactions between people, society and economic and social agents, ultimately helping to shape and develop each of those theories. As a result of this broadness or generality, none of these theories afforded a deeper explanation of these social linkages and dynamics as needed to fulfill our research. So now we had the general theory that was needed to frame our research on how social relationships and dynamics in a cross-border region impacted economic development and competitiveness within them. We also had the cross-border cooperation literature to encase our context, the territorial innovation model literature under which the interactions of the triple helix could be documented, and the social capital and social innovation literature to enclose the social dynamics aspect of our research.

Upon presenting the research project to the doctoral committee in June 2012, it became apparent that our research was too heavily centered on the case of Region Laredo. It was then suggested that at least another two cross-border regions be included in the research as comparative case studies in order to expand the future applicability of our findings and for the benefit of the dissertation as a whole. The Aquitaine–Euskadi Cross-Border Space and Öresund were ultimately added to our case study lineup for reasons explored in Section 2.2.3. And then there were three.

As illustrated in chapters 4,5, & 6, the three case studies span the spectrum of variation, with many of their differences stemming from social, cultural and economic inequalities as well as language, physical and societal well-being barriers. Yet one of the most notable similarities that they share is a history of cross-border cooperation between them respectively. The case studies have allowed us to reconstruct the evolution of the regions through the lens of bridging institutions and how they develop the social dynamics that are integral to this study.

The methodology (see section 2.2) adopted for this dissertation was initially developed through qualitative research, including interviews for the collection of data, and the processing of that data to generate descriptive theory. Descriptive theory (see section 2.2.2) refers to ‘a body of understanding’ built through three steps of case study research: observation, categorization, and association (Christensen and Carlile 2009; Carlile and Christensen 2005). Comparative case study analysis was conducted for the three case studies, relying on the use of speculative design as a way of facilitating communication of the results. Speculative design (see section 2.2.1) allows authors “to voice their research through aesthetic displays of visualization and graphics techniques” (Kim and DiSalvo 2010, 1). Throughout the research process the use of quantitative methods was incorporated, allowing this dissertation a mixed-method approach. A mixed-methods

research design (see section 2.2) is a “procedure for collecting, analyzing, and “mixing” both quantitative and qualitative methods in a single study or a series of studies to understand a research problem (Creswell 2014, 535). While our survey and the results it produced offer considerable insight, because of a less than adequate sample size in terms of our survey response rate, we decided that it was better suited as a supplemental appendix to our dissertation. The preliminary results of our quantitative approach are readily available in appendix (1).

The opportunity to participate as a Ph.D. Candidate Researcher, between 2012 and 2014, at Orkestra-The Basque Institute of Competitiveness expanded both the author’s vision and understanding of territorial development, regional innovation systems and competitiveness. Meanwhile, his daily interactions with the institute’s academics and researchers allowed for a deeper focus on the research subject and ultimately facilitated a narrowed and hopefully more fruitful vision for this dissertation.

In that time, the author developed academic presentations, presented them at eight international conferences and symposiums throughout Spain, Mexico and the United States, and participated in a number of workshops and seminars. The author also had the benefit of furthering and exploring his knowledge of cross-border themes through his teaching of classes at The University of Deusto Business School, specifically within the following subject matter: introduction to Cross-Border Development, socially Integrating cross-border regions, and introduction to local economic development and social innovation.

“The idea that creativity stems with individual geniuses is a myth. The reality is that creativity is a social process: our greatest advances come from the people we learn from, from the people we compete with, and from the people we collaborate with”

Andres Oppenheimer

1.2 Objectives

It has been said that “borders are the scars of history” (Schuman n.d), and while that may be true, we might also consider borders as living labs in which social interactions and the ability to coexist shape economic, social, and political prosperity. The socially-driven concepts, of Social Capital, and more recently Social Innovation, are the basis of extensive research across a broad scope of academic arenas. From clusters (Wolfe 1998) to health care (Global Health Innovation Guidebook), Social Capital and Social Innovation are increasingly considered as tools central to the creation of improved living environments and strong communities.

The broad objective of this dissertation is to understand the impact that Social Capital and Social Innovation (social dynamics) have on economic development and competitiveness strategies in a cross-border context. To this end, we set out to test how social dynamics and links impact economic development and competitiveness strategies specifically within Region Laredo, Aquitaine-Euskadi, and Öresund. Our ultimate goal then is to tell each case study’s narrative accurately and with context, and finally identify what can be learned from each region.

1.3 Research Questions

Research for this dissertation is conducted within the context of two research questions that serve as a guide for this dissertation (figure 1.1). Below, each of these questions is explained.



The first question, a theoretical one, asks: What are the critical factors for establishing economic-social relations in a cross-border context? This question explores and seeks to establish what exactly is needed in order to be able to foster economic-social relationships in a cross-border context. This question will be answered in part by defining what these social relationships are, as well as by integrating social capital and social innovation theories at a territorial level. Accounting for the territorial particularity

of cross-border regions, and how these social relationships evolve within them, has led us to develop a new concept, the concept of a Social Base (section 3.6).

The very notion of a Social Base fuses key concepts from theories of both social capital and social innovation, and motivates us to develop it further so that it might be applied to different cross-border regions in the future. This research question then stems from a necessity to identify just how significant a role the social side of economics plays in cross-border cooperation. The lack of frameworks within the literature that would help apply these concepts to a cross-border region is also notable. Meanwhile, the author's professional experience within a cross-border context gave rise to his interest in a parallel consideration of social factors (along with economic) in the study of cross-border cooperation. This social sense/feeling/element, summarized in academic terms by our concept of a social base, is then established by the author as a main line of research and subsequently explored throughout this dissertation.

The second research question presented in this dissertation addresses the more empirical aspects of the above-mentioned case studies. We consider, how social relations impact economic development and competitiveness strategies in the cross-border regions of Region Laredo, Aquitaine-Euskadi cross-border space, and Öresund. By impacts, we are referring to joint public policy or collective actions pursued by bridging institutions for the improvement of economic development and competitiveness strategies in cross-border regions. Economic development is perceived as, "the application of economic processes and resources available to a region that result in the sustainable development of, and desired economic outcomes for, a region and that meet the values and expectations of business, of residents and of visitors" (Stimson, Stough and Roberts 2006, 6); while competitiveness is viewed as a the broader concept of socioeconomic competitiveness put forth by James Wilson (2014) which accounts for processes uncovering and aligning the aims and capacities of people and institutions within a territory. The purpose of this question is to examine if cross border regions are fundamentally affected by the same social relationships and what benefits or disadvantages they bring to their collective and respective economic development. The specific context in which we research such social relationships is within bridging institutions (see section 2.2.3 for definition), in order to learn how a social base is established through them, and the impact that it had on the three studied cross-border regions. Through this research question, we also explore how individual economic development and competitiveness strategies

How do economic-social relations impact economic development and competitiveness strategies in a cross-border context?

Research Question

are related to the social capital and social innovation pillars of a social base. Since territorial innovation literature scarcely makes mention of these social relationships (see section 3.3), the analysis within our second research question contributes to filling this knowledge gap.

Because of the comparative structure of this dissertation, and in order to better grasp the similarities and differences within it, our second research question is answered within each individual case study.

1.4 Contributions of This Dissertation

This dissertation aims to offer a number of contributions, the strongest of which being the very definition of a Social Base within the context of cross-border cooperation (section 3.6). As the growing “cross-borderization” of regions, particularly in Europe, continues because of policy innovations (Perkmann 2003), deeper meanings will arise from the concepts laid out in this work. For the purpose of this dissertation, we chose social capital and social innovation theories as a parting point for the theoretical framework. This structure permitted us the ability to identify how the coming together of substantial theories, such as social capital and social innovation, produce a social base. We have developed a theoretical contribution to the territorial innovation model literature related to the definition of a social base. Chapter 2 serves as a basis for laying out this theoretical framework and answering our first research question.

In Chapter 3, we will encounter the second contribution of this dissertation: an analytical framework that incorporates the theories of cross-border cooperation, social capital, social innovation and territorial innovation models, while attempting to answer our second research question. Applying this analytical model to the case studies (particularly the first two, Aquitaine-Euskadi and Region Laredo (Chapters 4 & 5), and partially to the third, Öresund (Chapter 6)), permits us to more fully develop this contribution. Both the design and application of this analytical framework are a practical contribution to the cross-border region literature, providing a framework under which cross-border territories can be analyzed through the lens of the social base concept.

The third contribution of this dissertation is the establishment of the concept of bridging institutions in cross-border contexts. In Chapter 3, we highlight the factors that foster the emergence of these organizations and their participation in transforming cross-border regions. We later analyze bridging institutions in each of the case studies, allowing us to gather insight on how they develop, what their functions are, and how they operate, and ultimately allows us to more completely answer our second research question.

This dissertation also offers a glimpse into other academic arenas, including social network analysis, mixed-methods and highly narrative visualizations, each of which allows for a more complete studying of cross-border cooperation. A fourth contribution of this dissertation is the development and implementation of a survey that applies social network analysis as a complimentary method for analyzing a social base within cross-border regions. The survey detail explained in section 2.2.6 and its preliminary results in appendix (1) allow for the potential in advancement of future research.

Finally, a fifth contribution of this dissertation is the application of the learning from differences framework (section 2.2.7) to cross-border cooperation. The use of this approach allowed for better integration of this dissertation's comparative case study analysis and results.

1.5 Dissertation Structure

To be able to comply with and give better clarity to our research objectives, this dissertation is divided into four parts (figure 1.2) that jointly help us to integrate our research subjects. Part I provides a brief explanation of the road that led to this dissertation, an introduction to our research questions and methodology, and a first hand explanation of the significance of the three case studies explored in particular. Part II provides the theoretical foundations of our research by presenting an approximation of cross-border development, territorial development, territorial innovation models, social capital and social innovation; all essential ingredients to the formulation of this dissertation. Each of the literature strands researched come together in our analytical framework, which provides the structural flow of this research. Part III serves as the heart of this dissertation, presenting the three case studies and the application of our analytical framework within each one. Finally, Part IV allows us the opportunity to conclude with learning from the differences between the case studies as well as leaving some final remarks and future research opportunities.

 **dissertation structure**

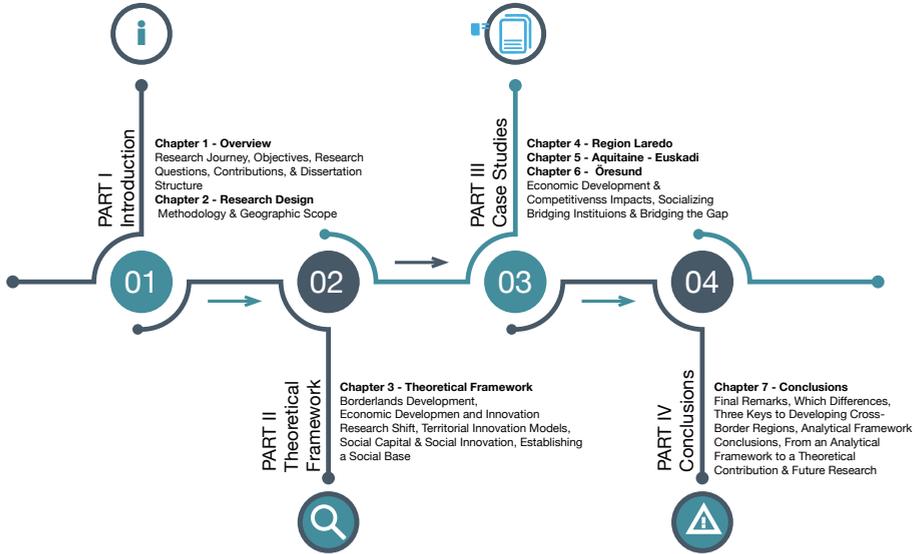


figure 1.2

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2

RESEARCH DESIGN

This chapter consists of an introduction to and description of how this dissertation was methodologically constructed. The first section focuses on outlining why a comparative case study research approach was adopted. An integral contribution to this dissertation was the application of the 'Learning from Differences' perspective as a means by which to compare the selection of diverse case studies that we have considered; this concept is explained in the third part of this section. We finish this chapter by detailing the geographic scope of the three case studies: Region Laredo, Aquitaine - Euskadi, and Öresund.

2.1 Introduction

As indicated in our 'Research Journey (section 1.1)', the research of this dissertation is profoundly influenced by the extensive time the author has spent in cross-border regions. From this, arises the principal idea of analyzing the impacts that a social element within economics and social relations have on competitiveness and economic development strategies in cross-border regions. These life experiences combined with an identifiable gap in the literature (a lack of practical examples and frameworks by which to analyze this unique issue), and access to relevant data were all precursors to the author's ultimate decision to focus his research on this subject matter. The overall research design was later complemented by the author's time spent living in San Sebastian, Spain, the heart of the Aquitaine - Euskadi Cross-border region.

The general question that we first consider is: how does the social side of economics affect the advancement of cross-border regions? This broad question was the result of discussions with my dissertation director, other Ph.D. colleagues, as well as family and friends, all of whom were personally familiar with life in a cross-border region. Ultimately, we complimented this research question (Yin 2009) with the following proposition: the establishment of social capital in cross-border regions was not a sufficient catalyst for the advancement of these regions; social innovations were needed as well (Asheim and Moodysson 2008, Calzada 2014; Garlick, Kresl, and Vaessen 2006; Lundquist and Tripp 2009; Maskell and Tornqvist 1999, Nauwelaers, Maguire, and Ajmone Marsan 2013). Early in the research, it became clear that a consideration of two such broad concepts was going to require a mechanism by which they could be channeled into something more operationalized for a field study. This mechanism became the concept of bridging institutions, which we will explore further in section 2.2.3 (and in chapters 4,5, and 6).

2.2 Methodology

This dissertation applies explanatory research as our primary method of case study analysis. Explanatory case studies present data through cause-effect relationships, allowing us to explain how events occurred and are related (Yin 2009). Our research was conducted employing a mixed-method approach, which combines mostly qualitative and some quantitative research, as well as case study analysis for the interpretation of our findings. Creswell (2009) states that utilizing a mixed-methods approach results in a transformative research design, which combined with the structure of an overall theoretical lens results in more dynamic research. This theoretical perspective is explained in sections 3.1 and 3.3 and includes Cross-Border Development and Territorial Innovation Systems literature.

2.2.1 Speculative Design

This dissertation utilizes speculative design as a means of visually communicating the process, analysis, and findings of our research. Speculative design is “a genre of graphic design that mixes information design, visualization and visual rhetoric” (Boehnert 2012: 107). This method of visually communicating socially and politically significant data has garnered a role for presenting information in a more aesthetic way that permits the readers a better grasp of it and an easier basis for discussions (Kim and DiSalvo 2010).

Throughout the Ph.D. process, the author has gained both knowledge of and an appreciation for these visual resources as tools to facilitate research sharing. From the presentation of something as simple as a quote or as illustrative as charts and diagrams, the intention is to provide visuals concurrently with our research in order that the reader may more readily grasp and interpret it.

2.2.2 Qualitative Research

According to Gummesson (2005) one goal of qualitative research is to generate theory, though according to Broda (2006) and Naderer & Balzer (2007), qualitative data can be difficult to measure, but possesses dynamic and valuable information that is difficult to collect and process via alternative methods, specifically quantitative methods. This type of information is usually extracted through the personal, exhaustive and connected conversations held by the interviewer and interviewee.

This dissertation utilizes speculative design as a means of visually communicating the process, analysis, and findings of our research. Speculative design is “a genre of graphic design that mixes information design, visualization and visual rhetoric”
Joanna Boehnert

Because of the illustrative and intuitive nature of this dissertation, deductive qualitative research was conducted in order to participate in a process of descriptive theory building. Paul R. Carlile and Clayton M. Christensen (2005) discuss the three steps required for deductive descriptive theory building: defining relationships, classification and observation. The first of these three steps includes the first approximation and description of the research subject (in the case of this dissertation the author's own accounts of living a great part of his life in cross-border regions) (YIn 2009). The second stage of classification occurs when the researcher categorizes the attributions of his research, which within this dissertation takes place in the production of each of the case studies (step 1 of the methodology). Finally, the third stage involves observing the associations and correlations between the research subjects, which within this dissertation takes place during the fourth stage of our methodology, 'Learning from Differences.' This dissertation is then deductive because it constructs its analytical framework from previously established theories and then utilizes this framework to analyze and contrast the three different case studies (see Section 3.6.1).

methodology

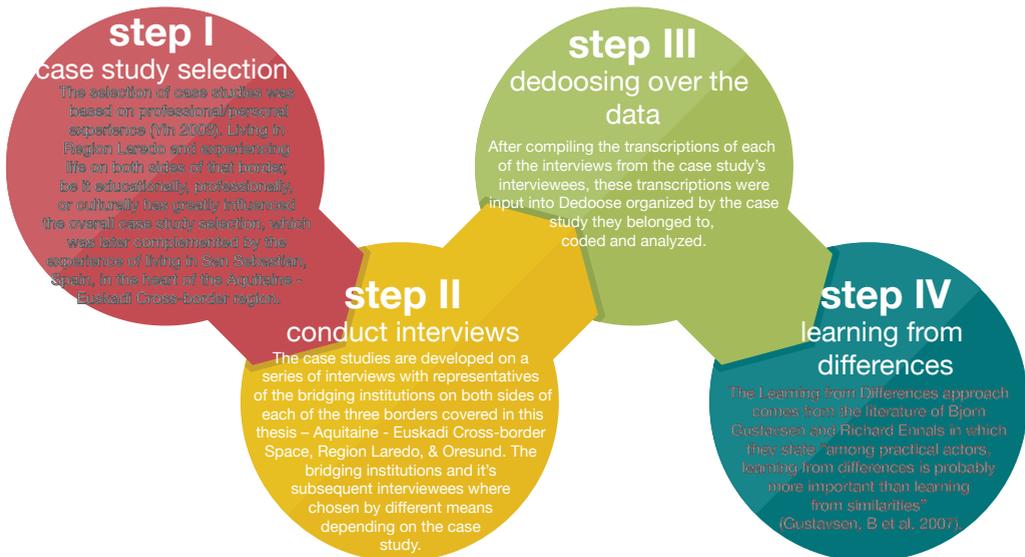


figure 2.1

The next section describes this four-step process (figure 2.1) in greater detail. Specifically, the methodology of this dissertation is comprised of: the case study selection, the interview conduction, dedoosing the data, and learning from differences.

2.2.3. Step I - Why Comparative Case Studies?

This dissertation attempts to bridge a gap identified in the literature and applies existing theoretical strands in order to develop a theory that can be applied to diverse case studies. According to Eisendhardt (1989), theory development and its corresponding use to understand occurrences can be achieved using a case study approach. Case studies are used widely and variedly in different research environments and are considered highly rigorous and valid research instruments (Hartley 2004). Because case studies are a solitary unit of analysis, they allow for greater depth and exhaustive research coverage (Jacobs and Ball 1996). Yin (2009, 18) defines a case study as an “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident”. Meanwhile Johnston et al. (1999) states “case study research consists of a detailed investigation that attempts to provide an analysis of the context and processes in the phenomenon under study” (1999, 203). Hence, a case study is an instrument utilized to understand in depth real-life occurrences within their natural contextualized surroundings. Case studies permit the researcher to construct or apply theoretical models maintaining the all-important holistic quality of real life events (Yin 2009).

According to Yin (2009) case studies are most relevant when answering either descriptive questions-- “what”, or explanatory questions-- “how”. As seen in section 1.3, this dissertation’s research questions, which will be answered in our theoretical chapter and within each particular case study, can be construed as descriptive (research question 1) and explanatory (research question 2). Bearing this in mind, the case study presentation within this dissertation is attributable to the basis of qualitative research for explanatory purposes as described by Yin (2009). Through this research, we attempt to determine how social relationships in cross-border economic activity impact economic development and competitiveness strategies. Based on the explanatory nature of the research questions, studying several cases was determined to be the best option for analysis.

Yin (2009) also notes that an important problem with case studies is defining the unit of analysis or the actual case or cases to be researched. Clear definitions of the case(s) are important in order to clearly distinguish the data that is to be gathered about the phenomenon at issue. A multiple-case design exists when data from more than one case is gathered and analyzed (as is the case of this dissertation) and is regularly considered a fuller approach to theory development (Yin 2009). Multiple-case research is intended to examine occurrences through a process of replication, which requires that the selection of each case study be carefully planned so that it either achieves similar results (a literal replication) or contrasting ones (a theoretical replication) (Yin 2009).

Accordingly, considering a theoretical replication, research was conducted on three different cases to be able to recognize and compare the different impacts manifested through these social relationships. (Eisenhardt 1989; Yin 1989).

Taking into account Yin's (2009) multiple-cases embedded approach (in which different cases found in different contexts are researched in order to increase the potential for generalization), this dissertation ultimately includes the consideration of three case studies: Region Laredo, Aquitaine - Euskadi Cross-Border Space, and Öresund.

As previously touched upon in Section 1.1 (Research Journey), our initial decision to research and compare multiple case studies (as opposed to a singular focus on Region Laredo) arose at the suggestion of the doctoral committee. Bearing this suggestion in mind and taking into account Yin's (2009) multiple-cases embedded approach (in which different cases found in different contexts are researched in order to increase the potential for generalization), this dissertation ultimately includes the consideration of three case studies: Region Laredo, Aquitaine - Euskadi Cross-Border Space, and Öresund. The selection of the first two of these case studies (Region Laredo and Aquitaine-Euskadi) reflects Yin's (2009) emphasis upon access to data

when selecting the cases to be studied. For reasons of proximity, access to resources, and an increased potential to answer our research questions, it was decided that the Aquitaine–Euskadi Cross-Border Space would also be added to our case study lineup. The final case study considered emerged as an obvious resource through a review of literature on successful cross-border cooperation. There appeared to be a general consensus among most relevant scholars (Asheim and Moodysson 2008, Calzada 2014; Garlick, Kresl, and Vaessen 2006; Lundquist and Tripp 2009; Maskell and Tornqvist 1999, Nauwelaers, Maguire, and Ajmone Marsan 2013) on the dynamic and exemplary quality of the Öresund region case. In sum and individually, these three case studies offered contrasting economic, cultural, and social characteristics ripe for analysis, attributes which may optimize our ability to formulate a more dynamic theory (Eisenhardt 1989) and potentially achieve theoretical replication (Yin 2009). And through the adoption of a case study comparison approach, we aim to offer an increased understanding of each region, particularly as they compare to each other—and ultimately, learn from their differences (Gustavsen, B., Nyhan, B. and Ennals, R. 2007).

This dissertation then consists of a comparative multiple-case study embracing the three cases mentioned above, which are all representative or typical cases (Yin 2009). While the three cases are not literal replications, per se, they do reflect differences allowing us, above all, to analyze our analytical framework and research questions in



interviews date chart and descriptions

case study I			
interviewee/ bridging institution	date	place	type
subject a border liaison mechanism	09-17-2012	usa consulate general nuevo laredo, mexico	face to face
subject a lared2	02-19-2013	lared2 office nuevo laredo, mexico	face to face
subject a economic development coop.	02-19-2013	laredo develop. foundation laredo, usa	face to face
subject b economic development coop.	02-19-2013	industrial develop. committee nuevo laredo, mexico	face to face
subject c economic development coop.	02-20-2013	industrial develop. committee nuevo laredo, mexico	face to face
subject a tamiu binational center	02-21-2013	tamiu binational center laredo, usa	face to face
subject a custom brokers association	02-21-2013	custom brokers association nuevo laredo, mexico	face to face
subject a border liaison mechanism	08-21-2013	mexico consulate general laredo, usa	face to face
case study II			
interviewee/ bridging institution	date	place	type
subject b aquitaine - euskadi euroregion	6-25-2012 11-16-2012	cross border cooperation office san sebastian, spain	face to face
subject a bihartean	11-21-2012	gipuzkoa chamber of commerce san sebastian, spain	face to face
subject a bayonne - san sebastian eurocity	11-26-2012	gipuzkoa foral department san sebastian, spain	face to face
subject b aquitaine - euskadi euroregion	11-28-2012	aquitaine - euskadi euroregion hendaya, france	face to face
subject a assoc of european border regions	12-03-2012	gronau, germany	skype
subject a bayonne - san sebastian eurocity	12-05-2012	gipuzkoa foral department san sebastian, spain	face to face
subject a euskampus - cross-border camp.	12-05-2012	gipuzkoa foral department san sebastian, spain	face to face
case study III			
interviewee/ bridging institution	date	place	type
subject a oresund chamber industry & com	10-29-2013	malmo, sweden	skype
subject a medicon valley alliance	11-04-2013	copenhagen, denmark	skype

each one of them.

Within each case study's regional context, we identified the unit of analysis as bridging institutions, which can be defined as "councils that act as intermediaries between governments and the rest of the innovation system"(Van der Veen & Reid 2005). The case studies are then built upon a series of interviews with representatives of the bridging institutions on both sides of each of the three border spaces considered in this dissertation (table 2.2). Ever since the first interviews were conducted some participants requested that their names not be used. For the purpose of this dissertation, no harm existed in keeping their names anonymous, on the contrary having access to unrestricted views permitted us a better analysis of data for our research. The decision was then made to keep their names anonymous and use labels such as subject a, b, and c as well as the name of their respective bridging institution.

We dedicate one chapter to each of the three cross-border regions, through which we explore each case study's respective dynamic strengths and informative weaknesses (Ch. 4, 5 and 6). Within these chapters, we will explore the application of our analytical framework (section 3.6), and each of its three steps to each case study. The conclusions of this dissertation serve in some capacity as an analytical summary by integrating the three case studies (following Yin (2009) who states "both the individual cases and the multiple-case results can and should be the focus of a summary report" (2003, 50).

2.2.4 Step II- Interview process

Conducting interviews as a method for qualitative research allows the researcher to widen his understanding of the study areas (Jarratt 1996). For this dissertation, semi-structured interviews with a variety of subjects were conducted, allowing us to more profoundly explore the issues that furthered our research interests (Malhotra 1993). This type of interview also gives way to a broader assessment of the research subject (Mathews 2005), while allowing us to discover and learn about the causes and viewpoints of the more delicate issues within our study (Malhotra 2002).

Purposive sampling was adopted as the selection strategy for our interviews. Purposive sampling is a non-probability sampling technique, which relies on the criteria of the researcher to this end (Cooper and Schindler 2001). By allowing the researcher to set these selection criteria, interviews are enriched, can produce more valuable information, and enabling a better understanding of the significant relationship between the theory and the study (Patton 1990).

The selection of bridging institutions and its respective interviewees for this dissertation was conducted on a case-to-case basis. For the first case study, Region Laredo, the bridging institutions were identified based on personal knowledge gained

by the author's work and living experience within that region. In Case Study II, Aquitaine - Euskadi, the identification of the bridging institutions arose from an interview with Miguel Angel Crespo, who was at the time coordinating the cross-border relations for the Basque Government. And for the third case study, Öresund, the identification of the bridging institutions were inspired by the analysis and subsequent communication with Claire Neuwalaers regarding her work for the OECD on Öresund (Nauwelaers, Maguire, and Ajmone Marsan 2013), and other relevant literature highlighting this case study's exemplary qualities (Calzada 2011; Garlick, Kresl, and Vaessen 2006; Lundquist and Trippel 2009; Maskell and Tornqvist 1999). The study of these three diverse borders gives us the opportunity to observe how, within cross-border regions, bridging institutions impact the development of social relationships, and how those relationships impact economic development and competitiveness strategies. Data collection was carried out by way of semi-structured, one-to-one interviews (appendix 2) lasting about an hour and a half each, throughout the period of June to December 2012, and October to November 2013.

Qualitative data collection approaches exist in the form of interviews, oral history, focus groups, observation, etc. (Luna- Reyes and Andersen 2003). As noted above, this dissertation conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews following a set interview guide composition (table 2.3). This guide for interview structure (along with our dissertation supervisor) allowed us to develop an interview questionnaire in order that we might gain new and insightful knowledge from relevant sources (McNamara 1999).

As we see in the following table (2.3), for each of the bridging institutions, we aim to identify their core social base, which is comprised of the concepts of social capital and social innovation. Then the importance of these bridging institutions and their social base in relation to cross-border economic development and competitiveness is explored. To be able to establish these linkages, we first asked: how does a bridging institution interact and what actors were involved in these cross-border interactions? Once certain interactions were identified within our interviews, we then considered how these interactions led to the establishment of social capital (trust, networks or developing a shared vision) and whether or not this type of interaction could be considered a social innovation. And our final observation included determining whether these interactions ultimately had an impact on cross-border economic development and competitiveness strategies.



interview guide composition

stage I	components	interview section
bridging institutions	1.1 context 1.2 actors 1.3 cooperation	1.1 1.2 a 1.3
stage II	components	interview section
social base	2.1 barriers 2.2 social capital 2.2.1 trust 2.2.2 networks 2.2.3 shared Vision 2.3 social innovation 2.3.1 social need 2.3.2 innovative act	2.1 2.2 social capital 2.2.1.a. , b, c, & d 2.2.2 a, & b 2.2.3 a, b, & c 2.3 social innovation 2.3.1 a, & b 2.3.2 a, & b
stage III	components	interview section
economic develop. & competitiveness strat.	3.1 public policy involvement 3.2 economic dev. & comp. promotion 3.3 cross-border public policy development	3.1 a, b & c 3.2 a, & b 3.3 a, & b

Based on Seidman, I. (2006).

table 2.3

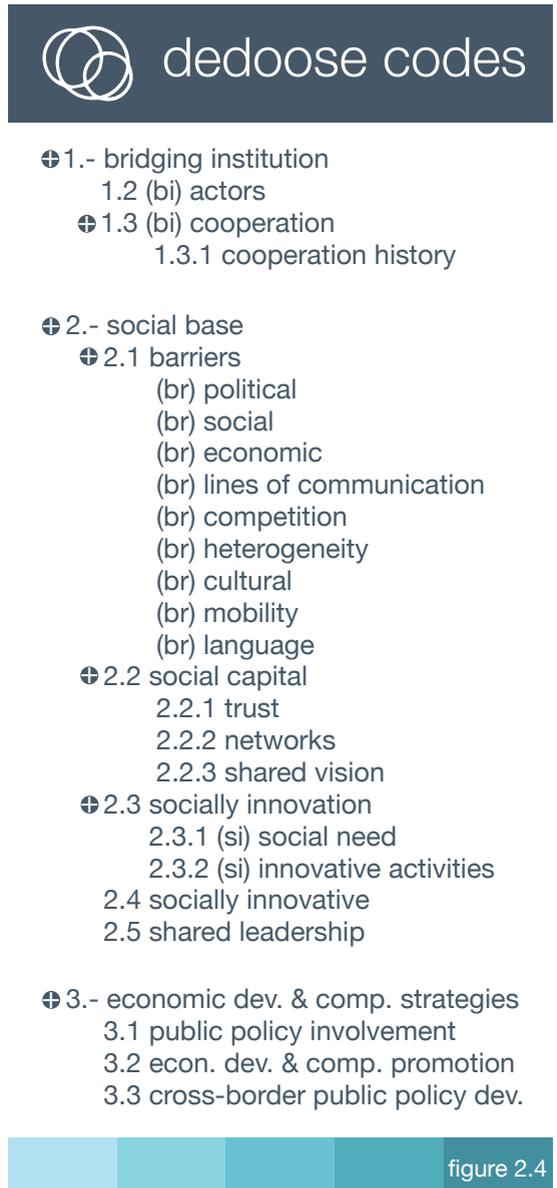
2.2.5 Step III - Dedoosing over the data

The interviews conducted with subjects from each bridging institution were digitally recorded and transcribed to facilitate their analysis. Once the data was collected it was analyzed thematically, allowing us to identify classifications and themes relating to our data (Bryman 2002). According to Namey et al. (2008), "thematic analysis moves beyond counting explicit words or phrases and focuses on identifying and describing both implicit and explicit ideas. Codes developed for ideas or themes are then applied or linked to raw data as summary markers for later analysis, which may include comparing the relative frequencies of themes or topics within a data set, looking for code-occurrence

or graphically displaying code relationships” (138). At first glance, this analysis allowed us to observe how bridging institutions work in different cross-border contexts. Then, Dedoose, version 4.2.75, which allows mixed-methods analysis, visualization of text-based data, and integration of quantitative data was utilized to allow for the coding and interpretation of the data based on the analytical model (Ryan & Bernard 2003). This deeper analysis allowed us a better understanding us to understand several of the issues that arose with regard to bridging institutions: what type of interactions were occurring and by whom, was social capital being established, did these bridging institutions qualify as social innovations, and finally what were these organizations accomplishing in terms of economic development and competitiveness. This section explains the research completed using Dedoose to facilitate a conceptual grasp of the information for this dissertation.

As explained above, Dedoose is a web application that facilitates mixed-method analysis of research data. After compiling the transcriptions of each of the interviews from the case study’s interviewees, these transcriptions were run through the Dedoose software, and organized based on the case study they belonged to. Three projects were developed with this web application, one for each of the case studies. Once the data (interview text) was accessible for analysis through Dedoose, it was coded based on the interview guides and the information gathered in the interviews (figure 2.4).

Text excerpts were then arranged by codes and evolving themes were signaled. These themes were identified through repetitive patterns within the interviewee’s responses, and were then segmented by their respective number of mentions. Our conclusions for this dissertation applied cross-case analysis by utilizing our categories



and coded data facilitating comparisons within our case studies (Douglas 2003;Patton 1990).

The codification of this information allows us to identify quotes within the interviews that can then be used to formulate the case studies. These quotes were then analyzed accounting for the context in which they were made, and then employed as a functional support for the building of our case studies. The visual analysis tools available through the Dedoose web application, allowed us to visually structure and understand the information gathered from the interviews, and ultimately to visually demonstrate how actively involved each bridging institution was within the different units of analysis for each of the case studies. The measurement of the concepts integral to the Social Base approach (social capital and social innovation) applied in this dissertation were formulated and put together in great part through the use of these visual elements of Dedoose. And the graphs utilized in the three-stage analytical model for each case study were also created with Dedoose.

Being able to visually analyze and represent deductions from our interviews (refer to sections 4.3, 5.3, and 6.3) allows us to more easily arrive at the conclusions drawn at the end of this dissertation (chapter 7). As stated before, a thematic analysis approach was employed to classify themes that might help explain the relationships between establishing a social base and its impacts on economic development and competitiveness strategies. Using this approach facilitated the generation of an association between our data and our theory, allowing for a better application of the multiple-case comparative method.

2.2.6 Survey Application for Social Network Analysis

To further assess the role of bridging institutions with regard to cross-border cooperation, a web-based survey was designed to apply social network analysis to examine the quantity and quality of relationships between people and agents intervening in cross-border development. Unfortunately, we did not receive the amount of responses necessary for a representative sample, and ultimately decided to document the process here, but send the preliminary results to an appendix (1). It is worth noting, however, that the innovative and complementary nature of this survey can be considered as a cross-border cooperation tool to shape further studies within the context of our research subjects.

This Qualtrics web-based survey (figure 2.5) was conducted in the month of June 2013, amid the 823 members of Bihartean – Gipuzkoa – Bayonne Cross-Border Chamber of Commerce, a bridging institution considered in our second case study, located in Bayonne, France and San Sebastian, Spain. With the advisement of our dissertation

director and a relevant scholar in the field of qualitative research, the survey was designed and emailed by way of the director of the bridging institution motivating its members to participate in the survey as a way of continuing the growth of its association (appendix 1). The participants could then access the secure website from a link provided within this email, and were then instructed as to completing the 30 questions (including their demographic information).

 sample web survey



¿Cuánta relación personal tiene usted con...

	Relaciones personales directas (cara a cara)					Relaciones personales no directas (vía carta, e-mail, teléfono o similar)				
	Mucho	Bastante	Poco	Nada	NS/NC	Mucho	Bastante	Poco	Nada	NS/NC
Miembros / Empresas (Gipuzkoa) de Bihartean	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Miembros / Empresas (B ayonne) de Bihartean	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Personal de Bihartean y de las Cámaras de Comercio de Gipuzcoa y Bayonne	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Personas con cargo político del Espacio Transfronterizo Aquitania - Euskadi en relación a la cooperación transfronteriza	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Personas de instituciones académicas relacionadas con la cooperación transfronteriza Aquitania - Euskadi	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Personas de centros tecnológicos y clusters relacionadas con la cooperación transfronteriza Aquitania - Euskadi	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Diría usted que Bihartean le ha proporcionado:

	Mucho	Bastante	Poco	Nada	NS/NC
Mayor compromiso respecto del entorno de la cooperación transfronteriza en el Espacio Transfronterizo Aquitania - Euskadi.	<input type="radio"/>				
Oportunidades de negocios transfronterizos	<input type="radio"/>				
Valor añadido a su empresa	<input type="radio"/>				
Sentimiento de solidaridad, de comunidad.	<input type="radio"/>				
Relaciones sociales.	<input type="radio"/>				

qualtrics web-based survey

figure 2.5

A web-based survey was chosen because of its increasing popularity among computer users, and due to ease of use for the researcher (obtaining large amounts of data without hiring physical employees). Web-based surveys also allow data to be easily collected and transferred to statistical software without significant hassle (Witt 1998). But with these conveniences also arise complications—particularly in the form of online distractions, other surveys dividing participants’ attention, and unfinished surveys (Couper 2000). Couper (2000) also notes that web-based surveys fail to achieve the response rates of the more traditional mail survey.

In spite of these obstacles, the survey was determined to be beneficial to the development of cross-border cooperation research as it incorporated newer and more productive methods of data analysis (such as social network analysis). Qualtrics was selected as the host for this survey because it offered the best user interface and controls for our research needs. The results are presented in several ways, allowing for optimal sharing of findings, or there is the option for the user to download and analyze them according to their individual format preferences (as presented in appendix 1).

The questionnaire titled, “Analysis and Diagnostics of Social Capital in Bihartean with relation to Cross-Border Cooperation” was developed based on an existing survey developed by Alazne Mujika et al. (2010), for evaluating social capital within organizations. This existing survey (which was inspired by Robert D. Putnam’s Saguaro Seminar: Civic engagement in America) made this an acceptable tool from which to adapt the survey questions for our research.

When creating our survey, we based the content of our questions on the theoretical constructs of our dissertation with regard to social capital (see section 3.5.2): trust (questions 6 & 7), shared vision (question 5) and networks (questions 8 & 9). Having this in mind permitted us the observations necessary to establish social capital within the bridging institutions. As social innovation is another major part of our social base concept, we also formulated questions (12-16) to measure for this subject based on the perception of the bridging institution members. Finally, the social network participation section of the survey permits us to do some preliminary methods of social network analysis allowing for us to document the presence of cross-border cooperation between the members of the bridging institution.

Having all of the constructs based on major theoretical foundations developed by academic rigor and also having the basis for our questionnaire pre-tested in different organizations, both public and private (Mujika et al. 2010), allows us the face validity necessary to conduct it.

2.2.7 Step IV - Learning from Differences

Within this dissertation and its three diverse case studies, we consider a number of examples as to how a social base impacts economic development and competitiveness strategies. For the purposes of our research, as explained in the case studies, we chose to compare a long standing, socially hindered, and highly informal region - Region Laredo, an up and coming, highly

“among practical actors, learning from differences is probably more important than learning from similarities”

Bjorn Gustavsen & Richard Ennals

institutionalized cross-border region - Aquitaine - Euskadi, and a young, dynamic and innovative cross-border area - Öresund. And ultimately, the goal was to provide a case study comparison, while focusing on the understanding of each case as it compared to the others—effectively, ‘learning from differences.’

The Learning from Differences approach arises from the literature of Bjorn Gustavsen and Richard Ennals in which they state, “among practical actors, learning from differences is probably more important than learning from similarities” (Gustavsen, B., Nyhan, B. and Ennals, R. 2007). In order for the method to be valid, case-to-case comparisons are needed in which “each case can function as a background for the others” (Gustavsen, B., Nyhan, B. and Ennals, R. 2007). According to Gustavsen and Ennals, more diverse case studies allow for a better opportunity to learn from differences, and while diversity is essential we must also have comparable case studies that have something in common as well.

Gustavsen, Nyhan and Ennals (2007) refer to learning from differences as an open concept, giving us the basics to implement it, but at the same time, they do not develop a methodology for it. Parting from Gustavsen and Ennals’ literature, for the purpose of this dissertation, we propose a four-stage process designed to better conceptualize ‘Learning from Differences’ and develop the concluding chapter.



Figure 2.6, above, attempts to illustrate what we gather from Ennals’ Learning from

Differences. With this illustration, we also venture to capture the process, which will help us delineate the case study comparison. In sections 7.2 and 7.3, we express our own interpretation of this process in terms of an approach that guides the case study comparative in this dissertation. Ennals (2014) establishes that a preparatory study phase includes the establishment of a core background, including ideas, language and power relationships. In the first step within this framework, Ennals' (2014) elaborates on his exploratory phase by stating that anybody attempting to study a society or culture should look into frequently cited case studies. The first step then is to "Identify the Case Studies". It is understood that a certain commonality must exist in order that the case studies be worth comparing in the first place.

In this dissertation, while the three case studies are comparably different, they all deal with cross-border cooperation and the emergence of unique bridging institutions that promote this collaboration. The three case studies identified (section 2.2.3) share commonness primarily in their cross-border origins.

The second step in the learning from differences framework is to "Live the Experience". Learning from Differences is best applied when the author has a deep understanding of the case studies he is comparing. Richard Ennals (2014) tells us that being deeply involved, rooted and researched in each case study allows us to better grasp and identify differences in each case study, which then initiates the learning process. For example, gaining first hand knowledge by working, living, or researching a referred case study allows us a better understanding of the day-to-day intricacies of the cases at hand.

This second step arises in the form of the author's personal experience with and research about the first case study (Region Laredo). As explained in Chapter 1, one of the principal drivers of this research was the author's considerable involvement with local economic development and competitiveness practices as well as researching better public policies alternatives in Region Laredo. The author also 'lived the experience' of the cross-border region explored in our second case study while studying his Ph.D. Meanwhile, the selection of the third case study was based upon the frequency with which the author encountered the Öresund region cited as a successful cross-border area, as well as the author's own engagement with expert scholars.

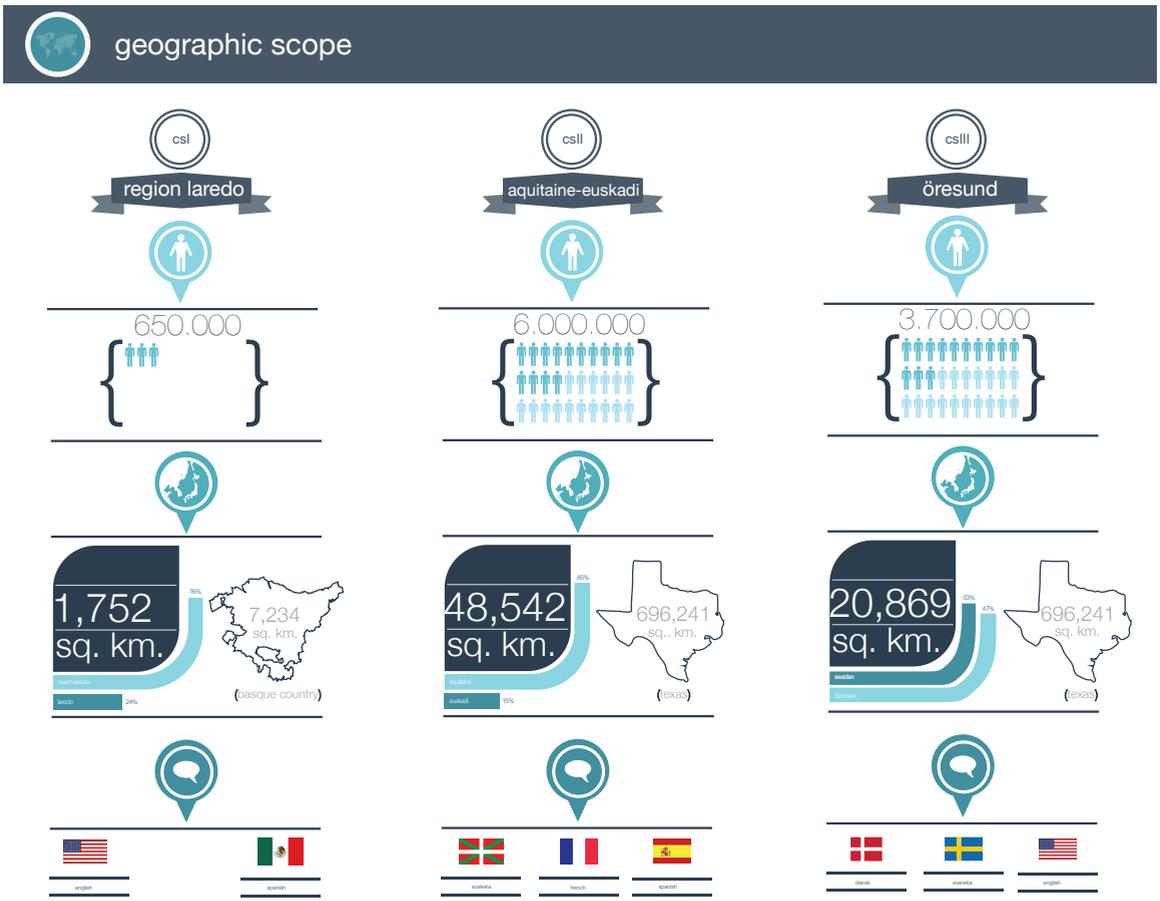
The third stage of the 'Learning from Differences' framework works best with a case study comparative in which (according to Gustavsen and Ennals (2007), each of the cases serve as a background for the rest and maintain a set amount of commonness. While traditional comparative case study literature (Woodside 2010; Yin 2009) asks that case studies be very similar when comparing them in order to identify their relativeness and function, learning from differences allows us to compare the incomparable (Ennals 2014). So, once the case studies are selected, and the author has 'lived the experience,'

the author should then identify the strengths, weaknesses and opportunities of each case, and finally learn from them.

This leads us to the final stage: ‘Learning from Differences’. This step in the framework is based on Shotter’s (2006, 2007, 2013 as cited in Ennals 2014) views on learning from encounters. In our particular case, these ‘encounters’ would include the comparison of our experiences with the second and third case studies against our familiar background with the first case study. So, while we are, in the end comparing heterogeneous contexts with diverse settings, we can identify a common language between them, giving us a starting point from which to learn from differences. Lastly, Ennals (2014) teaches us that this leads our audience to be able to relate to our case comparison and to draw from their possible experience.

In our conclusion (Chapter 7), we state the differences encountered within our case studies and the different learning opportunities they leave for each other.

2.3 Geographic Scope



As stated earlier, this dissertation employs a consideration of the social side of economics and its relation to cross-border regions, and the term 'cross-border region' is utilized indiscriminately for the three case studies, irrespective of the size of the cross-border area. Meanwhile, Territorial Innovation Systems literature allows us to conduct this research within the context of different scales, principally, the regional and local scales. The regional scale is then viewed more clearly in case study II and III, while the local scale is viewed in case study I and partially in case study II.

A brief description of the three cross-border regions (figure 2.7) that this dissertation considers is found below.

2.3.1 Region Laredo

Region Laredo encompasses the cross-border cities of Laredo, Texas and Nuevo Laredo, Tamaulipas and is located at the southern border of the United States with Mexico. This twin city was founded as a single Mexican town, Villa de San Agustin de Laredo, in 1755, and later (as a result of the Mexican - American War in 1848), was divided into the two cities that currently form the basis for this cross-border region. According to Arreola (1996), twin cities are "communities that have been generated from one seed" (357). Today, Region Laredo has over 650,000 inhabitants, and is considered one of the six major metropolitan twin cities along the United States and Mexico border (Plan de Gran Vision 2040).

Three international vehicular crossings and one Railroad Bridge unite Region Laredo, and holds the title of Customs Capital of Latin America, while it accounts for the logistic handling of over 1.5 billion USD in trade between the United States and Mexico. This strategic geographic location places Region Laredo directly at the center of the US-MEX border relations, that together with its physical and human capital infrastructure makes this region a critical participant in the everyday dealings between Mexico and the United States.

As explained in section 1.1, the selection of Region Laredo as a case study was greatly influenced by the extensive amount of time spent and active engagement in the economic development community by the author in cross-border area. Combined with this very personal experience, was the added benefit of access to data (Yin 2009), which as we will later see is of particular value when considered within the 'Live the Experience Stage' of 'Learning from Differences' (Ennals, 2014).

While both of the cities making up this region no doubt share responsibility and claim over the bustling economic activity related to international trade, the social, economic and political disparities on both sides of the border are substantial. Case Study I will explain, in detail, the realities facing Region Laredo and how the Social Base produced

by its bridging institutions might be the catalyst for potential solutions in the region, and other comparable cross-border spaces.

2.3.2 Aquitaine - Euskadi

Bordering the Aquitaine region of the French Basque Country in southwest France is the Basque Country (Euskadi in Basque) on the Northern coast of Spain. The Basque Country is particularly well situated economically within Spain, as it represents the wealthiest part of the country, the northeastern area.

According to the EUSTAT website, the Basque Country (Euskadi) has an area of 7,234 square kilometers and in 2012 had a population of nearly 2.2 million people (4.6% of that of Spain, which has 45.6 million), a GDP of \$74,217 million (6.2% of Spain, which has \$1,226,280 million) and a GDP per capita of \$34,879 (compared to Spain's \$26,799).

On the French border with Euskadi, is Aquitaine, located in Southwest France surrounded by the Atlantic Ocean on one side and the Pyrenees on another. This region is the third largest in France, and it accounts for 4.5% of France's GDP with \$74,363 million, with an area of over 41,000 square kilometers, and over 3 million people inhabitants.

Together, Aquitaine and Euskadi make up the Aquitaine-Euskadi Cross-Border region. This cross-border space is an impressive and diverse area totaling approximately 7,000 square kilometers and a total population of over 6 million people.

This particular case of cross-border interaction is unique in its shared heritage, their Basque culture. Arising from this common cultural background are the following unique characteristics: two different languages (Spanish & French) plus one common language (Euskara) are spoken, two different economic structures and strategies are employed, and more than four different government administrative levels are involved in the cross-border development process, all of which make for a fascinating pattern of interaction between them.

2.3.3 Öresund

Öresund is a cross-border region situated in the heart of the Nordic countries. It is comprised of the Capital and Zealand regions in Denmark, as well as the southernmost county of Skane in Sweden; the region's population totals over 3.5 million inhabitants. This cross-border region, which is separated by the 4-kilometer wide Öresund Sound (a bordering body of water), is joined by the Öresund Bridge, a bridge/tunnel connecting both sides by auto and high-speed rail.

The significance of the role that this region plays in both Sweden and Denmark is demonstrated by the fact that the Öresund region totals over 27% of the total GDP of

both countries (Nauwelaers, Maguire, and Ajmone Marsan 2013). These numbers are even more impressive when we consider that only 25% of the combined population of both countries comprises this region (Nauwelaers, Maguire, and Ajmone Marsan 2013).

The inclusion of this region as Case Study III in this dissertation can be attributed to both the innovative nature of the Öresund region as a model of successful cross-border development, as well as the author's interaction with academic scholars well versed in the case itself. Öresund's capacity to evolve parallel to its surrounding economic and social needs was a particularly attractive characteristic in terms of research, and the successes throughout its evolution make for an even more informative study when considered under the 'Comparing Different Worlds' stage of the 'Learning from Differences' methodology explained above. Öresund's regional reaction to the world economic crisis (2007) is of particular interest as well, as the opportunity to observe and examine its resulting strategies may likely be of value to similar cross-border regions in the future.

3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK



from a literature review to an analytical model

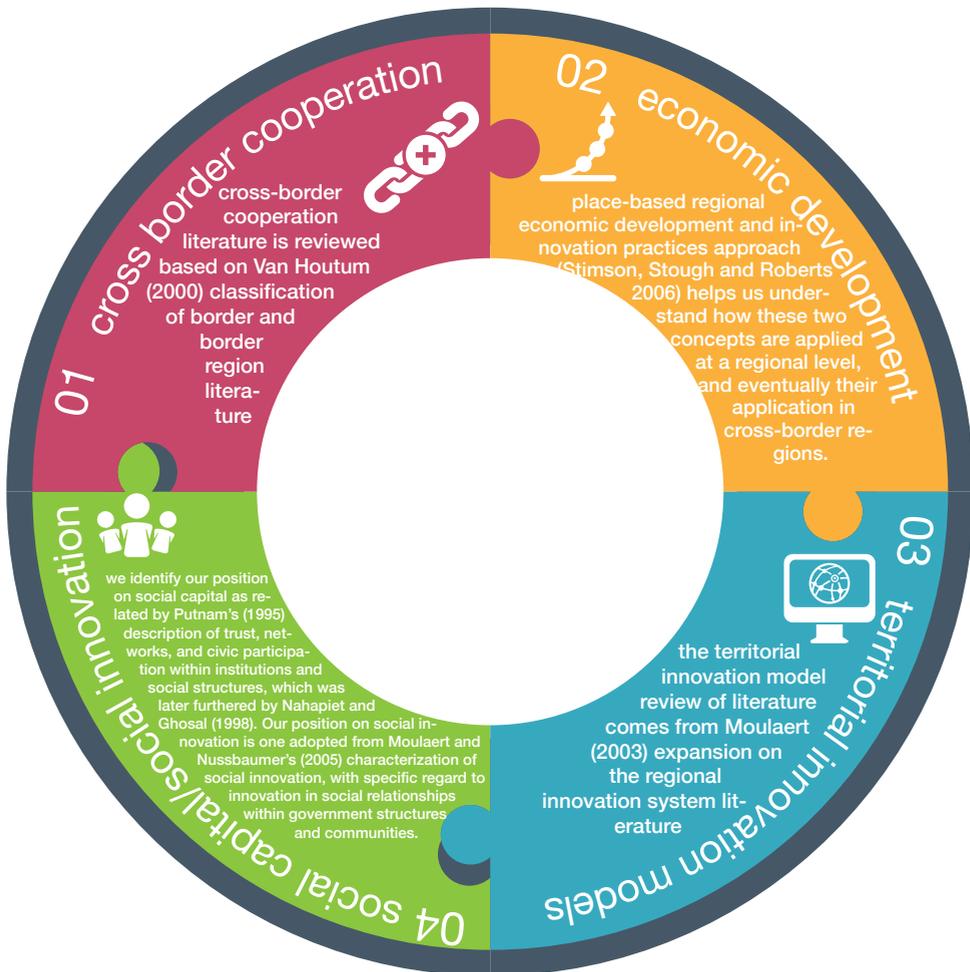


figure 3.1

A consideration of the socioeconomic factors within territorial innovation models, specifically within a cross-border context is the focus of this dissertation. Accordingly, this chapter in particular is intended to provide an overview of the literature on these subjects and a general understanding of their individuality, and ultimately their complementarity/integration. We include five sections within this chapter: 3.1 Borderlands, 3.2 Borderlands Development, 3.3 Territorial Innovation Models, 3.4 Social Capital and Social Innovation as Pillars of Socioeconomics, and section 3.5 which presents our Social Base concept and the analytical model applied to research it.

3.1 - **Borderlands**

3.1.1 - **Definition**

For this dissertation, the term 'borderland' (in the place of simply 'border') provides an improved and more accurate context for the description of the regions considered in our three case studies: Region Laredo, Aquitaine-Euskadi, and Öresund. The term 'border' more appropriately applies to what Baud and Van Schendel (1997) define as, "the political divides that were the result of state building, especially from the eighteenth century onwards" (214). Borderland, on the other hand, "deals with the region in one nation that is significantly affected by an international border" (Baud and Van Schendel 1997, 216), which is precisely the context in which our three case studies were conducted. Based on this distinction, we adopt the cross-border definition proposed, and establish the region on both sides of the border as our unit of analysis (Baud and Van Schendel 1997; Asiwaju 1993). The term 'cross-border region' is also used interchangeably with 'borderland', throughout the dissertation.

Borderlands are defined as transition regions in which their distance from the center of the country increases their citizens' exposure to external influences that often result in the formation of stronger regional institutions (Martinez 1994). Because of this distance from the center of the country of which it forms a part, a borderland usually enjoys considerable more influence from its neighboring states, than it does from within its own (Lane 2013).

Martinez (1994) distinguishes borderlands as different from the rest of the country due to the presence of three particular features: transnational interactions characterize the region, cross-cultural connections are extensive within in, and the space is separated

from its country's center. Together, these three features inform our further consideration of borderlands as unique geographic spaces that are best researched with equally unique approaches.

The first feature, the presence of transnational interactions, presents a borderland as a zone where governments and citizens come together to cooperate with, and perhaps in spite of, considerably differing social, cultural and economic agendas (Martinez 1994). Both the extent and quality of such cross-border interactions shape the borderland (McKinsey and Konrad 1989; Martinez 1994) and are usually determinants of a region's developmental strengths and weaknesses.

The second feature of borderlands considers the cross-cultural connections maintained by citizens of these regions. Increased connections with the 'other' (side) play a significant role in shaping borderlands and their cultural and social composition (Lane 2013). The distinctly cross-cultural relationships between groups within the region's society are born naturally and continue to develop in borderlands by virtue of shared geography. This scenario is present in two of our case studies: Region Laredo (Martinez 1994), and Aquitaine – Euskadi (Calzada 2011).

A third and final characteristic of borderlands is what Martinez (1994) describes as a disconnectedness of a borderland from the country's center. This tangible and conceptual distance can lead to slowed development in these regions, when compared to the pace of progress in the rest of the country (Lane 2013). Van Houtum (1998) also notes that a perceived lack of influence within borderlands on their respective national public policy can be attributed in part to this disconnectedness.

3.2 - Borderlands Development

3.2.1 Introduction

Borderland studies have over time focused primarily on physical borders and on the effects that they have on cross-border regions (Bergs, 2012; Sousa, 2012). Within the context of borderland development specifically, scholars have noted that a diversity of areas are impacted by borders themselves, including: environmental (Cohn 2007; Hannis et. al. 2013), identity development (Forsberg et al. 2006), migration and employment (van Houtum 2010), patient mobility (Glinos and Baeten 2006) and cross-border crime (Lo 2009). But apart from these physical borders, other barriers facing such cross-border regions may include 'a particular type of obstacle which restricts or impedes the smooth transfer or free movement of a person or commodity from one place to another' (Nijkamp and Batten 1990, 233). In borderlands, barriers tend to arise in a variety of contexts: administrative, physical, fiscal, institutional, technical, and cultural (Hägerstrand 1967; Abler et al. 1972; Haggett 2001; Button and Rossera 1990; Medeiros

2010; Klatt and Herrmann 2011).

Recently, the predominant view of borders as barriers has shifted to include an understanding of borders not only as barriers, but also as resources (O'Dowd 2002). David Newman and Anssi Paasi (1998) state that borders "not only separate groups and communities from each other but also mediate contacts between them" (194), while Liam O'Dowd (2002) argues that borders, apart from acting as boundaries, function as bridges and resources, depending on their need. While this shift in research explores the concept of borders under broader terms, inclusive analysis of borders and their impacts on social, economic, political and cultural development remains limited (Chen et.al., 2013; Lautze et.al. 2013).

Henk van Houtum's work may well represent a step in the direction of a more comprehensive consideration of borders. Van Houtum approaches borders and their intricate structures through a wide-reaching analysis of political, economic, socio-cultural, and psychological points of view (van Houtum 2000; van Houtum 2002; van Houtum & van Naerssen 2002; Lane 2013). For the purposes of this dissertation, we utilize his broad approach to the analysis of borderlands and the classification of cross-border cooperation as our basis for analyzing borderland development. The following section will serve as a reference point for the primary theoretical influences upon which my application of a cross-border development approach is based: (3.2.2) The Flow Approach, (3.2.3) Cross-Border Cooperation Approach, and the People Approach (3.2.4).

3.2.2 The Flow Approach

The study of borders with particular regard to their steadiness or weakening of economic flows across boundaries is a main attribute of this approach (van Houtum 2000). Regional and border economic importance is a key element of regional integration, as considered in the works of authors August Lösch (1940) and Herbert Giersch (1949). Lösch (1940) in his seminal work, titled *The Economics of Location*, expressed his belief that two countries could very well grow the distance between its existing borders by imposing tariffs within them. Lösch viewed the imposition of tariffs as having such a deep impact on the establishment of borders that he compared it to the other more natural barriers. "Differences in language, in requirements, and in national character have the same effect as customs duties" (1940, 200). According to van Houtum (2000) Lösch continued his focus on the negative impacts that borders have on economic flows by stating, "Boundaries cause economic losses, and double boundaries--economic and political--mean doubled

"Boundaries cause economic losses, and double boundaries, economic and political, mean doubled losses."

August Lösch

losses" (1940, 205). He concludes with the assertion that as a result of these boundaries, border regions resemble deserts or wastelands, and remain attractive only within a limited category and number of activities.

Geographical scholar Samuel Whittemore Boggs, in his seminal work *International Boundaries* (1940), arrived at a conclusion similar to Lössch (1940), arguing that borders impede economic ties (van Houtum 2000). In the same vein and throughout the same era, as did the scholars mentioned above, Herbert Giersch (1949) explored the ramifications of political borders and found their impact to be a reduction of the dimensions of potential markets (van Houtum 2000). Van Houtum (2000) notes that scholarly "focus on the impact of borders, on the flow of economic activities, should model the impacts of borders as though they increased the physical distance (van Houtum 2000: 60)". This particular line of thought gave way to an evolving scholarly consideration of the physical distance component of the spatial economic and regional economic approaches within the study of borders and cross-border (van Houtum 2000). According to (van Houtum 2000) and within the application of a 'flow approach', border areas suffer because of their direct proximity to the border. The consideration of borders as a physical barrier or separator also implies that the measurement of accessibility and interactions between cities within The Flow Approach is calculated in terms of transport costs.

The Flow Approach focuses on the physical flow of goods and services across a border, while accounting for the impacts on economic competitiveness directly related to taking place within the same border region. Economists and geographers in the research of borderland interactions most commonly adopt this approach. Cross-border transactions, including the manufacturing of goods (Stoddard 1987), retail services (Pisani and Yoskowitz 2001), and illegal contraband (Bowden 2000), are all examples of van Houtum's (2000) 'Flow Approach'. The concepts and essence of this view on border integration as the physical movement of goods, etc. is also exemplified in Oscar Martinez's (1994) typology of borders: alienated, coexistent, interdependent and integrated.

Barriers are considered to be an integral component of The Flow Approach. Van Houtum (2000) cites a definition by Nijkamp, Rietveld, and Salomon (1990), to illustrate how barriers are defined by scholars of The Flow Approach: "... obstacles in space or time that—apart from normal average distance friction costs in spatial interaction—impede a smooth transfer or free movement of information and activities" (1990, 239). Within the context of this definition and The Flow Approach, barriers are usually measured in terms of transport and distance costs, as well as impacts on the accessibility within cross-border regions. In order to further illustrate the application of The Flow Approach, we conclude this section by citing relevant empirical results in accordance with this approach.

By taking into consideration various flow approach costs (such as geographical distance and the cost of actually crossing the border), Bröcker (1984) arrived at the conclusion that the average impact of borders in Western Europe totaled a increased distance of 233 miles. Brocker's (1984) results highlighted the impact that a border has on international trade flows, estimating that a border reduces trade to one sixth of its potential. Other scholars have researched the impacts of borders on flows: (McCallum 1995, Helliwell 1998) for Canada-US flows, (Wei 1996) for the OECD, and (Bröcker 1998; Head and Mayer 2000; Nitsch 2000) for the EU; each of them having arrived at the conclusion that borders significantly affect flow approach variables. Finally, van Houtum (2000) cites a study by Plat and Raux (1998), focusing on border obstructions between the Netherlands, Belgium, France and Germany, which found that road traffic more than doubles in light of border barriers and their effects. It is worth noting that not all barriers between borders should be considered physical, economic and social barriers also play an important role in terms of increased physical distance and costs along borders (Bruinsma 1994).

3.2.3 Cross-border Cooperation Approach

The cross-border cooperation approach emerged in the early 90's in the areas of economic and regional geography as a response to economic integration and cooperation subjects of particular interest at the time: clusters, industrial districts, networks, trust, embeddedness and cooperation (van Houtum 2000). This concept has been exalted and aggrandized thanks in great part to the creation of the European Union. The Europeanization and globalization of borders have led to increased attention to the spatial and territorial conceptualization of borders fitting nicely into this approach (van Houtum 2000).

The cross-border cooperation approach is well suited for the analysis of cross-border regions and bridging institutions on the basis of the promotion of economic development and competitiveness within borderlands.

Arising from Europe's joint efforts to create a "Single European Market," and dating back to the 1960's when the Council of Europe began promoting border integration, the concept of cross-border cooperation has garnered the attention of French, German, and Swiss geographers and researchers (see von Malchus 1975). Europe's ascent into promoting cross-border cooperation greatly increased as a result of funding by the European Commission in the late 80's and early 90's of the Interreg programs (van Houtum 2000). Contrasting with its American counterparts, a significant factor giving way to the success of European cross-border regions and cooperation is the funding from the European Commission (Perkmann 2003). Through the Interreg Community Initiative

(Interreg), implemented in 1990, funding continues to exist in these cross-border areas and relevant fields. Perkmann explains, "Interreg subsidizes local cross-border projects undertaken collaboratively by local authorities and organizations located in adjoining border areas. The objective is to develop cross-border social and economic centers through common development strategies, with eligible projects being required to have a structural economic benefit to the border area" (Perkmann 2003). As a result of the Interreg program the Spanish-French cross-border region in the Pyrenees "characterized by the difference of situations between the mountain areas and other close areas, as well as the Spanish regions being above the Spanish level of per capita productivity, and the French regions just a little under the French level"(Valls 128) experienced cooperation efforts encouraged by this program through the promotion of networks "at different territorial scales (cross-border space, mountain space, inter-city space, thematic networks, and research and technology transfer networks)" (Valls 128).

This approach is well suited for the analysis of cross-border regions and bridging institutions on the basis of the promotion of economic development and competitiveness within borderlands. We will see throughout subsequent literature that cross-border regions and bridging institutions are seen as catalysts for economic development and competitiveness. For example: Blatter and Clement (2000) use this approach to analyze the EU's and North American cross-border cooperation, Staudt and Coronado (2002) study US-Mexico relations through the eyes of NGO's, Blatter (1997) researches North American environmental cooperation, Martinez (1990) analyzes US-Mexico cross-border networks, Mikhailova (2013) explores a city-twinning governance approach, and Scott (2000) studies Euroregions.

Joachim Blatter (2000) notes that although the cross-border region building processes have existed for some time, the concept gained momentum beginning in the late 1980s, though they remain to this day largely neglected by the social sciences. Lundquist and Trippel (2011b) also write about cross-border cooperation, noting that trans-frontier cooperation and policies to stimulate increased interaction between neighboring regions that belong to different nation states are not a new phenomenon (see, for instance, Perkmann 1999, 2007). Perkmann (2003) explains that the first cross-border regions (CBR's) were established with almost no sense of formality within them and relied considerably upon good will. In many cases, "twin associations" were constructed on each side of the border in accordance with the legal structure of each of the participating countries. These non-formal agreements gave way to cross-border cooperation (CBC's) structures based on public law, thanks in large part to the Madrid Convention (a treaty signed by 20 countries). Examples of CBC's arising from this convention include the BENELUX Cross-border convention of 1989 and the German-Dutch cross-border treaty of 1991. Financing for Interreg CBC programs within the European Union extended to

3

the three tier approach to the study of borders

	flow approach	cross-border cooperation approach	people approach
problem orientation	analysis of the discontinuity in (physical) interactions across the border	analysis of effective strategies to overcome borders and stimulate cross-border dev.	analysis of the territorially divergent constructions of social practices, spatial identity, and spatial cognition
central question	do borders matter?	borders matter! how can they be overcome?	how are borders constructed?
theoretical framework	-core-periphery models -location theories -central places approach -gravity models -economic potential models	-network approaches -transaction costs approaches	-social constructionism -spatial identity approaches -behavioral approaches - action approaches
assumption on human behavior	homo economicus: minimization of (distance) costs	homo cont(r)actis: maximization of cont(r)acts	homo socialis: human behaviors and affections are socially and spatially constructed
assumption on space	space is homogeneous	cross-border spatial networks have missing links	space is effectively and cognitively divided
key terms	-physical distance -discontinuity -transport costs -economic potential -accessibility	-effectiveness, success -tools, instruments -connectivity, openness -(dis)similarities, differences, synergy -networks, cooperation, alliances	-spatial cognition -spatial perception -spatial affection - spatial identity -social construction -social practices
choice of method	computational analysis	descriptive/prescriptive analysis	mental /societal discursive analysis
methodological characteristics	-material -objective -manifest -static	-material/nonmaterial -objective/subjective -manifest/latent -static/dynamic	-nonmaterial -intersubjective/subjective -latent -dynamic/evolution
connotation of borders	-physical barriers -artificial distortions of equilibrium - the penalizing barrier effect of borders is measurable	-artificial barriers to integration -borders are both challenges and opportunities for contact and integration	-borders are social constructs -borders are relevant markers of identity -borders are demarcations of certainty
connotation of border regions	-peripheral -socially and economically marginal areas -"passive" space	-Peripheral -challenged to become central -micro-scale laboratories -"active" space	-border regions are political and social constructs -Juxtapositioned, overlapping zones confronting national and regional identities
types of distances	-travel or transport distance -euclidean distance	-economic distance -administrative distance -social distance -cultural distance	-affective distance -cognitive distance -mental distance

sixty programs and included an allocation of six billion euros from 2007 to 2013, while a new program has since been announced for 2014-2020, with an additional six billion euros, which aims to further stimulate CBC. The European Commission highlights the importance of CBC programs, noting that “facing global economic and environmental challenges, European regions and countries need to pool their ideas, their initiatives and their resources to find joint solutions. By enabling regions to cooperate and identify the best solutions possible, the Interreg Europe program will contribute to improving the efficiency of public policies and the European competitiveness” (European Commission 2015). Mikhailova (2014) describes the process of twinning cities as “a long voyage of the common project work that might result in the establishment of trans-border agglomerations under cross-border governance” (1).

Within the European Union, these well-funded programs have created an environment in which, “it has become generally acceptable to regard cooperation as a common virtue and an economically induced moral right for EU border regions to associate themselves with the ‘other’ side, as they share common problems. Disparities between border regions are no longer accepted, and a social and economic equilibrium is sought” (van Houtum 2000, 64). According to van Houtum (2000), because of this view, the cross-border cooperation approach has been a staple among border scholars and geographers since its establishment in the early 1990s. Van Houtum also notes the view of Von Malchus (1975) holding that “the construction of a vivid Europe should start at its borders”. Perkmann (2003) notes that currently in Europe, every local or regional authority along the border is involved in some form and to a notable degree with cross-border cooperation initiatives. He goes on to state that this involvement is due in substantial measure to the tremendous support that such initiatives receive from the European Commission-- totaling more than seven hundred million Euros per year.

A cross-border cooperation approach is based on a central assumption that cross-border regions should strive to take full advantage of the European Union’s “borderless” areas, and altogether overcome borders (van Houtum 2000). Contrasting with the above-mentioned flow approach (in which borders are seen as physical barriers), the borders under a cross-border cooperation approach are not considered as physical barriers, but as barriers to successful cross-border integration (van Houtum 2000). Van Houtum (2000) also notes that, in contrast with The Flow Approach (the metrics of which include transactional costs), the cross-border cooperation approach develops a new set of analytical tools: trust, embeddedness and learning. A principal difference between this approach and any comparable other is that this dissertation places values on human behavior. Van Houtum (2000) notes that The Flow Approach equates a cost to each person--particularly a cost-minimizing structure (Homo Economicus). But the cross-border cooperation approach equates intangibles for a person and places more

value on his worth in terms of trust, networks, contacts and contracts on both sides of the border, (both those already established as well as those that she/he pursues (Homo Cont[r]actis).

Cross-border activities encompass all policy areas and are not limited to free trade policies (Blatter 2000). Joachim Blatter's research focuses on determining how cross-border territorial integration affects sustainable development. He explains that, "some cross border regions do have the potential to serve as platforms for the kind of multidimensional integration processes that are required to find more peaceful and sustainable ways of living"(Blatter 2000).

Within the cross-border cooperation approach, the view of border regions as being hindered by their very borders shifts toward a focus on the benefits of cooperation and integration. Van Houtum (2000) emphasizes the exchange of the concept of the peripheral position of borders for a more central and dynamic position of border regions as a result of a new established openness in Europe. The large scale European integration process, as described by van Houtum and Boekema (1994), began with the focused and strategic development of these borders regions and a subsequent shift in perception about these regions and their role in the development process. Where they were once considered as simply passive actors in the process of territorial development, they have since been recognized as active participants in cross-border policy development (see Ratti 1993a, 1993b; van Geenhuizen, van der Knapp, and Nijkamp 1996; De Boer 1996; Giaoutzi, Suárez-Villa, and Stratigea 1993; Suárez-Villa, Giaoutzi, and Statigea 1992).

The cross-border cooperation approach within Europe provides a prime example of the doctrines and theories substantiating this approach: the Euregions. These organizations provide institutionalized mechanisms for the fostering of cooperation (van Houtum 2000) and are the direct result of the so-called 'European Umbrella,' which we consider further in the Aquitaine-Euskadi case study (see Chapter 5)

As described earlier in the chapter, The Flow Approach focused its measurements on the impacts of the border as a barrier, including physical and cost distance. Meanwhile, the cross-border cooperation approach has led scholars to consider measuring a range of other variables: economic disparities, social distance, cultural distance, and political distance. Economic geographers, for example, have focused their cross-border cooperation research on analyzing the collective economic attitudes and efforts of border cities, as well as the problems arising from such joint economic integration initiatives (see Dagevos et al. 1992; Steiner and Sturn 1993; van den Tillaart and Busse 1994; Corvers, Dankbaar, and Hassink 1994; Dagevos, Brouwers, and Hulsinck 1994; Church and Reid 1996; van Houtum et al. 1996; van Houtum 1998; Janssen 1999). Social distances, including disparities in language, educational levels, population, social development, etc., have

also been considered in the works of Cramer, Logie, and Mergaerts 1984; Passchier and van Amersfoort 1981; Smit 2000; de Gijssel et al. 1999. And political distance plays an equally notable role within the cross-border cooperation approach. Van Houtum (2000, 66) contends, “that the attitude of central governments toward developments in EU border regions is Janus-faced”. Further, that this two-faced discourse arises as a result of individual states vying for European Umbrella sourced funding, though they each refuse to relinquish their sovereignty on any given matter requiring cooperation (van Houtum 2000). Such a scenario is best exemplified through the words of O’Dowd, Corrigan, and Moore, “the vast majority of border region initiatives came into existence because of the EU and intergovernmental funding, but were then hampered by the very political and administrative system which encouraged them in the first place” (1995, 278-79 as cited in van Houtum 2000)

Studies exist within this approach which question whether or not more than a decade of continual efforts by the European Umbrella to fund these cross-border initiatives have essentially been ‘worth it’. (van Houtum 2000). Some scholars (van den Tillaart and Busse 1994; Corvers, Dankbaar, and Hassink 1994; Dagevos et al. 1992; Steiner and Sturn 1993; van Houtum 1998, 1999b; de Gijssel et al. 1999) have seemingly concluded that cross-border integration should not be interpreted as an easy task and that borders should unequivocally continue to be viewed as formidable barriers to cooperation.

3.2.4 The People Approach

The ‘people approach’ is based on social interaction, culture and belonging, and is laser focused on the people factor.

The third and final approach that we consider was developed by van Houtum (2000) and is termed the ‘people approach’. It is based on social interaction, culture and belonging, and is laser focused on the people factor. Within this approach, scholars have focused their attention on the “(mental) creation, (symbolic) shaping, and reshaping of borders by human beings—including politicians, firms, consumers, and citizens” (van Houtum 2000, 67). Culture, language, competition, and identity are all seen as barriers to cross-border cooperation within this approach. Anderson and Wever (2003) apply The People Approach to explain why borders continue to represent barriers within the European Union despite members having removed all physical and economic barriers, including different currencies. However, this approach can be of equal utility when exploring how and why in twin cities (such as those considered in our first case study: Region Laredo) physical walls and border guards do not inhibit an extremely high degree of cultural and linguistic similarity. The People Approach differs from the two previously mentioned (The Flow Approach and The Cross-Border Cooperation Approach) in that its research approach focuses on cross-border human interactions

as primary contributors to regional development instead of upon policies, institutions, economic factors, etc. (Martinez 1994; Paasi 1996, 1999; van Houtum 1998, 1999a, 1999b; van der Velde 1999).

Interdisciplinary efforts are predominant and complementary in the adoption of The People Approach, including political and social geography, to sociology, anthropology and psychology (van Houtum 2000). This diversification of disciplines has allowed scholars to explore the human spatial patterns in border regions (van Houtum 2000) and develop new common keywords such as identity, inclusion and exclusion (Paasi 2011). The traditional view of borders as physical lines of separation has been replaced by the view that borders actually represent a coming together of people from different backgrounds and nationalities (identities) (van Houtum 2000). Accordingly, borders, within this approach are considered a necessity and a reality of the daily social, cultural and political life of the people within those regions (O'Dowd and Wilson 1996), and not a barrier.

Van Houtum (2000) notes a great contribution of The People Approach: the study and distinction of the influence of nations and national identity in border regions. He explains that, "nations, generally defined as affective or emotional bindings to a certain territory, are distinguished from states, the legal binding of people in a territory, because it is believed that this distinction is crucial to understanding the influence of borders for people in their daily lives and their perceptions of integration and cross-border interaction" (van Houtum 2000, 68). This in turn is key to being able to explain the innate occurrence of the border mentality of one side versus the other side, a sociological affair based on the resurgence of regional identities (Paasi 2009; van Houtum 2010).

The people approach centers on the "(emotional) reactions, actions, and origins of individuals and groups confronted with the economic or political ambitions of cross-border (economic) integration" (van Houtum 2000, 68). This approach does not consider a border as a line promoting physical distance, but instead views this line (border) as a division between the interactions of people on both sides of it, a Homo Socialis view, as it were (van Houtum 2000).

According to van Houtum (2000), studies conducted under The People Approach are divided into two classes: sociopsychologically and sociologically. The first approach is based on the studies of scholars such as Leimgruber (1980, 1991) who assessed the need for borders to be considered under the lens of a human perspective. Leimgruber (1999) describes the border dilemma as a clash between national and regional perspectives, citing that the national level creates the framework for borders, while its consequences are felt at a meso and micro level. These competing views emerge in the form of centripetal and centrifugal policies. Centripetal policies arise in the form of national

programs focusing on the defense of borders, and centrifugal policies center upon regional economic integration, and people are caught in the middle attempting to establish an identity in light of these spatial scales.

Along with Leimgruber, Rumley and Minghi (1991) promote the need for borders to be viewed as something more than a physical boundary, and more as the whole of the physical interactions engaged in within the region. Finally, van Houtum (2000) explains this sociopsychologically approach through a focus on three different types of distance: cognitive, affective and mental. The cognitive distance can be best defined as the perceptive reality of people (Ewing 1981; Golledge and Stimson 1987), and with specific regard to border studies, cognitive distance is measured as the perceived distance based on a person's personal experience and knowledge (van Houtum 1994, Riedel 1994). Affective distance considers the confrontational nature of border spaces (Riedel 1994, Leimgruber 1999) and how this distance can lead to two basic extremes: people like each other on both sides of the border, or prejudice, stereotyping and hate resulting in the marginalization of this distance (van Houtum 2000). The last distance identified in this approach is mental distance, which according to van Houtum (1998, 1999a, 1999b) can be defined as the perceived distance in social, cultural and economic disparities between both sides of a border

According to van Houtum (2000), the sociological People Approach is exemplified in Anssi Paasi's (1996) study, *Territories, Boundaries, and Consciousness: The Changing Geographies of the Finnish-Russian Border*. Paasi examined the rootedness and impact of identity on the interactions between people on both sides of the Finnish-Russian border. His work focuses upon the personal perceptions of borderland residents with regard to defining what the border symbolizes for them, and ultimately he presents borders as social-mental spaces, in which the "us" vs "them" mentality is highly embedded.

The consideration of these social constructs as elements of a border identity continues to gain momentum among researchers. Though a shift from research focusing on HOW borders come into existence, to WHY borders are constructed, could prove even more fruitful (van Houtum 2000).

A central objective of this dissertation is to explore the socioeconomic factors indivisible from the regions considered and the interactions of their people, specifically within territorial innovation models, and in a cross-border context. As a result, two approaches, Cross-Border Cooperation and The People Approach, act as an interrelated backdrop to the cross-border development context of this work.

3.3 Economic Development and Innovation Research Shift: Socioeconomic Place-Based Approach

After establishing our dissertation's territorial component by defining borderlands and detailing different approaches to cross-border regional development, the following section describes place-based regional economic development and innovation practices. This section will help us to understand how these two concepts are applied at a regional level, and eventually their application in cross-border regions.

As explained in section 1.3, Stimson, Stough and Roberts (2006) define regional economic development (RED) as "the application of economic processes and resources available to a region that result in the sustainable development of, and desired economic outcomes for, a region and that meet the values and expectations of business, of residents and of visitors" (6). Regional economic development is generally categorized into either a 'product' or a 'process' (Stimson, Stough and Roberts 2006). The products of RED being, jobs, investment, standard of living, and working conditions, while the processes are the means to be able to create these products, such as, industry support, infrastructure, social development, and market development (Stimson, Stough and Roberts 2006).

Both quantitative and qualitative dimensions of RED exist allowing for the measurement of impacts of the products and processes through this form of development. The quantitative dimension of RED measures the benefits from its 'products' such as: increasing wealth and income levels, the availability of goods and services and improving financial services. In order to measure the 'process' benefits from RED, the qualitative dimension is employed, accounting for gaining improvements in the quality of life in a region and creating greater social equity (Stimson, Stough and Roberts 2006). For the purposes of this dissertation, the impacts on economic development strategies examined through the application of our analytical model (section 3.6.1) deal more with the processes of regional economic development than with the products. Therefore, we apply qualitative research methods throughout our dissertation.

Stimson and Stough (2008) argues that RED is of increasing importance given recent policy shifts. According to Stimson and Stough (2008), regions continue to be affected by their respective national governments' diminished powers (due to globalization) to

"regional economic development (RED) is the application of economic processes and resources available to a region that result in the sustainable development of, and desired economic outcomes for a region and that meet the values and expectations of business, of residents and of visitors"

Stimson, Stough and Roberts

apply appropriate economic and competitiveness policies on a region-to-region basis. The result being that, “today it is more and more up to regions to develop themselves and their strategies in order to compete internationally and survive” (13). That is, a reliance on endogenous processes is typically espoused in regional economic development policy. To do so regions need first to understand what the factors are that set the dynamics of the emerging new economic age of the 21st century” (Stimson, Stough and Roberts 2006). Other authors, such as Alburquerque (2004), question whether globalization is also to blame for an increase in heterogeneity and a loss of connections between social, economic and political relationships within territories. Because of this, Alburquerque (2000) places particular importance on social cohesion as a catalyst for economic development. With regard to RED, these changes of paradigms have procured a shift in focus from a ‘comparative advantage’, to a ‘competitive advantage’, to most recently a ‘collaborative advantage’ (Stimson and Stough 2008).

A new approach to regional economic development has also recently emerged: a place-based approach. This methodology places an increased emphasis on “innovation that mobilizes the local assets embedded in a region, and taps the economic potential of all places and sectors in order to attain world class performance” (Wolfe 2011, 5). The place-based approach recognizes that “regional development strategies must engage in a process of collaboration across different levels of government, and between public and private actors at the local scale to identify and cultivate assets which are unique to the region and constitute its enduring source of jurisdictional advantage” (Wolfe 2011, 7). This approach fosters collaboration efforts by government and non-government actors within the regional economic development process (Gorton 2009) and provides an endogenous centered methodology for the mobilization of local resources and actors as a way of producing local economic development impacts. Contrastingly, a previously employed exogenous approach that was based on external inputs often produced little to no economic effects at a local level (Hubbard and Gorton 2011).

Economic development and innovation strategies undergo continuous adaptation, evolving to meet shifting circumstances and needs accordingly. David A. Wolfe (2011:,5) explains that, “the role of regional economic development policy has undergone a dramatic change in the past few years across many OECD countries.” Current tendencies indicate that globalization exists in all forms of development, from learning to production, and it “represents serious challenges for the advanced economies of highly developed countries” (Asheim, Boschma, and Cooke 2006, 25). These challenges illustrate a need for economies to promote continuous technological, learning and innovation changes, as well as the need to strengthen the structural networks of their social base.

Asheim, Boschma, and Cooke (2006) note that in order to solidify their innovation capacity, nations must increase their knowledge creation, as well as their absorptive and

transmission capacity, all the while attracting talent. This in turn will foster a focus on economic development activities from a socioeconomic, social relationships approach, under which “the application, diffusion and commercialization of innovations” (Asheim, Boschma, and Cooke 2006, 28) takes place, and “society can reap the benefits of inventions and other kinds of knowledge” (Asheim, Boschma, and Cooke 2006, 28).

A clear shift in economic development and innovation research is identifiable, one that emphasizes the advantages of ‘place-based’ regional economic development, applies a bottom-up participatory approach, and increases the capacity to create economic knowledge that leads to innovation and competitiveness (Wolfe & Creutzberg 2003).

3.4 - Territorial Innovation Models

3.4.1 Introduction

Innovation has increasingly taken center stage as a “core strategy” for developing and maintaining competitiveness, growth, and prosperity (Trippel 2006, 1). Innovation Systems are defined as “elements and relationships which interact in the production, diffusion, and use of new, and economically useful, knowledge...and are either located within or rooted inside the borders of a nation state” (Lundvall 1992, 2). The Systems of Innovation Approach posits that these systems, require constant communication and cooperation on and between three levels enterprise, research and education centers, and policy and government agencies (Edquist 1997, 2005). Territorial Innovation Models, (TIM) “include a wide variety of territorialized development models based on some form of local innovation potential” (Moulaert et al. 2005, 15), ranging from Innovative Milieus, to Regional Innovation Systems, to clusters. The main actors participate within a triple helix model within three main sectors: academic-research, firms-industry, and government institutions (Etzkowitx and Leydesdorff 1995, 2000).

The following sections present Territorial Innovation Models, with a focus on the role of socioeconomic interactions within them. In so doing, we intend to explore and explain the research gap observed within the relevant literature (said gap having given rise to our concept of a social base). We first explore the so-called ‘social side’ of TIM’s, and attempt to highlight the existing lack of clarity with regard to how different actors within TIM’s interact. We then explore Regional Innovation Systems (RIS), as an example of TIM’s, which are at the center of our analytical model. We use the RIS section to structure the predominant shape of TIM’s with an emphasis on the importance of the links between actors within them. Finally, we consider Cross-border Regional Innovation Systems (CBRIS’s) in light of the three cross-border settings explored in this dissertation, and in order to better understand how cross-border connections within TIM’s are established and function. Within the subsections of CBRIS we will detail how

these systems are constructed and the public policies they often work along with.

3.4.2 The (Lack of a) Social Side in Territorial Innovation Models

Generally, Territorial Innovation Model (TIM) studies focus on three core bases that make up innovation models (Asheim and Coenen 2005; Cooke 2001; Wolfe & Creutzberg 2003; Malmberg and Maskell 2002). The bases identified are the following: 1. - Economic (Market) Base, 2. - Social Base and 3. - Technological Base. TIM research, and the literature produced as a result of its findings, tends to maintain a focus on the first and third bases (economic and technological). And while the ideas that surround the general concept of a social base exist, relative literature largely excludes descriptions, definitions and the functions of a social base.

In TIM's the Economic (Market) Base serves as a 'functional space' for the firms within these models (Moulaert and Sekia 2003). This relationship involves the links between firms and markets and how these connections produce market innovations, and has been extensively explored in literature on Industrial Districts (Becattini 1987; Dei Ottati 1994), Localized Production Systems (LPS), Porter's Clusters Diamond Model, and Regional Innovation Systems. Within the context of LPS's, an Economic Market Base is defined as "the organization of local labor markets and social reproduction of workers" (Storper and Scott 1988, 29). Meanwhile Porter (1990) emphasizes market and competition under this approach (Moulaert and Sekia 2003), and the 'market-logic' forms the basis of the knowledge application and exploitation subsystem of Regional Innovation Systems (Moulaert and Sekia 2003; Cooke 1992; Maskell and Malmberg 1999; Doloreux 2002; Asheim and Gertler 2005; Tödting and Trippl 2005).

The importance of a Technological Base within TIM's is highlighted through their constant research of the innovative makeup of regions. Regional Innovation Systems illustrate the process of innovation as not only a technological process but an organizational one as well (Moulaert and Sekia 2003). Moulaert and Sekia (2003) also note that it is this organizational element that determines a TIM's technological base. David Doloreux (2004) elaborates, noting that a territory's 'innovative profile' is illustrated by "the innovation performance with indicators such as education, regional R&D intensities and technological bases, technological outputs - like patents for example" (10). This technological regional profiling is then applied in the context of measuring regional competitiveness (Doloreux 2004).

There seems to be a lack of research with regard to the significance of social relationships within economic activities and how they directly affect Territorial Innovation Models (TIM's). TIM-related literature considers a social base within its models to a limited extent, including: the role of social capital (Mutti 1998), 'institutional

thickness' within Industrial Districts (Amin and Thrift 1995), the social regulation system of New Industrial Spaces, which provides "the dynamics of community formation and social reproduction" (Storper and Scott 1988, 29), the Learning Region's connection of "the concepts of the network [or associational] paradigm – like interactive innovation and social capital – to the problems of regional development" (Morgan 1997, 492), and with the social interactions within Regional Innovation Systems (Cooke 1992; Asheim, Boschma, and Cooke 2006).

Territorial Innovation Models, such as the Milieu Innovateur (Aydalot 1986), Industrial Districts (Becattini 1987; Brusco 1986, 1992), National and Regional Innovation Systems (Freeman 1987; Cooke 1992; Maskel and Malmberg 1999; Doloreux 2002; Asheim and Gertler 2005; Tödtling and Trippel 2005), New Industrial Spaces (Storper and Walker 1983; Storper and Scott 1988) and Clusters of Innovation (Porter 1996), exemplify the lack of emphasis on social interactions within such models. Instead, we note a systematic concentration on markets, competition, innovation within a technological and economic context, and 'institutions' as primary stimuli for economic recuperation and advancement of territorial competitiveness (Moulaert and Sekia 2003, Moulaert and Nussbaumer 2005, Estensoro 2012).

The above-mentioned models, among other TIM's, also do little in the way of improving the "non-economic dimensions and non-market-led sections of the economy" (Moulaert and Nussbaumer 2005, 46), unless such improvements would also directly positively impact competitiveness of the territory (Moulaert and Nussbaumer 2005). Social interactions between triple helix actors are not explored, and analysis as a whole within Territorial Innovation Model theories do "not consider the multi-functionality of the economy-- in reality much broader than the capitalist market economy-- nor the other existential (non-economic) spheres of local and regional communities, such as the natural environment, the sociocultural (artistic, educational, social services) and sociopolitical spheres. Despite their devotion to institutional dynamics, they swear by a market-based economic ontology and technological view of development" (Moulaert 2005, 48), but a research gap with regard to the social aspects of territorial innovation models is clearly emerging. Moulaert and Sekia's (2003) address this gap by noting that TIM's should not only 'enable the local and

"TIM's do not consider the multi-functionality of the economy – in reality much broader than the capitalist market economy — nor the other existential (non-economic) spheres of local and regional communities such as the natural environment, the sociocultural (artistic, educational, social services) and sociopolitical spheres"

Frank Moulaert

regional market economy, but also empower the other parts of the economy (public sector, social economy, cultural sector, etc.), as well as community life (socio-cultural dynamics as a level of human existence by itself, political and social governance of non-economic sections of society, cultural and natural life)" (300). This gap requires a further consideration of the social side of economic development models within any region, particularly cross border regions.

For this dissertation the term 'social' is interpreted as "denoting human behavior, orientations and attitudes that take the activities or interests of other people into account. ... (It) involves elements of inclusion, cohesion but also exclusion" (Fromhold-Eisebith, Werker, and Vojnic 2014, 123). The term 'social' is defined throughout this dissertation as elements of collective action and teamwork.

Recent efforts have been aimed at conceptualizing the 'social base' dimension/field within territorial innovation models and development networks. The 'social dimension' of innovation networks and models is understood "as an overarching notion that comprises a range of aspects and manifestations of 'the social' in innovation" (Fromhold-Eisebith, Werker, and Vojnic 2014, 122). Fromhold-Eisebith, Werker, and Vojnic further their analysis of this 'social dimension' by attempting to identify network structures based on social aspects such as, trust and reciprocity, within territorial innovation models. The 'social field' of innovation and development models is also defined as the "number of actors, their relations, and how these relations are distributed between time and space" (Halse and Bjarnar 2014, 104). Research on this 'social field' is analyzed by "focusing on norms for cooperation including, trust, flexibility, and degrees of formalization, openness involving expectation of knowledge exchange and social distance" (Halse and Bjarnar 2014, 104). It is within these conceptualizations of the social side of territorial innovation and development models that we contribute to the development of theory with the concept of a social base along with a relevant analytical framework (see section 3.6).

3.4.3 Regional Innovation Systems

Regional Innovation Systems (RIS) are presented briefly in this dissertation to further illustrate the lack of existing clarity regarding the function of a social base. RIS are also presented as an example of a 'Triple Helix' model of innovation and development, in which the links between actors exist, but are not fundamentally explained. In subsection 3.3.3.1 we explain this Triple Helix model and our lack of understanding of the interactions between the three main actors: university, government, and industry.

The concept of an innovation system emerges from the work of Christopher Freeman (1985) and Bengt-Åke Lundvall (1985) (Lundvall 2007). This collaboration merged Freeman's knowledge on innovation processes and Lundvall's (and the IKE-group, which

he worked with) understanding of national production and industrial systems (Lundvall 2007). This partnership produced the widely diffused national system of innovation concept (Freeman 1987; Dosi et al. 1988; Lundvall 1992; Nelson 1993; Edquist 1997).

Upon the development of this concept, other theories which focused upon different spatial levels as well as other agglomerations, such as: Regional Systems of Innovation (Cooke 1992; Maskell and Malmberg 1999), Michael Porter's (1990) industrial clusters and Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff's (2000) Triple-Helix model.

The Regional Systems of Innovation concept attempted to define the relationship between innovation and territory, by focusing on the interactions between firms and other associations (Edquist and Hommen 1999) as well as broader regional factors, including the social, cultural, institutional and organizational contexts, and the infrastructure surrounding them (Cooke, Boekholt, and Tödtingl 2000; Malmberg and Maskell 1998; Asheim and Isaksen 1997).

Furthering this relationship between innovation and territory, Lorentzen (2008), describes socially constructed regions. These different "social practices establish spaces, and these spaces may be different from one social practice to another" (Lorentzen 2008, 42).

Regional Innovation Systems (figure 3.3) are generally divided into the following three subsystems and two dimensions: 1) knowledge generation and diffusion subsystem—which, as its name suggests, is made up of organizations involved in the generation and teaching of knowledge and skills, 2) knowledge application and exploitation subsystem—a system which represents the enterprise aspect, including companies, clients, suppliers, etc., 3) regional policy subsystem—including governments and policy and development agencies involved in generating and establishing innovation and cluster strategies, 4) local interactions—describing local knowledge interactions and transfer processes, 5) socio-institutional factors-- institutional factors are critical in the development or RIS-institutions as they shape the behavior of its actors and regulate the activities between them (Autio 1998; Cooke, Boekholt, and Tödtingl 2000; Trippi 2006).

 regional innovation systems


adapted from auto (1998);
Cooke, Boekholt, and Tödtingl
(2000); cooke and piccaluga (2004);
Trippi (2006)

figure 3.3

RIS literature presents innovation and development as a social process (Cooke, Boekholt, and Tödtingl 2000; Edquist 2004; Lundvall and Johnson 1994). This social process of innovation suggests a collective action generating links, first between firm departments, and then with other firms: knowledge providers, financial services and other service providers (Cooke, Boekholt, and Tödtingl 2000). Figure 3.3 illustrates this environment by linking the three main subsystems of Regional Innovation Systems.

3.4.3.1 Triple Helix Model for Innovation and Development

The Triple Helix Model of university-industry-government interactions was created by Henry Etzkowitz and Loet Leydesdorff (1995), and presents innovation as a “spiral model, required to capture multiple reciprocal linkages at different stages of the capitalization of knowledge” (Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff 1997a, 3). We present this model primarily

because it is highly referenced throughout Regional Innovation Systems literature (Asheim and Coenen 2005; Coenen and Asheim 2006; Ranga and Etzkowitz 2013) and because it exemplifies the existing lack of research clarity with regard to how the social links-- in this case between university, industry and government-- function. Criticism of this popular model include: the shortage of attention paid to social constructs-- generally, too abstract (Cooke 2005), open-ended relationships between relevant actors in regional innovation systems (Tuunainen 2002), and a lack of context with veritable effects at national, cultural and social levels (Balzat and Hanusch 2004; Shinn 2002; Cai 2013).

Within this model, the collaboration between its three helices usually serves as a framework for the study of territorial elements such as: innovation (Etzkowitz 2008), regional development (Etzkowitz and Dzisah 2008), and knowledge and technology transfers (Etzkowitz 2003). Within these contexts, universities are "increasingly viewed as actors in national and regional innovation systems, distinct boundaries are being elided and replaced with a web of ties.... as new arrangements are put in place, old formats also continue to be utilized, creating a complex interplay among organizations and roles with ensuing conflicts and confluences of interest" (Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff 1997a, 3).

3.4.4 Cross-Border Regional Innovation Systems

Michaela Tripl defines cross-border areas as "spaces that consist of neighbor territories which belong to different nation states" (Tripl 2006, 6). She holds that cross-border regions "might benefit enormously from dismantling these barriers and constructing an integrated innovation space at the trans-frontier level. The emergence of a cross-border RIS could constitute an increase in the exchange of goods and knowledge, labor mobility and direct investments, offering opportunities for mobilization of synergies and shared growth effects. These can result from a bundling of scientific and economic strengths, complementary expertise and innovation capabilities" (Tripl 2006, 7). According to, Lundvall 2010, cross-border regions, with all of their barriers and differences, can also be considered a significant source of innovation. As "these differences create the foundation for cross-border growth by offering potentials for new combinations and unexploited synergies" (Lundquist and Tripl 2011a, 2).

Within her work "Cross-Border Regional Innovation Systems", Tripl conducts studies on Cross-Border Regional Innovation Systems (CBRIS) on the foundations and framework of Regional Innovation Systems (RIS). The RIS characteristics employed are the following: scientific base and innovation infrastructure, firm strategies, cross-border clusters and knowledge bases, trans-boundary innovation interactions, socio-institutional factors, and innovation policy and public governance. Within each of these, Tripl underscores the task of defining them, but most importantly, identifying the characteristics within

cross-border regions that will make them either succeed or fail in the implementation of CBRIS (Trippel 2006).

Inherent differences shared in cross-border regions, in fields such as “economic histories, technological trajectories, institutional setups, as well as different social dynamics, political visions, governance structures, modes of regulation and cultural identities, often pose a problem to cross-border integration”

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Lundquist and Trippel (2011a) explore the difficulty in establishing a Cross-Border Regional Innovation System (CBRIS). They note that the inherent differences shared in cross-border regions, in fields such as “economic histories, technological trajectories, institutional setups, as well as different social dynamics, political visions, governance structures, modes of regulation and cultural identities” (Anderson and O’Dowd 1999; Hospers 2006; Löfgren 2008; Johnson 2009 as cited in Lundquist and Trippel 2011a, 2), often pose a problem to cross-border integration (Lundquist and Trippel 2011a). Such barriers, according to Koschatzky and Hoekman, hinder the generation, transmission, and innovation-relevant knowledge sharing (Lundquist and Trippel 2011a). These authors explain the difficulty in establishing CBRIS’s in light of varying levels of governance, as well as the diversity of innovation systems within each region, (i.e., National and Regional Innovation

Systems). Because of these barriers, a list of “additional” policy actions required for the establishment of CBRIS’s is proposed. These actions include: 1) “signaling” the importance of cross-border RIS- a society must be made aware of the impact on competitiveness and prosperity that a CBRIS will achieve, 2) identity building- a regional identity has to be promoted and achieved (though, she takes into account (Maskell and Törnqvist 1999, 11 as cited in Trippel 2006) that define this as a long-term process), 3) stimulation of cross-border knowledge interactions- promoting policy actions aimed at knowledge flows both of cross national and regional borders, 4) fostering the development of cross-border clusters, 5) the creation of bridging organizations- generating organizations or institutions which specialize in promoting innovations contacts between all the involved actors in different regional and national contexts within the CBRIS, and 6) promoting multi-actor governance in policy networks and negotiation systems (Trippel 2006).

3.4.4.1 Cross-Border Proximity within RIS

Lundquist and Trippel (2011a) explain the fundamental concept of proximity, by defining its three primary types, and describing their interrelationships between each other. The three main types of proximity explained in this article are: physical, functional,

and relational proximity (Torre and Gilly 2000; Moodysson and Jonsson 2007; Torre 2008).

Relational proximity concerns the intangible aspects of relationships, including cognitive, organizational, social, institutional, cultural, and technological aspects of social interactions. Granovetter (1985) defines relational proximity as being associated with structures, such as those formed by governance levels, cultural approximation, and social dynamics. Lundquist and Trippl (2011a) regard relational proximity as particularly valuable in the formation of Cross-Border Innovation Systems. They go on to note, “a certain degree of relational proximity between key actors is a necessary condition for a fruitful knowledge exchange and collaboration in a cross-border area” (Lundquist and Trippl 2011a, 4).

3.4.4.2 Constructing Cross-Border Regional Innovation Systems

Lundquist and Trippl develop a set of stages for cross-border RIS development, which were conceived in order to establish a conceptual framework for identifying cross-border innovation systems and their stages of development. Such a framework is applied to previous studies of RIS such as (Autio 1998; Cooke 2004 and Asheim and Gertler 2005). The conceptual framework developed consists of categorizing CBRIS in to three possible stages of development, based on the integration found on both sides of the border. Stage I describes ‘Weakly Integrated Systems’: “characterized by low levels of cross-border economic relations in general, and a lack of knowledge interactions and innovation linkages in particular” (Lundquist and Trippl 2011a, 6). Stage II defines ‘Semi-Integrated Systems’: a system that is formed from emerging knowledge, indicating that these systems show decreasing levels of asymmetry and sets the groundwork for more valuable linkages on both sides of the border (Lundquist and Trippl 2011a). Stage III explores ‘Strongly Integrated Systems’: existing regional innovation systems on both sides of the border that merge to form one cross-border regional innovation system. This third and final stage represents the best-case scenario for cross-border regional integration.

The competitiveness of a cross-border region is dependent upon cross-border policy, and this in turn is a key to constructing Cross-Border Regional Innovation Systems.

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The view that the competitiveness of a cross-border region is dependent upon cross-border policy is a novel one, and is presented by Lundquist and Trippl as a key to constructing CBRIS's. The authors explain that, “in the contemporary era of increased global competition and the emergence of the knowledge economy the competitiveness of these regions will—at least in the long run—depend on their innovation capacity and their ability to continuously upgrade the economy” (Lundquist and Trippl 2011b, 2).

They further by explaining that, “a unique option for these regions may be to establish and strengthen a common innovation system” (Lundquist and Tripl 2011b, 2). The authors conclude by noting that, “constructing cross-border RIS’s thus goes beyond classic innovation policy measures. Infrastructure investment, labor market policies, etc. are necessary complements of (narrowly defined) cross-border innovation policies. Consequently, there is a requirement for policy actions on multiple fronts” (Lundquist and Tripl 2011b, 12).

3.4.4.3 Public Policy for Cross-Border Regional Innovation Systems

Lundquist and Tripl (2011b) suggest and classify a framework for policy formation primarily along two dimensions: The first concerning monetary means for shortening or removing distances, and the second concerning a temporary method of removing said distances. Distance barriers are then categorized into four groups: physical distance, hard institution distance, soft institutional distance, and cognitive and functional distance. Each one of these barriers is then analyzed and policy options are proposed, with the authors reaching the conclusion that “suboptimal levels of proximity in different dimensions point to missed opportunities and system failures, which undermine the emergence and development of cross-border innovation spaces. They thus form a main rationale and target for policy actions” (Lundquist and Tripl 2011b).

3.5 Social Capital and Social Innovation: Pillars of Socioeconomics

3.5.1 Introduction

Within this section we describe the two founding elements of our social base: social capital and social innovation. We apply social capital theory because of its widespread application by social scientists with regard to economic and territorial development (Moulaert and Nussbaumer 2005; Mutti 1998; Putnam 1993; Aranguren, Larrea and Wilson 2010; Parrilli, Aranguren, and Larrea 2010; Karlsen et al. 2012) as well as other economic literature strands such as innovation (Camps and Marques 2011; Calantone, Cavusgil, and Zhao 2002; Hult 2002; Hult, Hurley and Knight 2004; Lu and Shyan 2004; Song and Thieme 2006) entrepreneurship (Casson and Della Giusta 2007) and clusters (Aragon et al. 2012; Aragon et al. 2014). We believed that the role of establishing social and cultural links especially within a border, were essential to establishing our own concept of a social base. There is also little literary clarity as to the proper measurement of social capital, particularly in light of “two significantly different approaches to the conceptualization of social capital” (Mateju 2002, 02). The first stream, the ‘western’ one, is characterized by its attributions to society such as, “specific characteristic of social environment (trust, participation) facilitating people’s cooperation” (Mateju 2002, 02). The second stream, the ‘post-communist’ one, highlights the “role of social capital in

achieving particular goals of individuals through informal networks (mutually beneficial exchanges)" (Mateju 2002, 02). Faced with such a diversity of measures and theories, the definition and measuring mechanisms of social capital have largely been "left up to individual researchers based on their understanding of the substances, sources and effects of social capital" (Adler and Kwon 2002, 19). For the purpose of this dissertation, and as we will see below, we identify our position on social capital as related by Putnam's (1995) description of trust, networks, and civic participation within institutions and social structures, which was later furthered by Nahapiet and Ghosal (1998).

The application of social innovation theory as the second pillar of our social base arises out of a perceived need to generate more than social capital in order to further develop borderlands. When forming our analytical model we proposed that innovations in the relationships between actors and institutions on both sides of the border were needed in order to further development in these regions. As we will see below, social innovation is still an ambiguous concept and continues to lack support from some researchers, particularly in the fields dealing with territorial innovation models (Karlsen and Larrea 2014). In spite of this ambiguity, we determined that it was the appropriate concept for the construction of our social base, as it offers a more dynamic perspective of the social base itself, and also explains the evolution in processes and relationships that characterize bridging institutions in cross-border regions. Our position for this dissertation, as explained below, is one adopted from Moulaert and Nussbaumer's (2005) characterization of social innovation, with specific regard to innovation in social relationships within government structures and communities. This definition forms an important part of our social base research, as it helps us to identify new modes of governance and relationships within bridging institutions in cross-border regions. We further our definition of social innovation by taking into account Mulgan's (2006) work, which describes social innovations as "innovative activities and services motivated by the goal of meeting a social need" (146).

3.5.2 Social Capital

Social capital is defined not as a single concept, but as a variety of different characteristics within social structures that permits actors within that structure certain actions otherwise withheld from them (Coleman 1990). Coleman explains that the attributes gained within these social structures are never privative to the persons benefiting from them. According to Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992), social capital eases activities within social structures because of "the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by a virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutional relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 119). The World Bank (1998) defines social capital as the personal relationships, trust and civic participation found within institutions and social

structures that enable people to contribute to economic and social development. Regardless of the tasks and difficulties in defining social capital, for the purpose of this dissertation we position our general approach to social capital on Putnam's (1995) definition: social capital deals with trust, networks, and rules promoting cooperation between actors within society looking to achieve mutual benefits. Formal membership in associations, civic participation, trust and volunteerism are all indicators of social capital (Putnam 2000). Continuing with the subject of this dissertation, trust and networks are identified as core constructs of social capital (see Fukuyama 1995; Onyx and Bullen 2000).

Social Capital deals with trust, networks, and rules promoting cooperation between actors within society looking to achieve mutual benefits.

Robert Putnam

These core concepts of trust and networks, and the addition of a third (shared vision), Nahapiet and Ghosal (1998) assess social capital as allowing specific actions or obtaining objectives otherwise impossible or unattainable without those three resources. Hence, in reviewing this past research and for purposes of this dissertation, we frame social capital as constituting several core elements: trust, networks, civic norms, civic participation and a shared vision (Putnam 1995; Nahapiet and Ghosal 1998). Adler and Kwon (2002) examine these aforementioned studies as well as a wide array of other literature on social capital, and outline three broad classifications. First, the bridging (external) view, which concentrates on the actors' relations with other actors. Secondly, the bonding (internal) view, based on the actors structure of relationships within the network. And thirdly, a mix of both the external and internal view (figure 3.4).

As explained above, our dissertation's general approximation of social capital comes from Putnam's theoretical framework. Nahapiet and Ghosal (1998) furthered Putnam's research, by developing their three dimensions of social capital and applied them in accordance with an organizational perspective. Throughout our consideration of bridging institutions, who on their own are forms of organizations, we decided to use Nahapiet and Ghosal's approximation as a pillar of our own analytical framework.

In their widely cited work, *Social Capital, Intellectual Capital, and the Organizational Advantage*, Janine Nahapiet and Sumantra Ghoshal offer a first hand look into applying the theories of social capital in an organization, and how these ultimately lead to the creation of intellectual capital. Their ideal model "incorporates a series of hypothesized relationships between different dimensions of social capital and the main mechanisms and processes necessary for the creation of intellectual capital" (Nahapiet and Ghoshal 1998, 242). For Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998), social capital can be defined as "the sum

of the actual and potential resources embedded within, available through, and derived from the network of relationships possessed by an individual or social unit. Social capital thus comprises both the network and the assets that may be mobilized through that network" (243).

Within organizations and institutions, social capital is at the heart of developing intellectual capital and innovation (Nahapiet and Ghoshal 1998). For their research, Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998) consider the use of three clusters or dimensions of social capital: the structural (networks), the relational (trust), and the cognitive (shared vision). The first dimension of social capital, the structural one, refers to how networks are established through linkages and ties. The second dimension, the relational one, deals with how trust, norms, responsibilities and personal identities result from participation in networks. The third dimension, the cognitive one, is structured around developing shared codes, meanings, narratives and visions. It is through these three dimensions that they analyze "the central proposition of social capital theory; networks of relationships constitute a valuable resource for the conduct of social affairs" (Nahapiet and Ghoshal 1998, 243).

Social capital is essential to the development of territorial innovation models and economic development strategies because of its intensely cooperative behavior (Nahapiet and Ghoshal 1998). "The concept, therefore, is central to the understanding of institutional dynamics, innovation, and value creation" (Nahapiet and Ghoshal 1998, 245).

Outlining these three theoretical boundaries makes social capital easier to define and analyze (Nahapiet 2008). The following section offers an overview of the three core concepts of social capital, in order that we might better understand them and grasp their role within our concept of a social base.

3.5.2.1 Trust

The concept of trust, observed within the social capital literature, is inspired by various strands of literature--sociology, psychology and economics--resulting in a multilevel (individual, group, firm and institutional) association of the subject (Rousseau et al. 1998). We have seen from the definitions of social capital, as cited above, that trust and social capital go hand-in-hand. Coleman's (1988) concept of social capital establishes trust as an important part and one on which future expectations and commitments are based. Putnam (1995) describes trust as a source of social capital and as one that positively impacts economic and political development. Finally, Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998) use trust as the basis for their relational dimension of social capital.

We position our dissertation by developing our concept of trust within the two

dimensions described by Dakhli and De Clercq (2004): generalized and institutional. Generalized trust “captures the interpersonal facet of trust and includes both the calculus-based (i.e. rational) and relational-based (i.e. emotional) areas of trust” (Dakhli and De Clercq 2004, 113); while institutional trust, “relates to trust people have in institutions or organizations in the given society” (Dakhli and De Clercq 2004, 113). Trust can then be applied both on a personal level as well as on an organizational or territorial level. Generalized trust is based on person-to-person contact, which then makes interaction and association possible (Sako 1992). Institutional trust, on the other hand, is deterrence-based in that it “emphasizes utilitarian considerations and is founded on the belief that efficient sanction mechanisms are in place” (Dakhli and de Clercq 2004, 113). This then makes it easier for individuals to associate and cooperate taking into account that mechanisms are in effect for false cooperation, i.e. breaches of contract (Dakhli and de Clercq 2004).

Generalized trust “captures the interpersonal facet of trust and includes both the calculus-based (i.e. rational) and relational-based (i.e. emotional) areas of trust” while institutional trust, “relates to trust people have in institutions or organizations in the given society”

Dakhli and De Clercq

According to Fukuyama (1995), trust is seen as “the expectation that arises within a community of regular, honest, and cooperative behavior, based on commonly shared norms, on the part of other members of the community” (Fukuyama 1995, 27). Putnam (2000) also explains that both honesty and trust factor in making a more efficient society. Trust then appears to bring about the cooperation and association of individuals in a society expanding the sharing of assets such as information, skills and knowledge all leading to the promotion of social capital. According to Nahapiet and Ghosal (1998), relational trust facilitates the exchange of information and knowledge among cooperating actors inspiring risk taking, which otherwise would not be available to them.

Cook and Wall (1980) describe the effectiveness and importance of trust between individuals and groups as being “a highly important ingredient in the long term stability of the organization, and the well being of its members” (39). Fukuyama (1995) contends that higher trust levels usually result in strong social capital organizations, arguing that increasing social inter-personal trust tends to result in a more engrained and sustainable form of social capital. Finally, Gambetta (1998) sees trust as something actors can enact on themselves leading to more effective cooperation, and describes trust as a tool “that we can use to impose some restraint on ourselves and thus restrict the extent to which

others have to worry about our trustworthiness" (Gambetta 1998, 221).

3.5.2.2 Networks

The consideration of networks in the study of social capital results from the study of associational activity between the people in a society and their willingness to be a part of organizations within it (Dakhli and de Clercq, 2004). Societies that are based on more linear social relationships and based on core values such as trust, solidarity and shared values, exhibit greater levels of cooperation and therefore higher indexes of social capital (Putnam 1993).

Along with Putnam, Coleman (1988, 1990) also outlines that the embeddedness of social networks in any given society leads to the development of trust and cooperation between individuals, consequently leading to the expansion of social capital. However it is fair to state that the benefits that individuals might gain from exposure to social networks doesn't solely rely upon being a part of them, but also on the associational activity and organizational involvement they demonstrate within them (Beugelsdijk and van Schaik's 2005). This then is the essence of the weak ties/strong ties analysis within social networks (see Granovetter 1973). Nevertheless, as in all aspects of academia there is an opposing view arguing that weak ties or a lack of network closure and the structural holes that result from them are just as important if not more for the full realization of an individual's benefits from these networks (Burt 1992, 1997). Burt sees these structural holes as "an opportunity to broker the flow of information between people, and control the projects that bring people together from opposite sides of the hole" (Burt 2001, 208).

In *Bowling Alone* (2000), Putnam's view on social capital, specifically with regard to networks, progressed toward a view based on "connections among individuals—social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them" (19). This definition centers on the structural norms of social capital (social networks). Putnam's (2000) work allows us to position our dissertation with regard to networks by taking the

"social networks are important in all our lives, often for finding jobs, more often for finding a helping hand, companionship, or a shoulder to cry on"

Claude S. Fischer

view that it is networks in general (and not only 'horizontal networks of civic engagement') which act as a source of social capital. According to Putnam (2000) "networks involve (almost by definition) mutual obligations; they are not interesting as mere 'contacts'. Networks of community engagement foster study norms of reciprocity"(20). Nahapiet and Ghosal (1998) stress the importance of networks by arguing that it is networks that make available the actual and potential resources of social capital.

This literature demonstrates the importance of networks or associational activity through both passive (weak ties) and active (strong ties) involvement in organizations and institutions for the transfer of information and knowledge leading to the development of social capital within a society. The importance of networks can best be summed up by Claude S. Fischer's quote in *Bowling Alone*, "social networks are important in all our lives, often for finding jobs, more often for finding a helping hand, companionship, or a shoulder to cry on" (Fischer as cited in Putnam 2000, 20).

3.5.2.3 Shared Vision

The shared vision component of social capital taken into account for this dissertation is derived from the cognitive dimension of social capital, which outlines socio-cultural relationships that provide shared representations, understanding and systems of meaning among them (Cicourel 1973, Nahapiet and Ghoshal 1998) and also consider shared language and codes (Arrow 1974) as well as shared narratives (Orr 1990). For this dissertation we position our views on a shared vision as one that provides "shared representations, interpretations, and systems of meaning...facilitating the negotiation and establishment of common goals" (Nahapiet and Ghoshal 1998, 123).

A shared vision is one that provides "shared representations, interpretations, and systems of meaning...facilitating the negotiation and establishment of common goals"

Nahapiet and Ghoshal

The cognitive dimension is the least studied dimension of the three dimensions of social capital (Nahapiet 2008). This dimension impacts the creation of social capital by relying on the embodiment of shared visions and collective goals of individuals enclosed by shared perceptions, interpretations and expectations (Tsai and Ghoshal 1998). These shared perceptions and visions translate into shared norms and values, which perpetuate stronger bond forming relationships (Tschannen-Moran 2004, Burt 1992).

The cognitive dimension stresses the importance of the value of the information shared as well as of the development of a shared vision, ultimately leading to the portrayal of networks sharing common stories and thinking as a collective, and achieving high levels of social capital.

3.5.3 Social Innovation

Social Innovation are innovations between social relationships in groups, communities, organizations and institutions.

Moulaert and Nussbaumer

Social innovation “is a term that almost everyone likes, but nobody is quite sure as to what it means” (Pol and Ville 2009, 881). Because of the recent popularity of this subject matter, several attempts have been made to determine the best definition, though the end result is that every definition is met with contest (Howaldt and Schwarz 2010; Huddart 2010; Pol and Ville 2009). Sotarauta (2009) goes as far as to say that social innovation is “perhaps one of those concepts that can only be framed and used as an analytical tool, but not exhaustively defined. It goes without saying that the concept of social innovation provides not only a seductively topical, but also a positively wholesome counterweight to more technologically orientated literature” (623).

Social innovation can be found in a diverse range of research literature, including: territorial development (see Moulaert and Nussbaumer 2005; MacCallum et al. 2009; Estensoro and Zurbano 2010; Estensoro 2012; Karlsen and Larrea 2014), technological organization (see Dawson, Daniel and Farmer 2010), and creativity studies (Mumford 2002). This section provides an overview of the various definitions and concepts surrounding social innovation, and also specifies the one that will be used throughout this dissertation.

Innovation as a concept is very often linked to the works of Joseph Schumpeter (1994). Under his concept, innovation is determined to be a new idea, that when put into practice leads to market success and wide replication. The social side of innovation has developed most recently as a descriptive metaphor - dealing with the likes of social, economic, political and technological change – an less as a set definition (Howaldt & Schwarz, 2010). Both, because of its wide-ranging application as well as of its evolving status, social innovation has gained popularity in public policy discourse of Europe and North America. Within public policy, social innovation is touted as a solution to complex social issues, including climate change and economic crises (Bergman et al. 2010; Goldenberg et al. 2009).

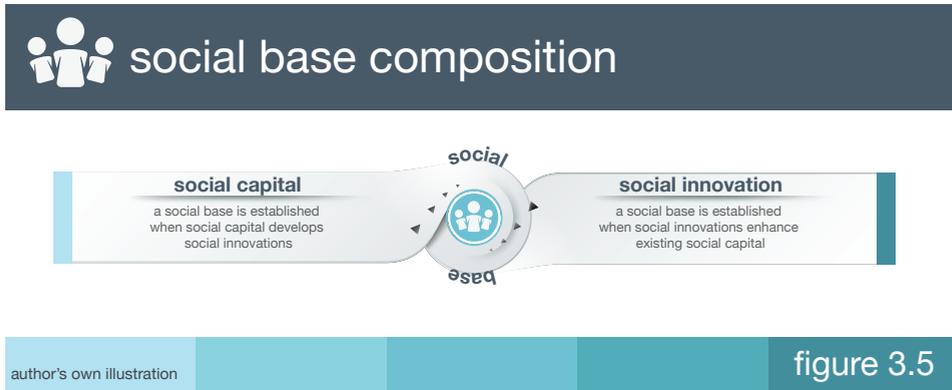
As stated above, many definitions exist with regard to social innovation. These definitions range from including the social needs necessary for the adoption of new technologies (see Mulgan et. al. 2007), to an emphasis on the social side of innovation (see Maxwell 2003), and even to shifting from technological and market-based approaches, to social base approaches (Moulaert and Nussbaumer 2005).

Howaldt and Schwarz (2010) interpret social innovation “as a process of collective creation in which the members of a certain collective unit learn, invent and lay out new rules for the social game of collaboration and of conflict. Or, in a word, a new social practice, and in this process they acquire the necessary cognitive, rational and organizational skills” (Crozier/Friedberg 1993, 19 as cited in Howaldt & Schwarz 2010). For Phills, Deiglmeier and Miller (2008) social innovation is “a novel solution to a social problem that is more effective, efficient, sustainable, and/or just than existing solutions, and for which the value created accrues primarily to society as a whole rather than private individuals” (39). Within the territorial development sphere, social innovation is seen as the process of “satisfying human needs through the transformation of social relations: transformations which ‘improve’ the governance systems that guide and regulate the allocation of goods and services meant to satisfy those needs, and which establish new governance structures and organizations” (MacCallum et al. 2009, 12). Estensoro (2012) furthers this by defining social innovation as “innovation in governance relations for the satisfaction of needs” (Estensoro 2012, 28). Finally, Moulaert and Nussbaumer (2008) argue that social innovation has taken on the responsibility of embracing the needs for “a more comprehensive societal transformation of human relations and practices” (13).

For the purpose of this dissertation, we position ourselves with regard to social innovation by defining it as a new set of practices, actions or services aimed at solving a social need. This definition stems from Mulgan et al. (2013) who defines social innovation as both “new ideas that work” (9) and “innovative activities and services that are motivated by the goal of meeting a social need and that are predominantly developed and diffused through organizations whose primary purposes are social” (146). Moulaert and Nussbaumer’s (2005) definition of social innovation (as innovation between social relationships in groups, communities, organizations and institutions), specifically within the context of Territorial Innovation Models, also shapes our characterization of social innovations for the purposes of this dissertation. This view of social innovation as “innovation in social relations, as well as in meeting human needs” (MacCallum et al. 2009, 2), complements the often cited technological based and ‘market-led’ based territorial development (Moulaert and Nussbaumer 2005, 45). The supplementing of these two bases, allows us to apply social innovation as the second pillar to our social base analytical framework (see section 3.5.3). We then identify Social innovation within this dissertation as innovation that manifests through how members of bridging institutions interact, work with, and communicate between each other.

One barrier to social innovation as addressed in Mulgan’s et al. (2013) work is relationships. The author notes that relationships in the form of social capital are a necessity for getting things done, and that “much of the business of government and the social sector rests on personal relationships that may count for more than formal

organograms” (Mulgan et al. 2013, 18). Social capital then becomes a key component of social innovation, promoting the fact that change is coming and mobilizing it through its system of networks. This allows us to conclude that a social base is established when social innovations enhance existing social capital and when social capital develops social innovations (figure 3.5).



3.6. Establishing a Social Base

In section 3.4.2 we reviewed how authors within the Territorial Innovation Models literature approach social relations within said models, as well as their approximations with regard to related concepts, including ‘social’ dimension/field. In this section we propose our definition of a Social Base.

For us, a social base is the merging of two key aspects within the field of socioeconomics: social capital and social innovation. We define a Social Base as the coming together of different actors of civil society, engaged by trust, networks and a shared vision (social capital), and motivated to establish new sets of practices, actions or services aimed at solving social needs (social innovation).

As explored in section 3.4, a key for generating economic development and competitiveness strategies in a cross-border context is the coming together of social capital and social innovation to work toward these goals. Each of these concepts, on their own, is not sufficient to promote growth in cross-border cases. Social Capital’s key elements of trust, networks and a shared vision are often not enough to develop joint economic development, innovation and competitiveness strategies in cross-border regions. There is a need to integrate social innovations to the existing formulas of social capital, particularly in cross-border environments, and socially innovative cross-border cooperation mechanisms must exist in order to be able to provoke cooperation.

As seen in section 3.5.3, when we refer to social innovation, we are referring to

mechanisms and practices designed to innovate the way complex cross-border relationships function, and at the same time promote their interactions. A bi-national center for the promotion of social and economic development, a cross-border network of socially responsible businesses, a shared cross-border tax code, a shared school system, transport and water conservation projects, a cross-border master plan, etc., are all examples of social innovations at the cross-border level.

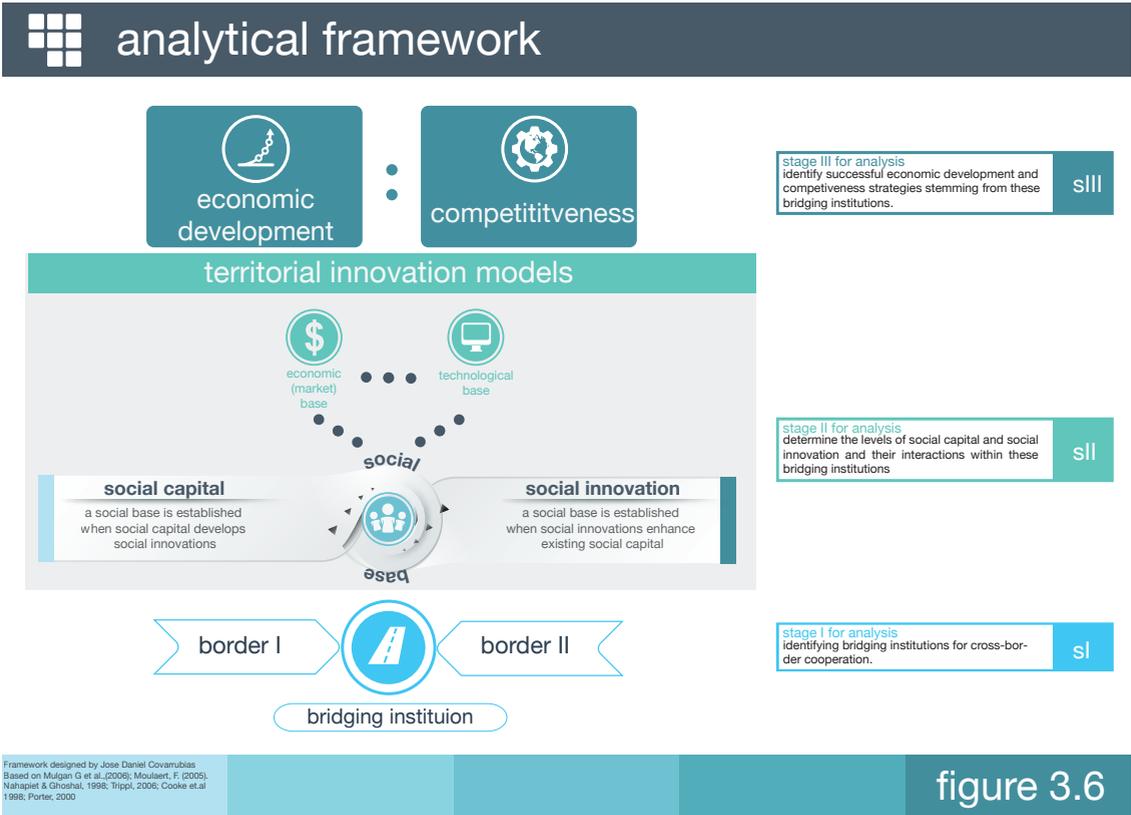
The merging of these two concepts - social capital and social innovation - is what leads us to establish a social base. When social innovations enhance existing social capital, a social base is established. When social capital develops social innovations, a social base is established. A social base is the interrelatedness of social capital and social innovation. We hope that the following analytical model can better illustrate how a social base impacts economic development and competitiveness strategies within different cross-border contexts.

We define a Social Base as the coming together of different actors of civil society, engaged by trust, networks and a shared vision (social capital), and motivated to establish new sets of practices, actions or services aimed at solving social needs (social innovation).

3.6.1 Analyzing if Greater Cross-Border Social Capital and Social Innovation Equals More Cross-Border Economic Development

Based on the assessment of a research gap with regard to the importance of social relationships within economic activities of TIM's, as presented in section 3.2, this section proposes an analytical framework, the purpose of which is to represent how a social base relates to economic development and competitiveness within a cross-border context. It is also our hope that this framework (Figure 3.6) might also serve as future reference point for actors and policy makers within cross-border territories.

At the core of this framework, are the three bases of the Territorial Innovation Models (see section 3.3.7). Because we find a social base to be the least researched within relevant TIM's literature, we focus our analysis on upgrading the general understanding of a social base, and establishing our own definition of it, as a foundation for economic development and competitiveness strategies within a cross-border context.



Framework designed by Jose Daniel Covarrubias
 Based on Mulgan G et al.(2006); Moutsart, F. (2005).
 Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998; Trippi, 2006; Cooke et al
 1998; Porter, 2000

The first stage of the model is designed to identify bridging institutions that exist for cross-border cooperation. These bridging institutions are classified by organization, working methods, and content of cross-border cooperation. Bridging institutions are a central feature of cross-border cooperation and, within our model, they represent the platform upon which a social base is first established. It is within these bridging institutions that social capital and social innovation is incorporated and in a cross-border context their efforts should be directed toward areas of cooperation identified within each region. Often, these bridging organizations require stimulation in order for them to appear, and it is critical that they consist of actors within all walks of economic, social and public life. These institutions can serve to reduce the gaps between both sides of the border region, and as a generator of social capital and social innovation (a setting in which trust, networks, and a shared vision can be built). And once a social base has been established within and through these bridging institutions, the process by which the key elements of a social base permeate throughout society can be facilitated.

After we classify the bridging institutions, the second stage consists of identifying the presence of social capital and social innovation, and the interactions occurring between

these two concepts allowing for social capital to develop social innovations and for social innovations to enhance social capital, all within these bridging institutions. Establishing a social base is proposed on the basis of two pillars: Social Capital and Social Innovation. The Social Capital pillar is based on Putnam's (2001) definition of social capital as "connections among individuals—social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them" (19), as well as on Nahapiet and Ghoshal's (1998) classic work on social capital's three dimensions, in which they define Social Capital as, "the sum of the actual and potential resources embedded within, available through, and derived from the network of relationships possessed by an individual or social unit. Social capital thus comprises both the network and the assets that may be mobilized through that network" (243). One objective of this proposed framework is to apply the three dimensions of social capital established by Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998) (structural, relational and cognitive) to a cross border territory, exploring what barriers they face and how critical they are to the establishment of social capital at a territorial level.

For the social innovation pillar of our analytical framework, we define the concept of social innovation as socially innovative activities or practices aimed at a social need (Mulgan et al. 2013), as well as innovations between social relationships in groups, communities, organizations and institutions (Moulaert and Nussbaumer 2005). We also take into account the territorial aspect of this model as applied to this pillar. While Howaldt et al. (2010) help us to establish the local and regional importance of social innovation. With this in mind, bridging institutions are analyzed for the social needs they confront and the socially innovative activities or practices they conduct based on these needs. Therefore, social innovation offers the opportunity to focus on the social and territorial aspects of economic development under this new framework.

The final stage of this analytical model requires the identification of successful economic development and competitiveness strategies resulting from the bridging institutions. These strategies will be classified by origin, sector, goals and accomplishments.

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4

REGION LAREDO

sociodemographics

social aspects	nuevo laredo, tamaulipas mexico	laredo, texas united states of america
population	618,426	
	60%	40%
geographic size	1,752 Sq.Km.	
	76%	24%
per capita income	\$10,000.00 USD	\$24,000.00 USD
life expectancy	75	77.6
average schooling	8.5 years*	12.9 years*
human development index	0.755*	0.912*
wef competitiveness index	55*	5*
happy planet index	22*	16*
social progress index	54*	16*
r&d expenditure	0.43%*	2.8%*
tertiary education	17%*	42%*
researcher x 1000 emp.	9.24*	1.03*

*using national averages and rankings

source: plan de gran vision
2040, oecd, un, wef, happy
planet, social progress index

figure 4.1

The selection of case studies for this dissertation was influenced greatly by both the author's professional and personal experiences (Yin 2009). Having resided, studied, and worked in Region Laredo for the larger part of his life, the direction and focus of the author's research was, from the outset, intrinsically tied to this U.S.-Mexico cross-border region.

Introduction

This chapter will allow for an empirical introduction to our analytical framework (section 3.6.1.) and its application to our first case study: Region Laredo. It will also provide us with the data necessary to contribute to and answer our research objectives and our second research question-how do these economic social relations impact economic development and competitiveness strategies in a cross-border context?

For a better and more practical understanding of this case study we have decided to invert the description of the analytical model's stages (section 3.6.1): we begin by presenting the results (stage III), then work our way back to how these results were achieved (stage II), and finally we consider the role that bridging institutions play at the outset of the entire process (stage I).

For the application of our analytical framework we divided this chapter into four sections. The first section serves as an overview of what constitutes Region Laredo, as well as a brief summary of the region's history, and relevant socioeconomic facts. The second section explores the impacts that a social base (social innovation and social capital) has on economic development and competitiveness strategies in Region Laredo. The third section goes deeper into the impacts previously presented and introduces and explains the barriers to cross-border development in this region, as well as the forms of social capital and social innovation that resulted in the impacts above-mentioned. The fourth and final section explores the concept of bridging institutions, which were the basis for the application of our analytical model to this case study.

We applied this structure, with the goal of achieving a more fluid application of our framework, and ultimately, to be able to more effectively transmit the possible linkages

 bridging institution comparative

				
name	economic development cooperation	La Red 2	tamiu binational center	border liaison mechanism
year started	1986	2012	2008	1993
legal setup	informal collaboration agreement	ngo	informal collaboration agreement	binational committee
organizational structure	twin pair	cluster	transboundary	twin pair with joint committee
type of partnership	private - private	private - private	public- private	public- public
leadership	enterprise	enterprise	education	government
financed by	government	enterprise	education	government
number of actors	4	18	3 +	14 +

data source: codein, ldf, lared 2, tamiu binational center, and border liaison mechanism, author's own

table 4.1

BRIDGING INSTITUTIONS

For this case study we based our research on the analysis of four bridging institutions in Region Laredo (table 4.1), the selection of which is explained in section 2.2. A great part of the development of this chapter is based on the perceived contributions of these bridging institutions to the economic development and competitiveness strategies of this region.

The four bridging institutions, economic development cooperation (EDC), LaRed2, TAMIU Binational Center and the Border Liaison Mechanism (BLM), represent as wide a variety of institutions as possible. We see private-private collaborations as well as public-private and public-public, which permit us to better fully grasp how a social base is developed within these different scenarios.

within the three stages of our framework. By the end of this chapter we hope that the reader identifies this structured flow and is able to link the presence of a social base within the bridging institutions to the impacts on economic development and competitiveness strategies based on the data collected.

4.1 Overview

In 1755, Villa de San Agustin de Laredo was founded by Spanish settlers. By the end of the Mexican - American war and upon the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe, in 1848, the original city of Laredo was divided into two, separated by the Rio Grande River (the same river that serves as the southern border with Mexico for the entire state of Texas). North of the winding river, Laredo, Texas remained, while on the southern side, the city of Nuevo (New) Laredo, Tamaulipas was formed.

Region Laredo is one of six major metropolitan twin cities on the US-Mexico border (see figure 4.1 for socio-demographic information). Both border cities are united by three international vehicle crossings and one railroad bridge. Its strategic location between both countries, as well as both its physical and human capital infrastructure, has deemed this crossing an ideal route for connecting Mexico to the United States. Upwards of 40% of all trade between these two countries is conducted through this region, earning it the title of Latin America's customs capital.

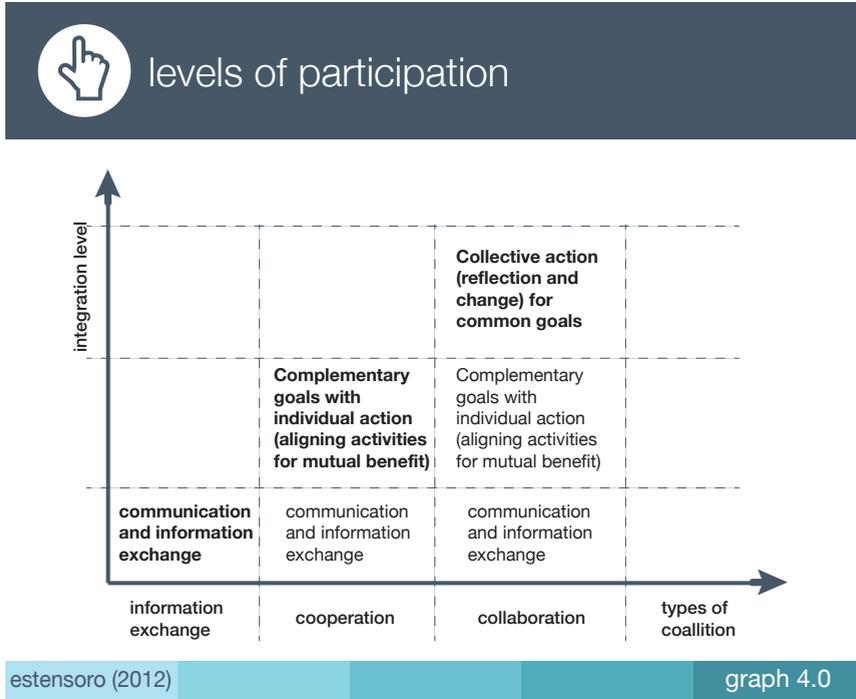
Despite a bustling economy, brought on by extensive commercial networks of international trade, the differences between these 'sister' cities are marked. From a social perspective (and because of its potential impact on this case study, as will be explored later), it is important to consider that this region has, until recently, been marred by the ongoing drug war that pervades Mexico's northern states. The level of violence and the extent to which it impacts life in Nuevo Laredo (which, since beginning our research have both reduced considerably) have no doubt left lasting effects on the economic, social and political ties in this region.

4.2 Economic Development and Competitiveness Impacts (STAGE III)

Improved economic development and competitiveness strategies, in cross-border regions, involve the active collaboration of both cities (Pekmann 2003, van Houtum 2010), in either formulating joint public policy to develop the region as a whole, or by participating in collective actions that lead to the advancement of the region's economic development and competitiveness. The third stage of our analytical model allows us to identify what impacts (joint public policy or collective actions), if any, a social base has on cross-border economic development and competitiveness strategies.

In order to better measure our observed impacts, we use the levels of participation

scale (graph 4.0) that Estensoro (2012) adapted from Camarinha-Matos and Afsarmanesh (2006). In this scale, the different levels of participation rise in terms of the collective action of the observed subjects. For our purposes, we will label our identified impacts based on this scale’s collective action ranks: information exchange, cooperation and collaboration.



Since the outset of our research, we have posited that the presence of a social base in a cross-border community will lead to better economic development and competitiveness strategies. This train of thought leads us to infer that when a cross-border region has established its social capital and adopted social innovations, this will lead them to the collaboration stage, which ensures better cross-border economic development and competitiveness strategies. Collaboration is then defined as a “process in which participants share information, resources and responsibility to jointly plan, implement, a program of activities to achieve a common goal” (Estensoro 2012, 89).

As demonstrated in table 4.1, we considered four bridging institutions for this case study. The first bridging institution, Economic Development Cooperation, serves to group economic development institutes on both sides of the border, and its work is also related to the promotion of economic and industrial development on both sides of the border. LaRed2 is our second bridging institution, and is composed of socially responsible businesses on both sides of the border. Their main objective is to organize

and assist in the funding of social causes and activities, primarily on the Mexican side of the region. Our third bridging institution is the Texas A&M International University's Bi-National Center. This center focuses its efforts on active participation in the integration of this cross-border region, as well as expanding US-Mexico relations. Finally, the Border Liaison Mechanism is our fourth bridging institution. It is comprised of both the American and Mexican Consulates, as well as government officials on both sides of the border. Its work focuses mainly on developing and maintaining cooperation mechanisms to resolve social, political, economic and cultural issues affecting this cross-border region.

Our results for this stage show how different forms of social capital and social innovations (stage II) within the separate bridging institutions contribute to impacts on the cross-border region's economic development and competitiveness strategies (see table 4.1.A). Within our results we can observe that establishing networks, having a shared vision and a willingness to 'do things differently' (all of which are analyzed in Section 4.3), leads to the overall improvement of the region's development strategies.

 impacts on economic development and competitiveness strategies

  		
bridging institution	social capital / social innovation	impact
edc	establishing social capital networks	new path to business development
edc	new collaboration models	unexplored business opportunities
lared2	new dynamic bridging institution	ability to shape cross-border public policy

table 4.1.A

The first impact that we observe arises within the context of our interviews with Subjects A and B of the EDC: that establishing networks through this bridging institution and a willingness to adopt a generally different approach, has opened a new path to business development that was not there before. This perceived impact begins with

the cooperation of both the Laredo Development Foundation-LDF and the Industrial Development Committee-CODEIN (figure 4.3) in the annual Logistic and Manufacturing Symposium, which is hosted by the LDF and several other economic development promotion agencies, (but not CODEIN). Through CODEIN's participation in this symposium, Mexican industrial companies were given an opportunity to participate and establish new links with American companies, resulting in new business development opportunities. For example, it has been proposed that a local supplier base (that would serve existing twin plants in the area) be established, in order to replace current suppliers that are much farther away. This would create a double benefit of reduced costs and increased employment in the region, by simply taking advantage of existing unused capacity in local production plants.

“As a result of our symposium, we were able to connect one company on the Mexican side with another on the U.S. side, and they are currently formulating a work contract together--so, we have fostered some business development. As a result of that development, I am now speaking with the LMA and proposing a collaboration between the LDF, CODEIN, and INDEX (twin plant association of Nuevo Laredo) to develop products for tier one and tier two suppliers that are already soundly established on both sides of the border. Often enough, their suppliers are either in the interior of Mexico or in other states within the U.S. This is one way that we can begin working on a smaller scale, instead of having to make such large initial investments.

**Subject A
Economic Development Cooperation**

New collaboration models established through this bridging institution (EDC) also created channels through which companies in the region could promote their spare capacity to American companies, leading to new, previously unexplored business opportunities. For example, Sony (one of the most established manufacturing plants in Nuevo Laredo) was the first major company to express a willingness to offer their manufacturing services to new, smaller, non-traditional customers. It was Sony's intention to put their existing facilities, workforce, and expertise to better use, while the EDC was responsible for putting them in contact with companies seeking this type of specialized service.

“Another interesting development is the increasingly popular practice of putting to better use the spare capacity that the twin plants currently have available. This began with Japan through Sony who was the first to say to us, “go ahead, if you want to find new products, we have the capacity to produce them.” So, we are trying to promote this program with other companies that are already established here, and offering out support in the process.

Subject B
Economic Development Cooperation

It is worth noting that although the two examples explored above illustrate a sense of cooperation between the LDF and CODEIN (both within the EDC bridging institution), we determine that collaboration is still far from optimal, due in great part to the barriers explained in section 4.3.1. Collaboration as a collective action cannot be established when an activity or event does not include all of a bridging institutions relevant members. For example, the 20th Logistics and Manufacturing Symposium organized by the LDF (the focus of which was on the 20th year anniversary of the North American Free Trade agreement between the Canada, Mexico and the United States of America) did not include CODEIN as one of the organizers. We found that within this bridging institution, positive steps are being taken with regard to cooperation, but a real sense of collective action and collaboration is still lacking.

Also evident from our interviews is a second impact on cross-border economic development and competitiveness strategies: the ability of bridging institutions to shape public policy on both sides of a border. The generation of social capital by establishing networks within bridging institutions allows them to influence public policy development.

This second impact arises from our interview with Subject A of LaRed2: that the start of a new dynamic bridging institution (such as this one) has brought about a new way of working toward economic development and competitiveness goals in this region. Working under the theme of Corporate Social Responsibility, this network has connected itself with trusted firms and academic organizations aiming to garner a reputation worthy of influencing public policy for the advancement of development within the region. Under the premise that the government cannot act alone, this bridging institution is working to position itself as an ally in the social and economic development of the region, with both factors ultimately impacting its competitiveness.

“During our presentation, when we discuss the benefits of participating in this network, one highlight is our ability to influence public policy. It is clear to us that we must participate in the binational community’s territorial development. The government is not solely responsible for fostering social and economic development, nor are we of the belief that enterprise can only be used for the generation of financial capital, or money. We believe that firms can play an important role in this process and might better appreciate both the concepts and values inherent to the social economy. The firm thus has its own value in the social economic policies of a region, because so much of what they do has an effect on the standards of living of its shareholders, its employees, and the greater community.

Subject A
LaRed2

4.3 Socializing Bridging Institutions (STAGE II)

Now that we are familiar with the impacts made on competitiveness and economic development strategies in this case study, we can explore how those impacts became a reality.

While achieving cross-border cooperation is no easy feat, the complexity of cooperation requires a concerted effort on both sides of the border to come together and foster this collaboration. These efforts are frequently met with barriers, and the case of Region Laredo is no different. Within this case study we observe from our interviews that the barriers to cross-border cooperation (figure 4.2) with which bridging institutions in the region are faced, can be described as: political, cultural, competition, lines of communication, social and economic. It is important that we remember that these barriers do not amount to a theoretical contribution of this dissertation. Instead these barriers are a result of the systematization of the data gathered from our interviews and processed through our qualitative research software as explained in section 2.4.2. The following barriers and those presented subsequently in our other two case studies are adapted from Medeiros’ (2010) and Klatt and Herrmann’s (2011) work on the effects of barriers on cross border cooperation, and they are a contribution to theory oriented to understanding how the social base can be developed.



For this case study, we define political barriers as politics or politicians that are perceived by our interviewed participants to be hindering the process of collaboration. Animosity between governments on both sides of the border, politicians not accounting for private sector strategies, and the restriction of government funding toward private sector cooperation, are all examples of detected political barriers.

Cultural barriers are defined as those involving different mindsets on common issues of people on both sides of the borders. For example, different perceptions with regard to bribery or breaking the law, opposing approaches to business management, and varying value sets with regard to family are all examples of detected cultural barriers within the context of cross-border cooperation.

In some cases, as is the case of Region Laredo, the two border cities experience (and to some degree foster) a sense of rivalry, ultimately creating competition barriers throughout various sectors. Wanting to have the last word when it comes to strategic plans or building competing infrastructure instead of designing urban planning jointly, are both examples of competition barriers.

We have observed that for cross-border cooperation to work, clear lines of communication need to be established. It is also true that these lines of communication can be broken, leading also to the existence of lines of communication barriers for cooperation.

Within this case study, societal well-being barriers can be defined primarily as public security issues stemming from the above-mentioned violence facing the northern states of Mexico. As stated earlier (in section 4.1), the serious issues involving the war on drugs and its cartels, have affected cross-border cooperation by hindering movement to and from Mexico, as well as by a tangible 'distancing' between and along both sides of the border.

Finally economic barriers can be described as those involving funding for cross-border cooperation mainly from government entities. When this type of funding is withdrawn, economic barriers for cooperation form.

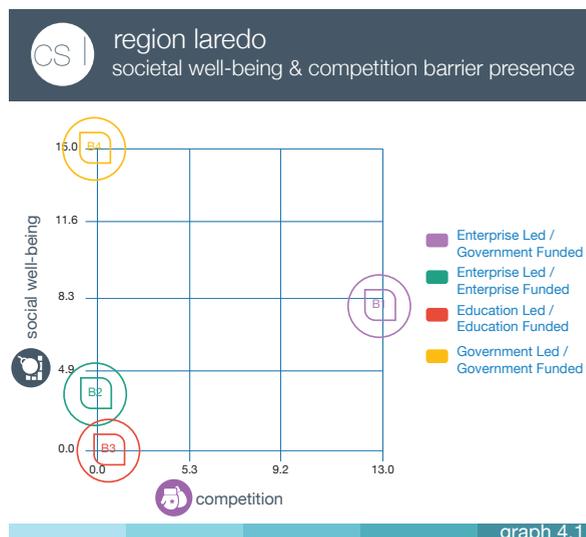
The following section 4.3.1 is divided into three subsections, each will illustrate how these barriers take form within each of the bridging institutions of this case study.

4.3.1 Cross-Border Cooperation Barriers Presence

As we observed in section 2.2.5, bridging institutions were collected within descriptor groups for a better flowing analysis within our qualitative research software Dedoose. In accordance with our qualitative research software, descriptors are “sets of information you use to identify and describe the sources of your media (e.g., documents, video, audio, images). Commonly, these are the characteristics of your research participants (e.g., individuals, dyads, families), but can also be descriptions of settings in which observations are made (e.g., stores, schools, neighborhoods, cultures)”(Dedoose 2014). In this case study we identified, from our interviews, that the funding mechanisms of the bridging institution played a key role with regard to the cross-border cooperation barriers that they encountered. So, we decided to use it as a descriptor, together with the bridging institution leadership form. This in turn allowed us to create the following four-descriptor groups: enterprise lead/government funded, enterprise lead/enterprise funded, education lead/education funded, and government lead/government funded bridging institutions. These groupings then permitted us to formulate our graphs with a clearer understanding of the results.

4.3.1.A. Societal well-being and Competition Barriers Presence

With regard to the presence of social and competition barriers (graph 4.1), a high frequency mention of societal well-being barriers is detected in the government led/government funded bridging institution (BLM), a moderate frequency in the enterprise led/government funded initiative (EDC), a lower frequency is found in the enterprise led/enterprise funded measure (LaRed2) and



graph 4.1

a low incidence in the education led and funded center (Binational Center). Competition barriers are observed with a highest frequency of mentions in the enterprise led/government funded initiative (EDC) and a very low incidence within the remaining three institutions (Binational Center, LaRed2, BLM).

Societal well-being barriers, as described above, in this case study take the shape of bridging institutions dealing with the security issues presented in the north of Mexico. Since 2005, Mexico has been submerged in a bloody and violent war on drugs, most seriously impacting the northern states that share a border the United States of America. This war on drugs has created adverse situations for border cities, rendering them almost inhospitable and unpredictable in terms of economic development (Liu et al. 2012). From our interviews with Subject A of the BLM we identify that cooperation among cities on the border of these two countries, including Region Laredo, has been inhibited by this ongoing security crisis.

“*The ongoing outbreaks of violence in the recent years (in Mexico), has caused U.S. authorities to effectively retreat and distance themselves from authorities on the Mexican side.*

Subject A
Border Liaison Mechanism

From interviews with Subject A and B of the EDC bridging institution and Subject A of the Binational Center, we find that the bridging institutions in Region Laredo on both sides of the border have different perceptions of these barriers. On one side claims arise that due to this crisis, cooperation itself is inherently more difficult due to a fear of even physically crossing the border into Mexico. Further, even though Mexico is considered to have an interesting future in terms of development, it is thought that its progress is unlikely while this issue remains unresolved.

“*While the forecast for Mexico as an emerging economic power is tremendously bright, a sense of trust is staggeringly absent. There is a tangible lack of control over the violence problem, and there is little respect for the government or the police.*

Subject A
TAMU Binational Center

“*But because of the violence issue, communication and cooperation has broken apart. We simply do not travel to Nuevo Laredo as much as we should because of the insecurity.*

Subject A
Economic Development Cooperation

On the other side of the border, we find the opinions expressed to contrast greatly. In this latter case, the security crisis is perceived to affect only specific sectors, but not all of them, and generally the situation as a whole is downplayed. This difference of opinion or perspective has affected the relationship (as seen in section 4.2, of the EDC bridging institution), leading to actions such as the above-mentioned exclusion by the LDF of CODEIN on the organizing committee of the manufacturing symposium.

“*With regard to established industries (twin plants), I feel that we have not been affected. Perhaps security issues have affected our ability to attract possible investors, because they consider this region a, “hot area”. With regard to commercial and service areas, such as hospitals, doctors, restaurants and bars, the situation of insecurity has affected us gravely. Both the domestic market and clients visiting from the United States have dwindled. In the industrial sector, we visited the 11 most prominent twin plants and spoke with managers about whether the issue of insecurity had affected them--the answer was always, “no”. We asked if they have had any incidents, and they would tell us that they’ve had ‘bad people’ breaking into their plants, but had taken preventive measures to address the incidences. Sony, for example has an internal safety mechanism, and when there are shootings an alarm is activated and all the employees know what to do. It is necessary that they make these contingency plans.*”

Subject B
Economic Development Cooperation

We perceive that these societal well-being barriers have forced bridging institutions to adapt their everyday activities. While we have established that cross-border cooperation is hindered and rendered harder to achieve, business must certainly and does go on in Region Laredo. We learn from the interview with Subject A of LaRed2 that their organization has developed a strategy to attract people on both sides of the border to participate in their monthly meetings, and in this sense they are able to continue pursuing cooperation. Video-conferencing is also made available for participants of meetings, ensuring members on both sides of the border have access to them, and thus helping to lower the impact of this societal well-being barrier. This solution has allowed this bridging institution to continue creating the networks needed for their influence on cross-border public policy (as we saw in section 4.2).

“*Yes, in fact we have a home and an alternate site, on both sides of the border, for our meetings. We interchange the venue every month--one month our meeting is held at TAMIU, and the other month at the Custom Brokers Association on the Mexican side. We also always have the option of live videoconferencing, so that those who (for whatever reason cannot cross the border) can still actively participate in the meeting. So this has been something that has really broken down the barrier of people not willing to come into Mexico.*

**Subject A
LaRed2**

Finally and with regard to societal well-being barriers, we infer from the interview with Subject B from the BLM that security crises are not limited to only one side of the border in the case of Region Laredo. The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 resulted in a marked and unprecedented change in the way that the United States conducts its binational agenda with the rest of the world, and its relations with Mexico are certainly no exception.

“*Since the beginning of NAFTA and before September 11, 2001, the United States was open to trade. After the terrorist attacks, it seemed as though they wanted to close the borders.*

**Subject B
Border Liaison Mechanism**

The concept of competition or rivalry between opposing sides of a border as a barrier to cross-border cooperation is markedly observed in Region Laredo, though not encountered in the other two case studies explored in this dissertation. Future research might provide interesting insight into whether the societal well-being barriers described above in fact fueled this competition barrier to cross-border cooperation. As deduced from our interview with Subject A of the EDC of this case study, competition barriers, in essence, lead to an inefficient duplication of efforts, as opposed to a more productive joining of forces. This barrier is primarily identifiable within the context of large-scale infrastructure projects, such as airports and bridges.

“*Unfortunately, instead of working together toward some kind of a strategic plan and a unified vision for the future (as other border communities have successfully done), the city of Laredo goes out on their own, pursuing their own initiatives—for example, the Mexican customs terminal here at the airport. They never involved the Mexican side or have had any dialogue with anybody on the Mexican side to that effect.*

**Subject A
Economic Development Cooperation**

Notably, private interests seem to be a significant determinant of this barrier. It is observed from the interview with Subject A of the BLM that when private interests become involved in government projects, they can easily impede a shared vision between both parties. This shared vision is consequently more difficult to achieve when competition barriers exist, and these barriers become increasingly common when there is a bigger strain on the cross-border relationship.

“*When no common goals are set, it becomes difficult to find forms of cooperation. And when we do seem to find a common goal, we must still account for the differences of perspective on the issue, or the inevitability of divided interests. I want to give an example that I think provides a very good indication of the relationship between Laredo and Nuevo Laredo in recent years. Proposals have been made on both sides for the building of a new and additional international bridge, in order to ease the flow of people and goods on both sides of the border. And while there is agreement on the necessity for the bridge itself, there is far less agreement on the optimal building site for a new border crossing. This issue is impacted by special interests on both sides of the border, in particular, by the landowners of the potential building sites. Unfortunately when these private factors are accounted for, the main objective (which was that for a new border crossing alleviate waiting times at the international crossings) gets lost in the greater debate. Ultimately there are extended delays and considerable interferences on the road to a common goal. I think that it has become almost impossible to continue the ‘new bridge’ conversation, and if I had to name one factor that has caused the rift between the authorities of the two countries, it would be private interests.*

Subject A
Border Liaison Mechanism

4.3.1.B. Cultural and Lines of Communication Barriers Presence

A second group of barriers (graph 4.2) for cross-border cooperation observed within these bridging institutions involves both cultural and lines of communication barriers. In this set we observe that the highest frequency of mentions for cultural barriers is obtained from the education led and funded initiative (Binational Center), which also yields a high incidence of lines of communication barriers.

Cultural barriers see a moderate frequency of occurrence in both the enterprise led and funded bridging institution (LaRed2) and the government led and funded proposal (BLM), while getting a null frequency in the enterprise led/ government funded approach (EDC). While the Binational Center yielded a high frequency of mentions of the lines of communication barrier, the highest incidence of references to this barrier comes from the

government led and funded institution (BLM). Lower mentions came from the enterprise led/government funded cooperation (EDC), and no references to cultural barriers were observed in the enterprise led and funded network (LaRed2).

Historically, disparities in income, politics and culture have been characteristic of the U.S.-Mexico dichotomy (Pick and Butler 1990). The interview with Subject A of the Binational Center reveals a

perceived lack of adherence to the law, as well as a general lack of respect for authority/institutions on the part of their Mexican equivalents. These disparities in approach translate into differences of cultural identity, and ultimately into cultural barriers.

“It all comes down to this mindset that we have in Mexico, that the rules are made to be broken. If a rule exists, let’s find a way around it.

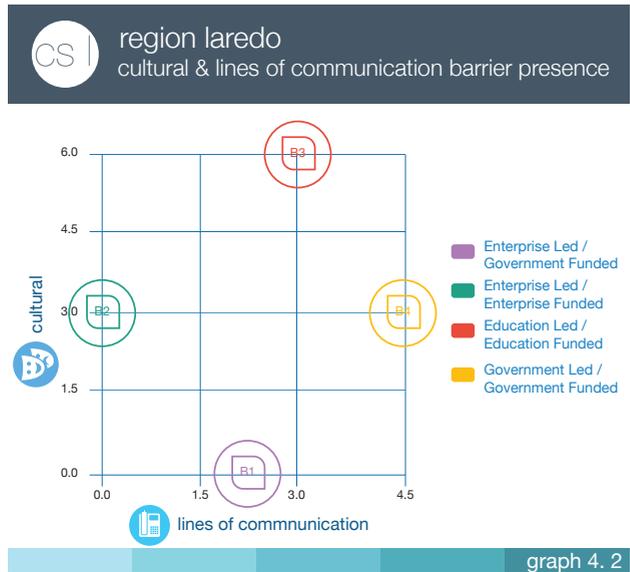
**Subject A
TAMIU Binational Center**

Subject A of LaRed2 notes that, in Region Laredo, culture is somewhat less of a barrier because of the strong Latin roots shared by actors on both sides of the border. More than 90% of the region’s inhabitants speak Spanish, while 94% identify themselves as Hispanic, and over 80% maintain familial ties with people on both sides of the border (Plan de Gran Vision 2040).

“I do think that the cultural issue (barrier) is present, but in the case of Region Laredo, this barrier is much less of an issue than in other parts of the world. This may be due, in part, to a sort of unspoken understanding that Spanish-speaking citizens are not necessarily Mexicans, but are border citizens.

**Subject A
LaRed2**

When ‘bridging’ a border, so to speak, the lines of communication between both sides must be clearly visible and established. Such clarity in communication promotes cooperation and ensures that a dialogue toward common goals can function more



smoothly, while a disruption of these lines of communication results in barriers to cross-border cooperation (van Houtum 2010). Subject A of the EDC highlights that while these barriers commonly manifest, they can be easily resolved by people simply talking to each other. Further, it is noted that opportunities are often missed because the involved parties are not even initially made aware of their existence or are not informed of them in a timely manner.

“*I think the reality is that the private sector has not been communicating amongst themselves. It is interesting, because when we go to the Logistics and Manufacturers Association (LMA) meeting, we hear the manager from Rheem (manufacturing plant) expressing concerns about the city government officials on the U.S. side not valuing their (Rheem’s) economic value or importance. So, now the LMA has been trying to promote the importance of the industrial sector on both sides of the border. We must also improve increase the participation of actors on the Mexican side as we promote this region elsewhere, and attract other industries to invest here.*

Subject A
Economic Development Cooperation

From the interview with Subject A of the Binational Center, we also find that it is not always a simple lack of communication that forms these barriers. The interviewee notes that within the Hispanic community there is a reluctance to directly address concerns or share opinions that can be interpreted as negative. This in turn becomes a barrier to effective and progressive communication.

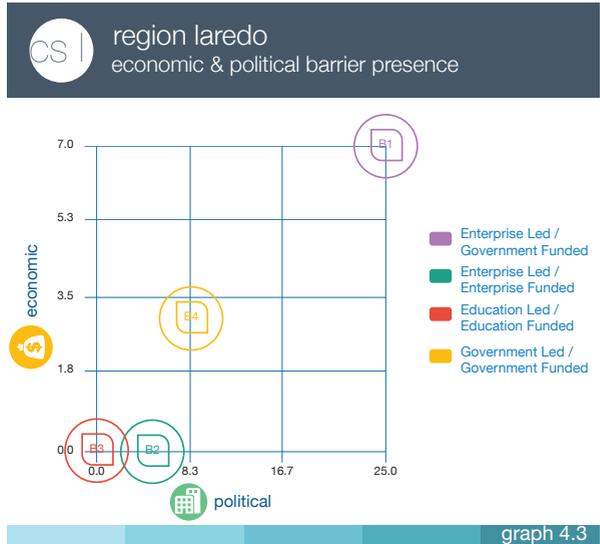
“*The combination of such different mindsets has created setbacks throughout the collaboration process, to be sure. After months of meetings, they will return with a form of half-sincere feedback. Perhaps it is rooted in our Hispanic culture, but people are reluctant to tell the entire truth in our meetings. When in a group, people prefer not to speak up and instead they very politely recuse themselves from voting for a measure—only later with they complain or express their true opinions on a person-to-person basis. So, we need to learn to speak up, to say, ‘yes that’s important to me.’ After all, we have very promising projects on the table, but the process will take time.*

Subject A
TAMIU Binational Center

4.3.1.C. Economic and Political Barriers Presence

Finally, the last group of barriers to cross-border cooperation considered in this case study, are economic and political barriers (graph 4.3). We found that within the

context of these barriers, the leading frequency of references to economic barriers came from the enterprise-led / government-funded block (EDC). Moderate mentions were perceived in the government-led and funded initiative (BLM), and no references to this barrier were noticed in both the education-led and funded center (Binational Center), as well as in the enterprise-led and funded network (LaRed2).



graph 4.3

From interviews with Subjects A and B of the EDC, we find that the case of Region Laredo introduces us to a barrier that is not present in either of the other two case studies (see chapters 5-6) explored in this dissertation: the economic barrier. This barrier, which we relate to institutional funding, is most prominent in government-funded bridging institutions. In Region Laredo, some bridging institutions operate for the benefit of the community, and they do so with the support of public funding. We find that economic barriers arise when the administrators of those public funds (the municipal governments) restrict or condition their use.

“Here is the interesting part—it is the city governments that have all of the money. This leaves organizations like ours in a perpetual state of uncertainty, given that our operation can ultimately depend on the whims of our political leaders, or ever-changing public policy goals.

**Subject A
Economic Development Cooperation**

There is also a wide spread practice in this region of private organizations soliciting and receiving funding from the municipal governments on both sides of the border, creating what we call a “daddy government”. NGO’s in this region are well acquainted with this common practice, and at times subsist almost exclusively on this form government funding.

“To have the continuity of projects requires the participation of civil society. We need the government to be our financing partner, since they have the resources, though we (civil society) ultimately monitor the use of these resources.

Subject B
Economic Development Cooperation

“Daddy government,” practices are, in fact, so prevalent in Region Laredo that they seem to serve more as a limitation on the vision of these institutions, than they do to help them transcend economic barriers.

“I think the first (barrier) is an economic one. We mentioned, for example, that currently in Guanajuato, Mexico the government does what the private sector asks for. The government asks them in what direction they want development to head, and in that direction the policy goes. Another example is in the state of Queretaro: the government consults the private sector on whether they want to develop the automotive or aerospace industry. The private sector indicates their wishes, and they form agreements and work together toward a common goal. In our community, we approach this process conversely. Here, a new mayor is elected every three years, with his own new ideas and approaches to development, which may or may not provide continuity to the initiatives of his predecessor. So, the main problem becomes an economic one. Organizations like CODEIN are straddled with debt, and at times cannot even think about paying the rent much less think about traveling to promote the city. The same hurdles seem to be facing the LDF due to its direct dependence on the city government of Laredo, Texas. In fact, LDF has created a tax-deductible mechanism under which they can receive donations, because they have realized that depending on the government is a losing battle.

Subject B
Economic Development Cooperation

Political barriers in Region Laredo (similarly to the economic barriers described above) also interfere with the functioning of bridging institutions. Because many of these organizations receive partial (if not all) funding from government entities, their actions must often pass through the filter of any given administration's politics. Subject A of the EDC expands upon this:

“ I do not know why we (the private sector) have never exerted our potential. It seems as though we are scared of our government, and I can not understand that fear. The private sector here represents a large voting group. So, with regard to funding, an organization should work with the government, no doubt about it. But it should not need to depend entirely upon government funding in order to function—financial self-sufficiency is a prerequisite. Continuing on this government dependent path implies playing with their ball on their court, and under their rules. One day an organization is deemed a hero for bringing in new investment, and the next it can be facing the political guillotine. There are 9 city council members, and you can't satisfy all of them. I am hoping that LDF will one day return to its original format, under which they it was private sector funded.

Subject A
Economic Development Cooperation

In other instances, such as the one presented in Subject A's interview of the BLM, we identify these barriers as political variations with which continuity for projects or actions is not assured.

“ Specifically in our case, the three-year election terms of local governments does not help the matter, and I would venture to say they have a negative impact. Often, the actions of the municipal and state governments are so dominated by partisan policy, that any medium to long-term vision for local development is overshadowed.

Subject A
Border Liaison Mechanism

Finally, we gather from Subject C of the EDC interview that political barriers can also manifest from the governments' lack of commitment, specifically, with regard to something as critical to economic development, as is transparency.

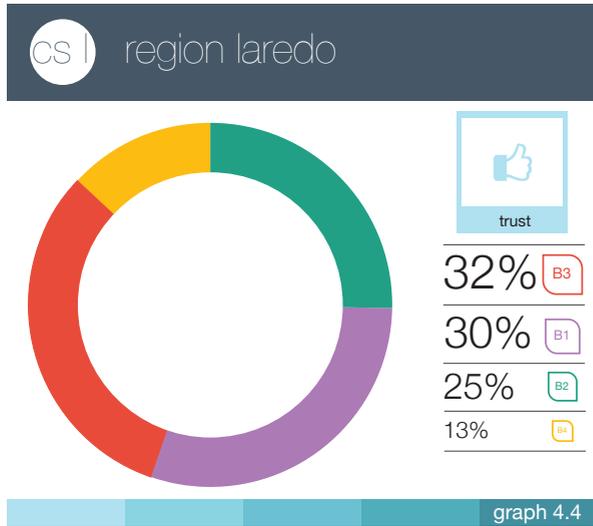
“ There is a pervading corruption on the Mexican side, and the lack of commitment from the government is appalling. Prospective investors have made it clear that that honesty and transparency are essential for their willingness to invest— when those two factors are absent development is truncated.

Subject C
Economic Development Cooperation

Sections 4.3.2 through 4.3.4 explain how social capital, in each of its three dimensions (trust, social networks, and shared vision), plays a role in each of the bridging institutions explored in this case study.

4.3.2 Social Capital: Trust Presence

Having divided the concept of a social base into two pillars, social capital and social innovation (section 2.3.1), in this section we attempt to interpret the results of the Region Laredo case study through the lens of ‘trust’. For the purposes of our case studies, trust is defined as the mutual confidence of members of the bridging institutions (Fukuyama 1996). The answers to our interview questions, help us to identify the perception of



trust within the different bridging institutions. Graph 4.4 reveals that in Region Laredo trust is perceived more frequently in TAMIU’s Binational Center, followed very closely by the EDC and LaRed2. It shows a lesser frequency in the BLM.

We found that trust, as an element of social capital is more present in some institutions of Region Laredo than in others, because of a long existing and deep rooted sense that everyone is, to some extent, family. The geographic history of the region itself perpetuates this feeling of interrelatedness, given that the region was once a single city, before it was divided into two by an international border. From our interviews, we gather that, with regard to the Binational Center in particular, trust is perceived to exist to a greater degree than it is in other institutions.

“The trust that is felt here is at a local level, everybody trusts each other. Why? Because we are all related to each other. At some level, our grandmother, our uncle, our cousin, if we are not related to each other we know somebody who is. Therefore the trust is there--personal trust, even corporate trust. After all, there are businesses whose success depends upon another’s across the border.

Subject A
TAMIU Binational Center

Another ‘type’ of trust identified in this case study is ‘circumstantial trust’. In this case study, this particular form of trust seems to have emerged in direct relation to the existing security crisis in Nuevo Laredo. Our interview with Subject B of the EDC notes that because LDF members (on the U.S. side) are less inclined than ever to venture

onto the Mexican side, CODEIN members have taken on a more active role in economic development promotion than they may have had in the past. For example, when an American company expresses interest in investing in Nuevo Laredo, the LDF might not make themselves available to organize tours/events that are on the Mexican side of the border. This leaves the Mexican CODEIN to pick up at the point where the American organizations are no longer willing to go, offering them much more active participation in the process as a whole.

“Currently, LDF members have expressed a fear of crossing the border, which has ultimately pushed them to be more dependent on us. This is great for us, because we are once again participating in their programs, accompanying them to large expositions, the expenses for which are paid by the LDF.

Subject B
Economic Development Cooperation

Finally, a third form of trust found in Region Laredo is developed within corporate social responsibility firms. Subject A of LaRed2 (an organization made up primarily of these firms) notes that trust within their bridging institution and its network of members is based upon a shared interest in the betterment of the community. A majority of the participating firms share a vision of social and economic well being for the region that has fostered this increased level of trust. Consequently, this bridging institution is able to maintain a general sense of trustworthiness even when working with entities outside of their network. Local governments and organizations appreciate the unique level of trust, and the institution is able to further expand the reach of their network, even with regard to influencing public policy (as discussed in section 4.2.).

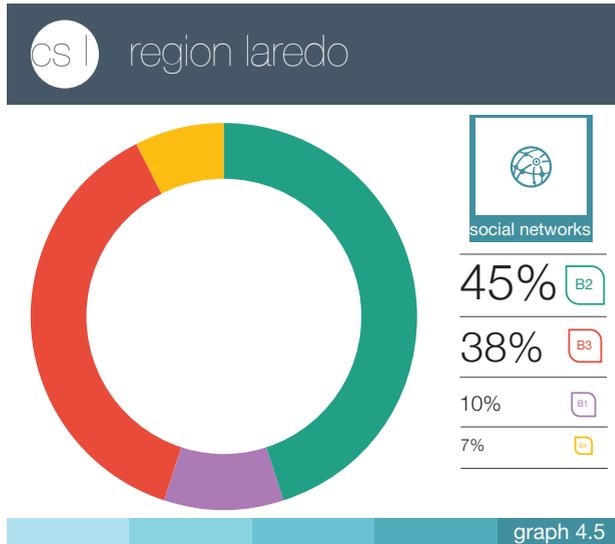
“As businessmen and entrepreneurs we have a set of established values, and the issue of competition is a very important one. I am a ‘better’ businessman, to the extent that I am above the competitors; this is a generalized concept of what being an entrepreneur is. But we also have, though some more than others, a strong sense of social responsibility. We all understand, for reasons either personal or otherwise, the need to work-- primarily for the benefit of the community, the environment and our surroundings; otherwise we are on a path to nowhere. We say together, “Competition is good, but not at any cost.” And that engine has led us to unite, knowing that without this unity, our collective strength is diminished.

Subject A
LaRed2

4.3.4 **Social Capital: Networks Presence**

Social networks are the second pillar of social capital, as analyzed within our case

studies. Social networks reflect the ability of the members of bridging institutions to relate among each other and extend their scopes of action outside of the bridging institutions (Lin 2002). In Region Laredo, networks are perceived with a highest frequency in LaRed2, followed by the Binational Center. Much lesser frequencies are identified in EDC, and finally within the BLM bridging institution (graph 4.5).



graph 4.5

We learn from our interview with Subject A of the Binational Center that the relationships between actors within their bridging institution and organizations within the community (networks) are considered a strong asset to their ability to function effectively. We observe that they have dedicated much of their workforce, facilities, and events to creating networks and relationships with diverse actors on both sides of the border, which has allowed them the opportunity to participate extensively in local cross-border development.

“Three years ago we shared no relationships other than those established with the local universities only for certain academic programs. And now we have networks and dialogues, we know each other and we form bonds of friendship. We have developed a type of relationship in which we feel free to discuss anything. Our communication has expanded through all levels of government, and for all programs with most major cities.

Subject A
TAMIU Binational Center

LaRed2 is a grouping of socially responsible corporate firms that exploits the benefit of networks, both within its firms and outside of them, as a building tool. For example, firms within LaRed2, will hold monthly events in which their employees and clients are welcomed to participate in a socially or environmentally driven event (such as public space rehabilitation). The end result is that the greater community is benefited, the firm garners positive recognition, and the network as a whole is strengthened.

“We work with socially responsible companies whose actions are taken not only on behalf of their corporations, but also for the benefit of their internal community - of its employees and shareholders as well as the outside community, such as neighbors, etc. Building from this foundation, it was easier and we had more access to the resources in order to establish our networks.

**Subject A
LaRed2**

The networking considered above, is yet another condition under which LaRed2 has been able to expand their potential to influence public policy (as discussed section 4.2).

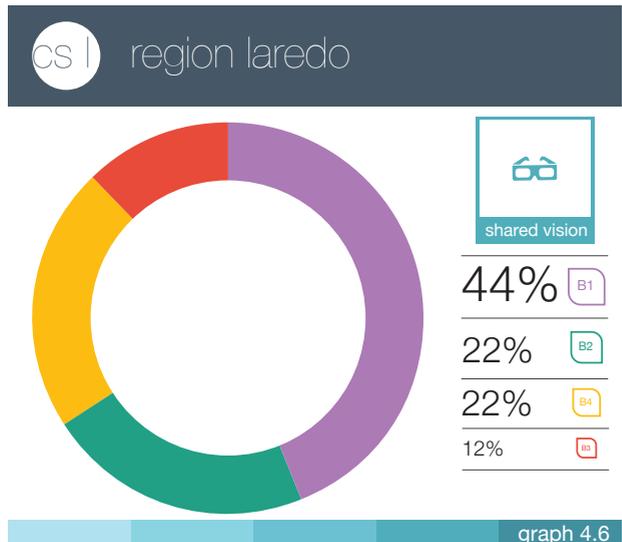
Networks are not equally exploited in all bridging institutions, however. In the EDC, they are just beginning to value the importance of establishing networks for the creation of social capital, and are regretting not having placed adequate emphasis on doing so from the outset.

“How do you best promote a region like this one? By developing dialogues with Mexican manufacturing companies, with the people that are already here. I visited a plant and saw reverse manufacturing for Canada, Central and South America, and met technicians who spoke French and Portuguese. All of the logistics were run out of Laredo and Nuevo Laredo, to the Americas and to the rest of the world. We have world-class facilities here, so why aren't we communicating more with the people that run them? Why aren't we asking them what they need? We should join forces on both sides of the border and help look for them, work for them. This is a conceptual model that has its merits.

**Subject A
Economic Development Cooperation**

**4.3.5 Social Capital:
Shared Vision Presence**

The third aspect of social capital analyzed within the bridging institutions is shared vision, which are explored throughout the participants' interviews, from a standpoint of producing joint work. We perceived a shared vision to mean standing on a common



graph 4.6

ground on issues, activities or joint practices with members of the bridging institutions (Nahapiet and Ghoshal 1998). Graph 4.6 illustrates that a shared vision appears with the highest frequencies of mentions in EDC, and makes a more moderate appearance in LaRed2 and BLM. The lowest frequency of mentions of a shared vision appears in the Binational Center bridging institution. This lower frequency of mentions within the Binational Center may be related to the problems they have faced with LaRed2, which we will explain at greater length in section 4.4.3.

One issue that continues to affect government led/financed bridging institutions is the limit to local government election terms. Subject A of the BLM suggested that a shared vision be worked on with the active participation of civil society, in order to lessen the effect of governmental term limits and to foster continuity in spite of them.

“*I think that what must remain very clear is that there are certain goals, regardless of what each government administration claims, that must be maintained over time. This proves especially true when we are dealing with something that benefits the society. This is precisely when intervention by civil society is of greatest importance. They must remind authorities that the primary goals of the previous administration merit continued dedication and development. This way, two or three election cycles down the road, we may finally be able to reach our long-term objectives.*

**Subject A
Border Liaison Mechanism**

Another case in which we observe a shared vision is identified in our interview with Subject A of LaRed2. While the very founding of this bridging institution was based upon the pursuit of a shared vision, (corporate social responsibility), this common goal later served as a banner under which other causes important to this bridging institution could be pursued. For example, LaRed2 in conjunction with one of their member companies has held environmental awareness campaigns, running marathons to promote health, and workshops promoting workplace equality.

“*When we contacted a number of other Corporate Social Responsibility Networks, we learned that ultimately, they were working for the benefit of the community not only on social issues (which is of course the central focus), but also on generating similar or homogenous companies in the region that could act as driving companies with a more global vision.*

**Subject A
LaRed2**

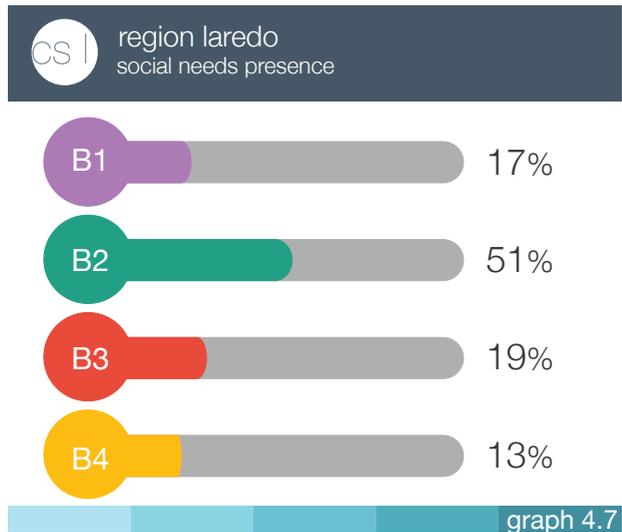
This sense of maintaining a shared vision within LaRed2, in part explains the success (sections 4.2, 4.3.3, and 4.3.4) that this bridging institution has had in terms of fostering trust and connecting with networks outside of their own.

4.3.6 Social Innovation

Through our interviews, we observe that though Region Laredo boasts a long-standing history of cooperation there is the sense that progress within the bridging institutions and their relationships to one another has stagnated. Relevant members of diverse bridging institutions have been collaborating, or attempting to, for such an extended amount of time, transcending various generations of directors and actors, that efforts can ultimately lack substance. Interestingly, however, it is this perception of stagnation that is driving many of these institutions to innovate with regard to their relationships, and more importantly their approaches to cooperation. Small changes can be observed within these bridging institutions, including new leadership and membership regimes, changes in methods and in practices. All of these can be considered social innovations. As we will observe in our third case study (chapter 6), innovation within these cross-border relationships and cooperation methods becomes a critical component to the development of bridging institutions.

4.3.6.1 Social Needs

The necessity and ability of a bridging institution to effectively participate in developing potential solutions to a region’s social, economic, cultural, political issues are viewed as social needs. Graph 4.7 illustrates how social needs in this case study observe the highest frequency of mentions within the LaRed2 bridging institution, while the other three bridging institutions have a similar amount of mentions between them.



Our interview with Subject A from LaRed2 indicated that Nuevo Laredo seems to be dealing with quite a considerable lack of social capital. According to Subject A from this bridging institution, social capital measured with regard to civil society organizations per inhabitant is very low for the entire country of Mexico. But it is the aim of this bridging institution to work toward reversing this trend within this region.

“One useful reference is a social capital survey that is conducted annually by the federal government. From this resource, we learn that only one in five people trust others. We also learn that Mexico has one of the lowest rates in the world when it comes to social capital (measured in terms of the amount of civil society organizations that exist compared to the number of inhabitants). In Mexico there are 0.4% of civil society organizations compared to the number of inhabitants. For the sake of comparison, Peru has 2.2% for instance and in the U.S., 80% of people participate in events organized by civil society organizations. So, the hope is to reverse this phenomenon through consistent and methodological exercises (LaRed2) involving both businesses and individuals.

Subject A
LaRed2

From the interview with Subject A of the Binational Center we observe that they have encountered a social need to build networks and relationships with other academic institutions, as well as expand their network to include civil society organizations. At the outset, the Binational Center focused its efforts on collaboration with only other academic institutions, but quickly adapted to begin forming alliances with NGO's, local governments, regional industries, and firms.

“Three years ago there were no relationships other than with universities for certain academic programs, right now we have relationships at all levels of government, for all programs and with most major cities.

Subject A
TAMIU Binational Center

Finally, we also come to see a different type of social need from the interview with Subject C of the EDC. From this interview we observe the need of forming a sole binational organization giving more structure to the somewhat informal cooperation that exists in this region with regard to economic development promotion.

“Perhaps the ideal would be to create an institution for Region Laredo, and that it be a guide for the two cities with regard to economic development-- a genuinely binational organization.

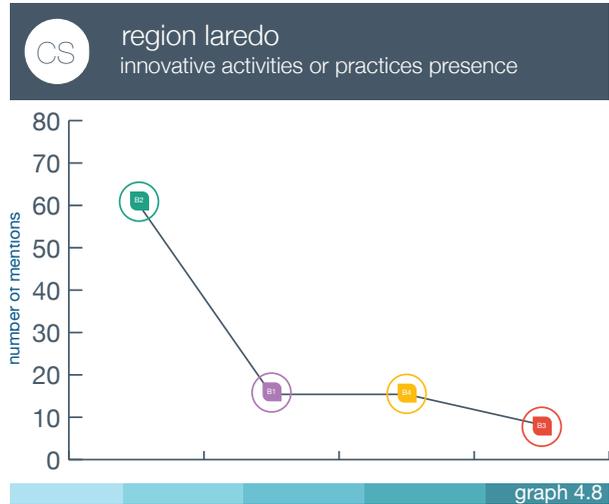
Subject C
Economic Development Cooperation

This point coming from a member of the bridging institution that was relegated from the manufacturing symposium as we saw in section 4.2. Once again we are faced with a very interesting different perspective issue within this bridging institution as we saw

in sections 4.2, 4.3.1., and 4.3.3. On this occasion this different perspective offers this bridging institution an opportunity to socially innovate its relationships.

4.3.6.2 Innovative Activities or Practices

Innovative activities or practices refer to a change in the process of how members of bridging institutions relate to each other, how they formalize cooperation agreements, and a willingness to approach cross border cooperation differently (Mulgan et al. 2007). In this section, we observe that the corporate social responsibility network bridging institution garners the highest number of mentions with regard to innovative activities of practices (graph 4.8). The BLM comes in second followed very closely by the EDC, and lastly with the lowest frequency of mention is the Binational Center.



The creation of LaRed2 can be considered a socially innovative activity or practice because it represents a new way that firms come together to cooperate. We gather from our interview with Subject A of this bridging institution that what they are currently trying to do has, in fact, been attempted in the past to no avail, due in large part to a lack of methodology with which to work. We perceive that the innovation within this bridging institution is their attempt at employing corporate social responsibility as this previously lacking methodology, and also bringing diverse firms together under this banner.

The creation of LaRed2 can be considered a socially innovative activity or practice because it represents a new way that firms come together to cooperate. We gather from our interview with Subject A of this bridging institution that what they are currently trying to do has, in fact, been attempted in the past to no avail, due in large part to a lack of methodology with which to work. We perceive that the innovation within this bridging institution is their attempt at employing corporate social responsibility as this previously lacking methodology, and also bringing diverse firms together under this banner.

“Indeed, local businessmen had already attempted this on several separate occasions. They held meetings, and all expressed a need for participation, but unfortunately they did not have a methodology to guide them. Now through the precepts of corporate social responsibility, particularly through the Global Pact and with the ISO 26000, we have increased our knowledge of methodologies. By adhering to a set of precise indicators, we have found a way to participate and form linkages with other agencies and global partnerships, and even with businesses worldwide. We have identified a concept with which we can all relate, and this concept has allowed a certain equality of opportunity for participation. This network has not only been maintained despite facing its own set of obstacles, but it has been growing and finding a channel for contributing.

Subject A
LaRed2

We gather from the interviews with subjects from the EDC bridging institution that it has for many years been pursuing a more informal form of cooperation, specifically in terms of economic development promotion. The interview with Subject A of this bridging institution notes a change in strategies in terms of cooperating with the other side of the border-- a more proactive and involved approach when it decides to involve its counterpart in pursuing business development opportunities. This process of increased collaboration is considered an innovative change within the context of the EDC's evolution, and is a promising development for the future of this region. This form of social innovation has contributed strongly to the 'impacts' discussed in Section 4.2.

“We took it a step further and we invited CODEIN, along with Sony representatives, to Austin (the Texas state capital). We met with State Government officials and the office of the Governor to demonstrate to them the unique (both in the Americas and worldwide) manufacturing process that takes place in Nuevo Laredo. After the presentation to the state, we expressed the regional interest in alternate business development opportunities, and we were told that very similar processes on the manufacturing side in Austin could tie in very easily with the Texas film industry. And this is a project that we are currently exploring.

Subject A
Economic Development Cooperation

Finally, Subject A of the BLM's notes that at the inception of this bridging institution (more than 20 years ago) it was itself a socially innovative practice for its time. The members of this bridging institution were able to identify a social need to establishing better lines of communication to foster progress in a highly unequal border setting, and they set out to improve these relationships through the Border Liaison Mechanism.

“Border Liaison Mechanism's initial main objective was to try to solve local problems through the communication and cooperation between local authorities. The border between two countries is always a melting pot of tension and problems, and this is the case in most border regions globally-- Mexico and the U.S. are no exception. And when it comes to two countries that share a very long border (over three thousand kilometers), as well as marked disparities in development, the obstacles to cooperation are magnified.

Subject A
Border Liaison Mechanism

4.4 Bridging the Gap STAGE I

Finally we arrive at Stage I, where we will begin to consider the role of bridging institutions as tools of social capital and social innovation-Stage II (section 4.3) that

gave way to the impacts on economic development and competitiveness strategies (as considered in Stage III, section 4.2). Bridging institutions within this section have been loosely structured in accordance with the suggested classifications of Euroregions as per the Association of European Border Region's European Commission Practical Guide to Cross-border Cooperation (1997): organization, working methods, and content of cross-border cooperation (figure 4.2.1).



There are various discernable distinctions between the bridging institutions considered in this case study, and those analyzed in our other two case studies. In Region Laredo, bridging institutions materialize informally, often in the form of events or practices that happen to take place with the participation of two or more relevant actors. While two of them, LaRed2 and the Border Liaison Mechanism (BLM), are fully functional and established institutions, the others--Economic Development Cooperation (EDC), and the university led cooperation initiative of the Binational Center-- adopt a more informal approach, which exemplifies the nature of cooperation in this cross-border region. In fact, this informality is the reason that, for the purposes of this case study, we created a title for the EDC, whose lack of structure has resulted in a nameless institution.

In this case study, the Rio Grande River acts as a physical boundary for cross-border cooperation between two largely similar and codependent cities. With this veritable impediment to a sense of unity, cross-border cooperation in the region is characterized by actors on both sides of the border acting independently, and often agree to come together only in order to promote their individual agendas.

4.4.1 B1 - Economic Development Cooperation (EDC)

Organization

As figure 4.3 illustrates, the Economic Development Cooperation bridging institution

is comprised of four actors: three on one side of the border, and one on the other. These actors have been meeting and working together to promote economic development in the region for many years. Their mutual collaboration has remained entirely informal throughout this time, as they are not an established legal entity, they do not maintain a consistent schedule of meetings, and they do not have an exclusive commitment to joint economic promotion.

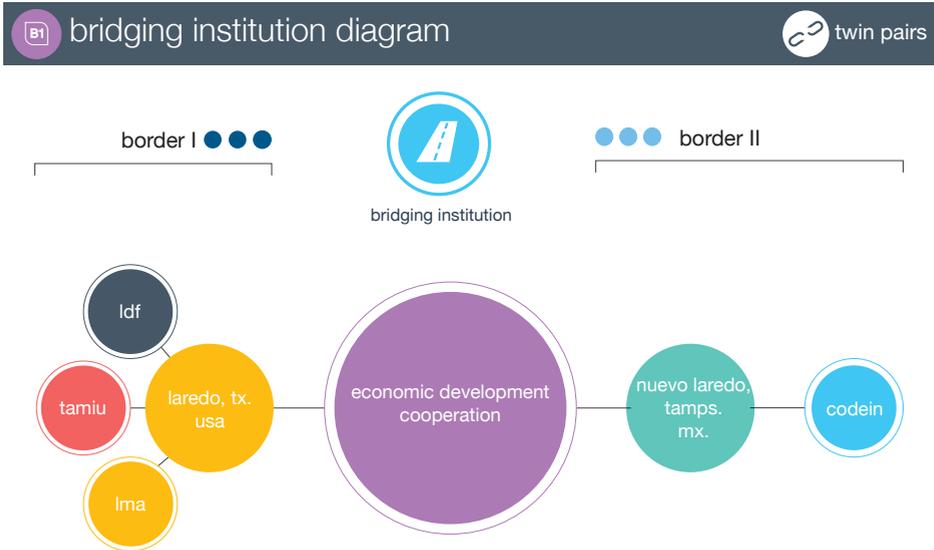


figure 4.3

On one side, we have the Laredo Development Foundation (LDF), (which per their own description serves as the business authority for economic and industrial development for Laredo, joined by the Logistics and Manufacturing Association), whose membership includes many of the regional twin plant managers, logistics managers and partners, and Texas A&M International University. On the other side we have CODEIN (a Spanish acronym for the Industrial Development Committee of Nuevo Laredo): a private NGO comprised of business, government and education leaders gathered together for the promotion of economic development for the region, and acting counterpart to both the LDF and the LMA.

Within the EDC, cross-border economic development cooperation is conducted under the twin pair scheme described by Harvey(2010): two distinct organizations which cooperate with one another usually on time limited projects, while each retains its own individuality.

Interview Subjects A and B of this bridging institution, note that LDF and CODEIN have been working together for over 25 years for the benefit of the region’s economic

development. Initially, the LDF was an institution comprised largely of bankers and would actually conduct work on both sides of the border. When industry reached its peak in the 1980's in Region Laredo, it became necessary to create an independent Mexican counterpart, and CODEIN was born. Both institutions have maintained a respective presence on each side of the border, continue to collaborate on projects involving the promotion of the region, tend to potential investors, and organize cross-border economic development events.

“*When the industry began to grow, it became necessary to have an office dedicated to economic development and promotion on the Mexican side. We needed more formality, more than the previously employed practice of U.S. entities meeting with municipal governments and private owners of industrial parks, had until then offered. The local Institution Council then created CODEIN in 1986.*

Subject B
Economic Development Cooperation

“*In our case, as a pure economic development organization, we do not necessarily maintain open lines of communication with the city government of Nuevo Laredo, because we are not a political entity. It is the City of Laredo that has this form of direct contact, and who is able to communicate with the political entities on the other side of the border. We instead communicate with our city government, and they later communicate those same messages to the government on the Mexican side. This is why having a sort of third party link in the form of CODEIN, is very important to us.*

Subject A
Economic Development Cooperation

Content of Cross-Border Cooperation

As posited at the beginning of this section, a contributor to the informality that characterizes organizational approaches to cooperation in this region is the lack of access to data and information relevant to cross-border cooperation in the region. The result being that a significant part of the 'Content of Cross Border Cooperation' and 'Working Methods' sections (for each bridging institution) is based upon information gathered from our interviews. This contrasts considerably with the availability of secondary data for our other two case studies.

The EDC focuses its cross-border cooperation on a variety of mechanisms for the advancement of economic development in the region. Its members deal primarily with industrial and business development agendas on each of their sides of the border. We gather from Subject C's interview that the main objective of members is to cooperate in

the process of attracting and tending to potential investors. For example, guided tours of industrial parks and logistics centers, meetings with representatives of the public and private sectors, and the promotion of incentives, industrial infrastructure and talent training programs are some ways in which members play their part.

“ I let him know the need to formalize and create a binational committee, under which the issues that impact the development of the two cities are managed. We later considered which entities and representatives would make up the committee, and decided upon including the universities, directors of universities, consuls, immigration authorities of the two cities, the Customs Brokers Association of the two cities, Chambers of Commerce, the industrial committees, and the economic development departments of both governments.

Subject C
Economic Development Cooperation

Working Methods

Throughout their existence, these two separate economic development institutions have worked with and in spite of a clear divide between them, but there are indications of recent positive change. Subject A notes that both organizations (with the help of The Association of Twin Plants, governmental entities on both sides of the border, and LMA), are working to institutionalize cross-border cooperation in the region. As observed in section 4.3.7, the EDC is seeking to transition from a twin pair scheme to that of a twin pair with a joint committee—a structure under which participation is managed by only organization. Such formality has never been proposed or accomplished within the EDC, but they are hoping to combine forces, ideas, and perhaps most importantly, funding.

“ We have decided that it must be one organization, even though we are on both sides of the border. Each member will be participating in contributing, but we haven't yet agreed as to the mechanism in question or what it's going to look like. And though there has been a lot of discussion about this concept of Los Dos Laredo's, or even Region Laredo, we are essentially just taking something from the past, something that was already there and remarketing it. In previous administrations, we had two mayors that were proactive and visionary. But now it seems as though the municipal government has grown dependent upon private sector entities creating this type of organization. It is undeniably, a concerted effort: the city government needs the private sector, and the private sector needs the city government. But right now we don't see the mechanism working, so the idea is to bring both private sectors together and get the wheels turning.

Subject A
Economic Development Cooperation

4.4.2 B2 - LaRed2

The recently formed network of firms with joined by a common interest in corporate social responsibility (LaRed2), includes firms with presence on both sides of the border, as well as universities from each city.

Having learned from the successes of similar organizations throughout Mexico (including, but not limited to FECHAC: Fundación del Empresariado de Chihuahua A.C.; and Red SUMARSE in Monterrey, Nuevo Leon), in 2012 a group of firms from the city of Nuevo Laredo formed their own network of socially responsible enterprises. Following the lead of such well-established and exemplary comparable organizations, they play a role in the improvement of their prosperous community, using the appropriate tools to generate more business and investment opportunities regionally.

LaRed2, though founded in Nuevo Laredo and comprised of a largely Mexican membership, is a true cross-border organization. Subject A notes that a majority of the firms actively involved in LaRed2, maintain a business presence on both sides of the border, some economically and many physically, with many individual members maintaining personal stakes in the advancement of increased cross-border cooperation.

“For example, there is one company within this network, the CEO of which does not live in Mexico, and he doesn't even come into Nuevo Laredo any more. And though he is always in the U.S., of course he speaks Spanish, he is a Mexican citizen, and all of his capital was originally Mexican. I'd venture to say that he is now more American than most of the people living in the U.S. So, really, we are all neither American nor Mexican--we are border citizens, and that is what makes life here so unique.

Subject A
LaRed2

Organization

LaRed2, its name a play on words of Laredo Dos (Two Laredo's), is formed by a total of 18 members: 12 firms, 3 ONG's and 3 Higher Education Organizations (figure 4.4). On the U.S. side of the border, three custom broker firms (Uni-Trade, Gontor, and RB group), paired with an academic institution (TAMIU's Binational Center) make up a minority of the membership. And from Mexico, six custom broker firms (AA Palos Garza, AA Ermilo Richer, Laser, Cargoquin, AA Enrique Hinojosa), their association of customs agents (AAA), two educational institutions (UT, Colef), two media outlets (Radiorama, El Manañana) and two other firms (Notaria 188, Onilog) comprise the majority of LaRed2 membership.

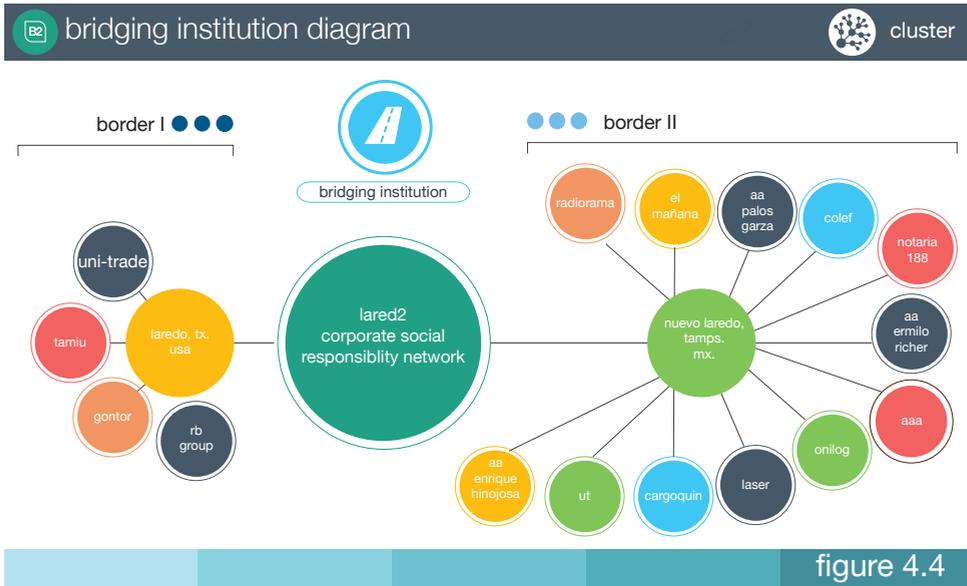


figure 4.4

These members then participate in 3 committees: rules and administration, social communication and collective planning. Through these committees, the network plans, analyzes and evaluates which social sectors, practices and events they will collaborate on, and goes on to communicate its objectives and achievements to the general community.

Harvey (2010) describes this type of cross-border cooperation as a cluster approach: different firms coming together to collaborate under one flag and one cause.

Content of Cross-Border Cooperation

It is worth noting that this bridging institution is not only uniquely characterized by its social agenda, but also by the fact that most of its members have business operations on both sides of the border.

As delineated in their Annual Work Plan (LaRed 2013), a primary objective of LaRed2 is to promote Corporate Social Responsibility as a successful model for bringing together firms and organizations of this cross-border region. Some of their proposed activities include social campaigns such as: “Unidos los dos Laredos por un Mexico sin Hambre” (Both Laredos United for a Mexico without Hunger), and “Hablemos Bien de Nuevo Laredo” (Let’s Speak well of Nuevo Laredo). These two campaigns exemplify the sense of social responsibility that is fostered within LaRed2, with specific regard to two issues: inequality and cynicism. The former is a direct reference to the disparities in living conditions between two cities (in two different countries) separated only by meters. The latter is a criticism of the mass cynicism that has invaded Nuevo Laredo concurrently

with the situation of extreme violence and insecurity (section 4.1).

Working Methods

Having previously researched business networks similarly dedicated to social responsibility, LaRed2 arranged meetings with leaders of these existing organizations and dedicated time and resources to learning about their functioning and ultimately established itself on the basis of similar precepts.

“*We began to realize that this phenomenon (Corporate Social Responsibility) was gaining strength throughout the country (Mexico). For example, in Torreon (a moderately sized agro-industrial city in northern Mexico), an alliance was formed between companies and academic organizations. The Ibero and Universidad Tecnologica (universities in the region) managed that alliance in order to work on a shared vision for the benefit of that community as a whole. We also have the example of the SUMARSE network, in Monterrey (a large, commercial/industrial city in the north of Mexico), which shares a similar cooperative vision.*

**Subject A
LaRed2**

Subject A describes the manner in which this bridging institution has gone about practically applying the principles upon which their organization was established.

“*What we hope to foster is an overall sense of social responsibility in the community, on the environment, and on the way we do business. We want to aid in the progression from a sort-of wild approach to the way things are done here to far more ethical one. And conversely, we also want the impact that we collectively make on the community to guide us as we look to future projects and objectives. On the one hand we want to spread the idea of corporate social responsibility, because we believe that an increased number of socially responsible firms will automatically lead to improvements in other spheres. And on the other hand, we want to collaborate on initiatives that will directly benefit our community. Some members discuss education, others about culture, and others speak about sports and the elderly. But what we have all managed to agree upon is that education and the development of civic skills will facilitate our ability to confront any problem as a community, whether it is sports, culture, violence, or health related.*

**Subject A
LaRed2**

Parting from the principle that their joint efforts can contribute to building a stronger community, this network has developed its own criteria to achieving that goal. The first

step, they name, is to conduct a diagnostic of the community's current social fabric, and later identify the actions needed to strengthen it. Formed on the principles of coming together on their efforts of building a better community this network then establishes its help criteria based on that. The first step to be able to accomplish this becomes one of their first intended projects; to conduct a diagnosis to analyze the community's current social fabric and identify the actions needed to strengthen it.

“*What must we do to address this (developing civic skills)? We must first perform a diagnostic of our community in this area. How much social fabric exists and what are the civic resources currently available in our community? We have chosen a specific audience; in this case they are high school students in the community, as well as their parents and teachers. We will go to these high schools to work on this diagnosis and assess the level of civic capacity that exists in this community, and ultimately work on improving and increasing it. With whom? Well, with the government when necessary, as well as other acting members and organizations in the region.*

Subject A
LaRed2

4.4.3 B3 - Texas A&M International University's (TAMIU) Binational Center Organization

The third bridging institution in this case study is a recently created center, which its website describes as, being designed for “enhancing relationships between the United States and other countries within the Western Hemisphere, through the promotion of civic and social organizations, as well as institutions through research, education, leadership, and public service”.

The Binational Center adopts an approach to cooperation that is altogether different from that of any other bridging institution that we consider in this case study. Subject A describes the Center's focus as maintaining active participation in various organizations on both sides of the border. This center collaborates with other bridging institutions in the region, including, LaRed2, BLM, and the EDC. Applying Harvey's (2010) cross border cooperation structural model, the Center is classified as a transboundary organization. Such an organization is described as having “expanded into the other border (but without setting up another body to work in the other jurisdiction)” (Harvey, 2010).

“We are here for each other, on an academic level and on a human level. What happens over there affects us, what is causing harm over there harms us, and what hurts here, also hurts over there. We cannot isolate ourselves-- we are a community of one and a spirit of one, and until we accept that, we will continue to create this duality. But in small, baby steps we are creating, foundations, relationships, and strong structures of diplomatic information exchange to support each other.

Subject A
TAMIU Binational Center

Organization

As figure 4.5 illustrates, and as we will explore further in the ‘Working Methods’ section, this cross-border bridging institution participates in many projects and with many different actors, leading it to promote cross-border dynamics in a most plural way.

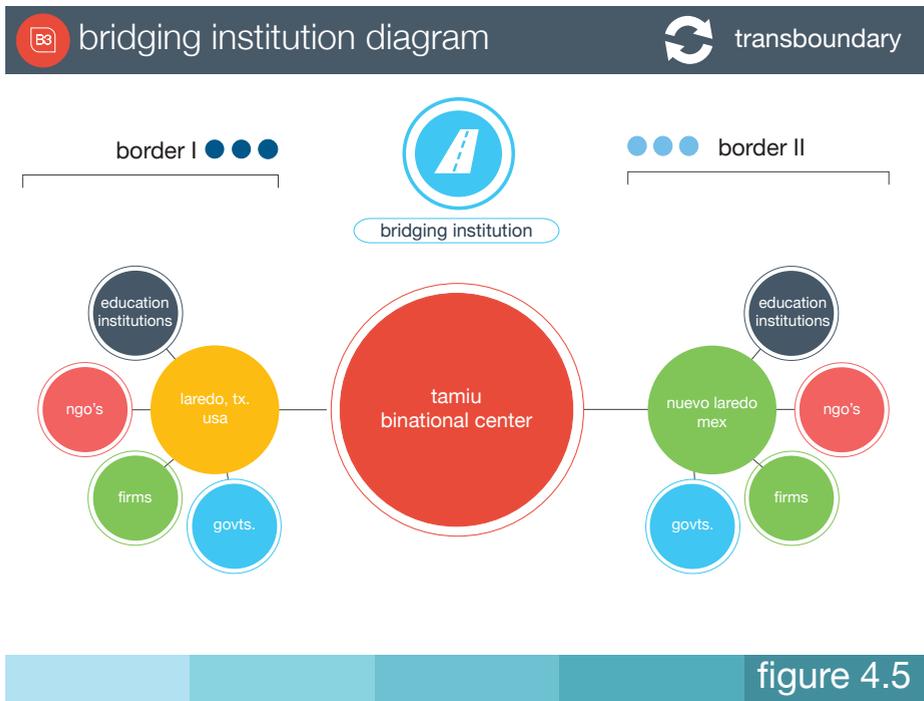


figure 4.5

Content of cross-border cooperation

As indicated on the center’s public web site, the Texas A&M International University Binational Center focuses its cross-border cooperation on the following areas:

- The designing of educational venues that will contribute to the

successful development of international relationships between practitioners and government.

- Creating communication streams between American and Mexican universities and other organizations, as well as highlighting public service with specific programs that aim to train or enhance the management of local and international non-profit organizations.
- Enhancing the development of binational community service programs, including training, developing, and educating the next generation of leaders through diverse campus resources.

Working Methods

TAMIU's Binational Center can be described as a micro network building bridging institution. Its participation extends to NGO networks, economic development networks, corporate social responsibility networks, and oil and gas networks, just to name a few.

“...I feel that here, at the Binational Center, the more that we establish groups--the better, We are given the opportunity to learn constantly as well as meet magnificent people.

Subject A
TAMIU Binational Center

This center was conceived four years ago by the Texas A&M University System, the greater university state system of which TAMIU represents one branch. It is the only one of its kind within the system, and the cross-border setting of TAMIU was a primary driver of the center's creation. At the outset, the Binational Center aimed to function as a bridge between the university and many of its partners in the western hemisphere. The majority of the center's efforts dealt initially with their cross-border neighbors, due to proximity and shared needs in the region. Though they have now transitioned into pursuing collaborations with countries throughout Latin America.

“The binational center was born four years ago in college station. It was developed for Texas A&M International University (in Laredo, Texas), as we are the only international extension of a much larger university system. The purpose of the center has always been to forge a path in leadership, research, education, and public service. Those are our four themes and they meant to encompass the entire Western Hemisphere.

Subject A
TAMIU Binational Center

The Center seeks out bi-national projects related to its areas of interest and

participates on multiple levels to promote them. Notably, their participation also arises out of necessity, as leaders of projects taking place on the Mexican side of the border seek the guidance of a trusted and respected American partner, and are often eager for the Binational Center to play this role. While this institution accepts many invitations to participate a diverse range of the projects, their reluctance to commit to the more informal practices of their Mexican counterparts, many times poses a barrier to cooperation.

“*This informal network (LaRed2) cannot function without a structure, so we have had to take it one step further, and create a non-profit organization. We are considering an international non-profit approach, though it was suggested that one (non-profit) be created on the Mexican side, and another on the American side. But I am of the opinion that such an approach would be a waste of time, money and effort in terms of administrative costs, not to mention that a territorial issue inevitably arises. Our intended function as a binational center is to represent both countries, and as such, anything born here would belong to both. But first, we must distance ourselves from the “it belongs to one side” vision. “It”, whatever that may be, belongs to the community and we must select the vehicle that will best serve that mission. Further, our efficacy as an organization should not be entrenched in any sole person’s expertise. Rather we should strive to position ourselves in such a way that when I am no longer here, somebody else can come right along, and continue to advance with new players.*

Subject A
TAMIU Binational Center

As stated above in section 4.3.3, it is this diversity in structure and ways of working with actors on both sides of the border that have ultimately lead the Binational Center to distance itself from the LaRed2 bridging institution. In this context, we can appreciate how the barriers explored in section 4.3.1 manifest themselves on a daily basis in this cross-border region. Participation by the Binational Center in the LaRed2 organization was significantly hindered by a sense of competition/rivalry. There was disagreement as to who would ultimately have the legal ownership of the foundation, disputes as to what was agreed upon during meetings, and it was only via email that the Binational Center informed members that it would be withdrawing its support.

4.4.4 B4 Border Liaison Mechanism (BLM)

The governments of Mexico and the United States, aware of the necessities and problems arising from their shared 3,145 km border, created a framework in which they could meet and discuss potential solutions to its cross-border problems. This forum

became known as the Border Liaison Mechanism (BLM) and it was comprised of federal, state and local authorities from both sides of the border.

According to website of the Mexican Consulate General in Laredo, the main objective of these forums is to advance the coordination between authorities from the different levels of government in each border city to encompass the perspective of the border citizens. This mechanism is intended to provide border communities with the capacity to directly influence cross-border public policy, while it also serves as a meeting point between the capital cities of both countries.

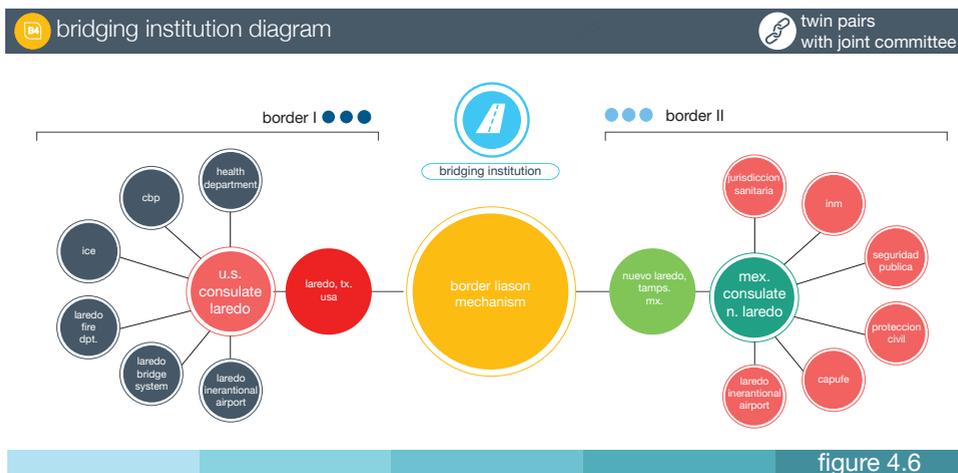
Organization

The BLM in the Laredo/Nuevo Laredo region was created in November 30, 1993. At that time, according to the Mexico Consulate General in Laredo's Web site and the interview with Subject A of this bridging institution, the first meeting served to establish this important forum, and to institute a schedule of biannual meetings the setting of which was to alternate on each side of the border.

“*It has been over 20 years since these mechanisms were established, with Here on the border they started in 1963 with these meetings and according to the vision that was held at the time.*

Subject A
Border Liaison Mechanism

In Region Laredo this Mechanism functions in the same way as it does in other border cities along the US-Mexico Border. According to Harvey (2010) this bridging institution cooperates under a Twin Pair with Joint Committee scheme. On the Mexican side of the border, the Mexican Consulate General in Laredo convenes authorities and institutions related to customs, immigration, health, fire, hazards and public security to participate in these biannual meetings. On the American side the Consulate General of the United States in Nuevo Laredo spearheads this initiative by gathering authorities in the fields of customs and border protection, health, airport authority and bridge toll system and bringing them together with their cross-border partners to promote cooperation.



Content of Cross-Border Cooperation

One of the most dynamic qualities of the BLM is the broad collection of participants that it is able to bring together. The opportunity and authority to call on any government agency on both sides of the border to collaborate, and to do so on such a wide array of issues, is what gives this mechanism its distinct personality.

“*In recent years, health issues have, in a very timely manner been consistently given the importance merited. A great amount of coordination by the authorities that are responsible for monitoring health related issues on both sides of the border, have resulted in the creation of the decade-old Binational Health Commission (Jurisdicción Sanitaria No. 5 in conjunction with the City of Laredo Department of Health).*

Subject A Border Liaison Mechanism

According to the Texas A&M Binational Center’s website, cooperation within the BLM ranges from enhancing law enforcement with regard to trans-border crime, to issues dealing with international bridge closures. Subject A of the BLM illustrates an interesting point: that the area in which this bridging institution seems to operate most effectively is in the sphere of public health. Issues of health seem to demonstrate the most coordination and structured work on both sides of the border, due in part to the inherent risk of country-to-country transmission through any one of the region’s various border crossings. Such risks appear to be taken very seriously, as the extensive work done on creating a binational health commission (explicitly dedicated to these issues), would imply.

“To give an example: a person who is sick and crosses the border, in one direction or the other-- the chances of transmission are very high. As awareness of these risks has increased, so too have cross-border cooperation and joint initiatives in the health field. Both consulates (in the region) have even offered and expressed their full support (for the Binational Health Commission).

Subject A
Border Liaison Mechanism

Working Methods

This bridging institution, as many others have, arose from a very specific need: formality. Prior to the creation of the BLM, the cross border cooperation between governmental representatives of both the U.S. and Mexico was conducted almost exclusively on a case-to-case basis. With no defined schedule and the lack of a more extended commitment, cooperation was more reactive than it was proactive. We gather from the interview with Subject A in this case, that it was this need to expand and institutionalize cross-border cooperation that prompted the creation of the BLM.

“While mechanisms already existed (such as the IBWC which was established decades before), the need to expand cooperation on both sides still existed. This is how the concept of Border Liaison Mechanism arose--as an initiative of Mexican entities with the objective of bringing together authorities on both sides of the border, within the three levels of government (federal, state, and municipal).

Subject A
Border Liaison Mechanism

Since its inception, the BLM has continued to work in joint effort with representatives of both the US and Mexico to more cohesively address cross-border issues. At the outset, biannual meetings gathering a roundtable of both cities' most important actors, fueled formal, extended, and guided discussions of an array of mutually relevant issues. Currently, and for the past several years, the meetings take place only once a year.

“An important function of these mechanisms is carried out during the work sessions held prior to the general meeting. This necessitates a constant and daily work regime. Usually, the Border Liaison Mechanism meetings are held each semester, but recently (within the past three years) it has become an annual meeting, for various reasons. But in the time between one meeting and another, we are constantly working toward advancement of our objectives--we must continue moving forward. At the BLM annual meetings, we often simply gather to report on the advancement of the previous work that was assigned and carried out.

Subject A
Border Liaison Mechanism

While the BLM can boast not only a breadth of subject matter and participation, like most bridging institutions, it is faced with its own set of cross-border cooperation barriers. Two dates in particular seem to represent a shift in the activities, and the effectiveness of them, for the Border Liaison Mechanism. The first shift was in 1994, the year in which the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was signed. Though NAFTA was an agreement focused solely on 'opening' trade and commerce, in Region Laredo, its significance was much more profound. NAFTA effectively cemented Region Laredo's status as the primary inland port between the U.S. and Mexico, foreign investment flooded into Nuevo Laredo in the form of twin plants, and a general sense of partnership between both countries, and certainly both cities, dominated the economy in the region.

“ *I think it was that moment, in 1994 when NAFTA was signed, we can consider the beginning of a new age in the bilateral relationship between Mexico and the United States. NAFTA changed many conceptions and the very notion of what a bilateral relationship should be. The establishment of this treaty was truly visionary.*

Subject A
Border Liaison Mechanism

The second notable shift in the overall functioning of these cross-border mechanisms began on September 11, 2001. The terrorist attacks on the United States forever changed the working relationships along the United States borders and compromised considerably a critical component to any cross border relationship, trust.

“ *We must also take into account that the entire situation has changed in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks, on September 11, 2001. This date represents another significant shift, not only with regard to the bilateral relationship between the U.S. and Mexico, but to the U.S. position in the rest of the world as well. In the United States, from that moment on, all international issues are approached under the strain of security issues. And this necessarily changes the conditions of the U.S. relationship with the world, perhaps particularly with neighboring Mexico rather drastically.*

Subject A
Border Liaison Mechanism

4.5 Chapter Conclusions

The Case of Region Laredo represents the first application of our analytical model to a case study, which allowed us to better understand cross-border development as

analyzed through this model. The case study serves as an example of how bridging institutions produce some forms of a social base that then result in impacts on economic development and competitiveness strategies within the region. Some of those impacts include fostering new business development opportunities for manufacturing companies, generating business networks to impact public policy.

Within this case study we learn how bridging institutions can come together informally, as is the case of the EDC, and to some extent the Binational Center. This informality allowed such institutions to adapt their participation to meet specific needs at any given time, with regard to cross-border cooperation. We also learn that this informality in cooperation is at the heart of this cross-border region, and for the most part their successes, but at times of setbacks as well.

This case study also illustrated a need in Region Laredo to establish social networks as a form of social capital for cooperation, particularly when informality is so prevalent. We learned, for example, that in the case of the annual manufacturing symposium (section 4.2), CODEIN (even though not an “official” organizer) benefits from participation by establishing networks for future business opportunities for the Mexican manufacturing companies that they represent (members of CODEIN).

We also learn from this case study that bridging institutions play an important role in fostering cross-border public policy in this cross-border space. In Region Laredo, as in other cross-border regions, commercial and social ties are often so linked together, that there is a need to create public policy that focuses upon uniquely cross-border issues. This role of shaping public policy can and does fall on the shoulders of bridging institutions, as is the case of LaRed2 (see section 4.2).

This case study illustrates the effect that societal well-being barriers (such as the drug-related violence on the Mexican side of the border) are significantly damaging to trust (as a form of social capital). Though such societal circumstances in Region Laredo often produce negative impacts on the community, we found that the maintenance of continued trust can prevent a complete collapse of these bridging institutions (see section 4.3.2).

In this case study we learn what can happen when bridging institutions become too dependent upon financing and planning by local governments (daddy government). We presented a case in which bridging institutions that were more financially dependent upon these governments tended to be the least socially innovative with regard to generating economic development and competitiveness strategies (see graph 4.8); this dependency often hindered growth.

Finally, with regard to social innovations within Region Laredo, we see that when

implemented, they produce a dynamic change in the behavior of bridging institutions. Though it ranked last in innovative activities or practices, the EDC managed to formulate a clearer path toward economic development by integrating a variety of new approaches for how its members work together (see section 4.3.6).

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5

AQUITAINE - EUSKADI

📁 sociodemographics

social aspects	aquitaine, france	euskadi, spain
population	5.5 million	
	60%	40%
geographic size	48,542 Sq.Km.	
	85%	15%
per capita income	\$37,198.00 USD	\$39,882.00 USD
life expectancy	82	83
average schooling	11.1 years*	9.6 years*
human development index	0.884*	0.869*
wef competitiveness index	23*	35*
happy planet index	23**	42
social progress index	21*	20*
r&d expenditure	2.3%*	1.3%*
tertiary education	30%*	32%*
researcher x 1000 emp.	9.24*	7.17*

*using national averages and rankings

source:eustat, oecd,
un, wef, happy planet,
social progress index

figure 5.1

This particular case of cross-border interaction is unique in its shared heritage, their Basque culture. Arising from this common cultural background are the following unique characteristics: two different languages (Spanish & French) plus one common language (Euskara) are spoken, two different economic structures and strategies are employed, and more than four different government administrative levels are involved in the cross-border development process, all of which make for a fascinating pattern of interaction between them.

Introduction

This chapter will display the application of our analytical framework (section 2.3.1) to the case study of Aquitaine – Euskadi. It will allow us the necessary data to analyze the impacts of a social base on this case study as well as the relevant economic development and competitiveness strategies encountered for the successful integration of this cross-border region.

As with our previous case study the sequence of our analytical model (section 2.3.1) is inverted to permit us a better flowing approach to understanding our case study. Keeping this in mind we begin by first establishing the impacts (joint public policy or collective action) that the social base within this case study has had on economic development and competitiveness strategies.

We divide this chapter into four sections. Our first section serves as an introduction to a brief history of Aquitaine – Euskadi and an overlay of its socioeconomic demographics. The second section presents to us the findings observed in this case study with regard to the third stage of our analytical model. The third section illustrates the barriers to cross-border cooperation found in this case study as well as the social capital and social innovation pillars that permit the successful strategies described in the second section. Finally, the fourth section inspects the bridging institutions that act as a base for the development of this cross-border region.

5.1 Overview

Bordering the Aquitania region and the French Basque Country in southwest France lays the Basque Country (Euskadi in Basque) located on the north coast of Spain within


 cs II - bridging institution comparative

				
name	euroregion aquitaine - euskadi	bayonne - san sebastian eurocity	bihartean	euskampus
year started	2011	1997	2010	2010
legal setup	european grouping of territorial coop.	european economic interest grouping	european economic interest grouping	collaboration agreement
organizational structure	twin pair with joint committee	cluster with joint committee	twin pair with joint committee	twin pairs
type of partnership	public- public	public- public	private - private	public- private
leadership	government	government	enterprise	education
number of actors	2 (20)	5	2	2

Data Source: Aquitaine - Euskadi EGTC, Bayonne - San Sebastian Eurocity, Bihartean, Euskampus, Author's own.

table 5.1

BRIDGING INSTITUTIONS

As the case with the previous case study, four bridging institutions were selected for the research of this case study (Figure 5.1). The selection process of these bridging institutions is detailed in section 2.2.

As wide of a range possible was sought through the selection of these institutions. With the Euroregion Aquitaine - Euskadi, the Bayonne - San Sebastian Eurocity, Bihartean and Euskampus we achieved public-public, private-private and public-private representation in the end very beneficial for the elaboration of this case study.

the Biscay gulf. The Basque Country is particularly well placed in the Spanish context belonging to the wealthiest part of the country, the northeastern area.

The Basque Country (Euskadi) has an area of 7,234 square kilometers and in 2012 had a population of nearly 2.2 million people (4.6% of that of Spain, which has 45.6 million), a GDP of \$74, 217 million (6.2% of Spain, which has \$1,226,280 million,) and a GDP per capita of \$34,879 (compared to Spain's \$26,797) (EUSTAT 2015).

The Basque country is an autonomous region ("Comunidad Autónoma" in Spanish), a concept which is based on a long process of government decentralization resulting in the creation of several historically, culturally, and economically diverse (sometimes linguistically, as well) regions within Spain—each comprised of several provinces. Euskadi includes three provinces: Alava, Guipuzcoa, and Vizcaya. These provinces form the geographical and political region of Euskadi, and are represented by a centralized governmental body known as the "Diputacion Foral".

On the French border with Euskadi, is Aquitaine, located in Southwest France and surrounded by the Atlantic Ocean on one side and the Pyrenees on the other. This region is the third largest in France, accounts for 4.5% of France's GDP with \$74,357 million, with an area of over 41,000 square kilometers, and over 3 million inhabitants.

Together, Aquitaine and Euskadi make up the Aquitaine-Euskadi Cross-Border region. This cross-border space is an impressive and diverse area totaling approximately 7,000 square kilometers and a total population of over 6 million people.

This particular case of cross-border interaction is unique in its shared heritage, their Basque culture. Arising from this common cultural background we find the following unique characteristics: two different languages (Spanish & French) plus one common language (Euskara-though this language has both French and Spanish variations) are spoken, two different economic structures and strategies are employed, and more than four different government administrative levels are involved in the cross-border development process, all of which make for a fascinating course of interaction between them.

5.2 Economic development and competitiveness impacts (STAGE III)

As we established in our first case study (section 4.2), we assume that economic development and competitiveness strategies in a cross-border region are better accomplished when both sides actively participate (Pekmann 2003, van Houtum 2010). After presenting economic development and competitiveness strategies, the result of this section is to observe how the various elements of social capital and social innovation (stage II) interact within the bridging institutions leading to the impacts described.

Results in this section illustrate how establishing a shared vision, producing social networks, establishing trust and sharing and transferring knowledge, elements which are described in Section 5.3, help improve this cross-border region’s economic development and competitiveness strategies (see table 5.1.A).

 impacts on economic development and competitiveness strategies

 bridging institution	 social capital / social innovation	 impact
aquitaine - euskadi euroregion	high frequency (mention) of a shared vision	common statistical indicators for a common space
euskampus	establishing social capital networks	enhancing value of human capital and furthering employability
bihartean	establishing trust	business to business collaboration opportunities
aquitaine - euskadi euroregion	learning and sharing knowledge with neighbor	interclustering initiative

table 5.1.A

The first impact that we observe in this case study is that having several bridging institutions with high frequencies (mentions) of a shared vision has allowed both sides of the Aquitaine-Euskadi Euroregion to work together on establishing a common space, more so than a shared one. The interview with Subject A, of the Aquitaine-Euskadi Euroregion, gives us a glimpse into the work conducted with the goal of achieving common statistical indicators for the region. While these attempts are in their initial stages, we can already perceive the first steps to a successful integration.

“We are also awaiting statistical indicators from institutes on both sides of the border. These socio demographic indicators will for the first time represent the Euroregion as a whole, and will no longer be calculated separately. This step will no doubt bring us closer to achieving a sense of common identity.

Subject A
Aquitaine-Euskadi Euroregion

The second impact observed from our interview with Subject A's of Euskampus, is that the social capital networks that they have established, play a significant role in furthering the region's economic development strategies by enhancing the value of its human capital and furthering their employability. In section 5.3.4 we will consider exactly how establishing social capital networks contributed to this observed impact.

“The value generated that is attributable to these co-tutorships and what is generated from them in terms of postgraduate and doctoral training, joint networking, social networking (including pre doctoral students and master students), is what I think is most important. Because this directly affects the employability of people who participate in this network and also expands their scope of possibilities with regard to subsequent placements, and with particular regard to relationships they may have with the companies in the future.

Subject A
Euskampus Euroregional
Cross-Border Campus

The third impact is observed through our interview with Subject A of Bihartean, according to whom, this institution working on the basis of trust among its members, organizes business-to-business collaboration opportunities, as well as orientation and guidance for members on both sides of the border. As we will explore in section 5.3.2 and 5.3.3, these trust levels reflect Bihartean's efforts to further economic development in this region.

“ We have the testimonies of a number of companies that have emerged with some kind of business opportunity from the very first meeting that they had with businesses on the other side of the border. Companies that have contacted others across the border have initiated new projects. We find another example in the context of construction companies who are in the business of restoration in France, but have had to travel to the Spanish side in search of specific craftsmanship, and they carry out such joint projects. French food companies have also come to the Spanish side, for which we have provided contacts and interviews with local shops and supermarkets. They have been able to make their range of products available on the Spanish side of the border, expand their market and provide more choices for the Spanish consumer . We have also assisted Spanish companies in the industrial sector that were seeking out a specific type of knowledge or a specific product in the steel industry, and who have made their French contacts through us.

**Subject A
Bihartean**

Finally, our interview with Subject B of the Aquitaine-Euskadi Euroregion indicates a fourth impact on cross-border collaboration as the potential to learn and share knowledge with a close neighbor. This possible transfer of knowledge is particularly notable with regard to clustering initiatives, which have been successful on the Spanish side of this region, but not as much so on the French side.

“ When we speak of economic development, we are considering bringing clusters on both sides of the border together. The cluster phenomenon is an imported one that occurs in the Basque country and does not occur so prominently in the rest of Spain or on the French side. On the French side, they have development zones based on the French administrative structure, which is highly centralized. Areas of interest are selected in Paris and established as different development zones in Aquitaine. As a result, there is considerable interest on the Aquitaine side with regard to acquiring more knowledge about the cluster phenomenon, and how to import its methodology.

**Subject A
Aquitaine-Euskadi Euroregion**

This last initiative has been expanded upon recently, by the Euroregion's organization of Interclustering initiatives. Interclustering initiatives are being exercised under the Euroregion's programs under the lead of Bihartean and research institutes such as Orkestra-The Basque Institute of Competitiveness. Such initiatives include the three-step

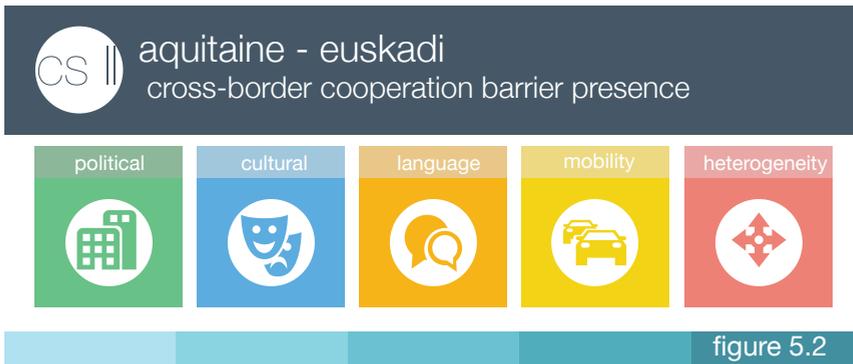
process of identifying areas of specialization on each side of the border, identifying areas of cooperation between them, and producing cooperation based results.

5.3 Socializing Bridging Institutions (STAGE II)

Once we have observed the impacts of competitiveness and economic development strategies in this case study we can now explore the process by which those impacts became a reality. Social Capital and Social Innovation are two important components in the evolution of bridging institutions. The presence of social capital in the form of trust, networks and a shared vision (Nahapiet and Ghoshal 1998) enable bridging institutions to make connections between cross-border territories more fluidly.

Within this section we will be exploring the process by which the relevant bridging institutions create social capital and implement social innovations, which together establish a social base. At the end of this section, we will consider the barriers to cross border cooperation that bridging institutions are faced with and play a role in the establishment of a social base.

Cross-border cooperation barriers found within the bridging institutions of the Aquitaine–Euskadi case study center around five main types: political, heterogeneity, cultural, mobility, and language (figure 5.2).



For this case study, we define political barriers in the manner in which we do for the previous case study: politics or politicians that are perceived by our interviewed participants as hindering the process of collaboration. In the case of Aquitaine-Euskadi, having bridging institutions that span several levels of government on both sides of a border implies the necessity to have several authorities come together in agreement on a variety of subjects, which according to several interviewees understandably causes time and policy delays.

Cultural barriers, as defined in chapter 4, are those that involve differing mindsets with

respect to commonalities, of people on both sides of the borders. This type of barrier, as observed within this case study, primarily arises within the business community. There is a marked difference between the styles of negotiation in France and in Spain, with dealings in the former taking on a much more structured format than those in the latter. As a result, when actors of the business communities on both sides of the border participate in such dealings, these cultural differences tend to cause some degree of delay and/or conflict.

In the Aquitaine-Euskadi cross-border space, we find that the use of three languages (as mentioned above, Spanish, French, and Euskara) also poses a language barrier. Language barriers can be defined as difficulties in adapting, adopting and speaking the same language as your neighbor. Having highly marked language differences as well as low adaptation rates to the other two languages makes for common encounters with these barriers in this cross-border region.

Mobility barriers can be defined as simple as the difficulties and efforts taken to get from point A to point B, in this case travelling along the cross-border region. While there exists highly capable and modern transportation systems on each side of the border, there exists a lack of fast and reliable transport crossing the border and connecting these cross-border cities resulting in this type of barriers.

Finally, heterogeneity barriers are those barriers resulting in having different established competencies across the border. In this case study we find one side of the border is France who has a highly centralized political system and on the other Spain with its highly decentralized autonomous community based system. Having these two different systems leads to having different levels of government on both sides of the border and not sharing specific competencies.

5.3.1 Cross-Border Cooperation Barrier Presence

For this section, as we did with our previous case study, we grouped bridging institutions within descriptor groups to achieve a better qualitative analysis with our research software, Dedoose. After analyzing the interviews conducted within this case study, we observed a clear segmentation with regard to leadership within the bridging institutions, from which we formed three descriptor groups: enterprise led, education led and government led bridging institutions. Through this segmentation, we were able to better analyze where and what types of barriers affected social capital relationships.

5.3.1.A Cultural and Political Barrier Presence

With regard to the presence of political and cultural barriers (graph 5.1) a high frequency mention of political barriers is observed in government led bridging institutions

(EGTC, Eurocity), a moderate to high frequency in education initiatives (Euskampus) and a null presence with the enterprise sector (Bihartean). In comparison the presence of cultural barriers has a high frequency with the enterprise institutions, and a very low occurrence with both government and education led sectors.

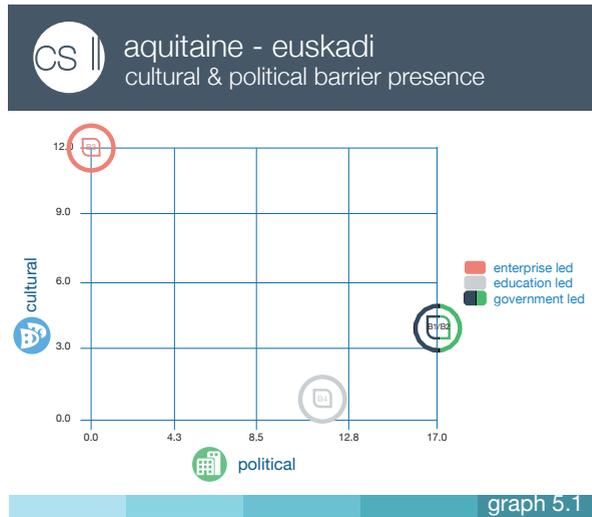
Political barriers usually appear in the form of difficulties with public policy

implementation. Often public policies are required either for the correct functioning of bridging institutions or simply to ensure cooperation between several actors. Subject B of the Eurocity notes that bridging institutions might perform their cross-border interactions properly, and even identify key development issues involving both sides of the border, but hit a wall during the policy implementation phase.

“With the recent launch of a study for the development of ecological corridors, what should come next is clear. Once this study is concluded and the corridors are designed, it would be good for urban planning documents to integrate the results of that study and respect what it preconditions-- we have yet to see if that will be the case. It is not enough for the Agency's study to suggest what should be done with each land plot there is, but it is the purview of the city governments to consider and make use of it. A study such as this one (not to mention the mobility issue that our region is facing), can often seem like too complicated of an issue for elected officials on both sides of the border. Cross-border cooperation is also seen as more time and labor-intensive, given that it requires interaction with a diversity of opinions, documents, and people, of course.

Subject B
Bayonne-San Sebastian
Basque Eurocity

Another type of barrier that we encounter within the cross-border bridging institutions in this case study is a cultural barrier. Subject A of Bihartean notes that such a challenge is often present in the business environment.



“The language barrier may be considered an issue, although when it comes to industrial manufacturing, actors often understand each other with great facility—in fact English is even some time resorted to as a common language. So I would argue that the problem is actually far more deeply rooted; the problem is the our differing cultures. The corporate culture is different, the manner of conducting business is different, and on any number of issues the French mentality is simply different from the Spanish mentality, and vice versa. The French are considered rational beings, meanwhile the Spanish are considered, well ‘Latin’ , for lack of a better term. The Spanish businessperson is seen as an entrepreneur whose intuition always plays a significant role in any given business related decision. Contrastingly, the French businessperson relies more on rationale to help him arrive at comparable decisions. And it is these disparities in approach to business that from time to time do generate misunderstandings.

**Subject A
Bihartean**

Subject B of the Euroregion also notes that the role that culture plays in the formation of political ideologies on both sides of the border, can also serve as a barrier to the creation of networks.

“We must consider the ever-present influence that local politics bear on the process of collaboration and development. For example, it is possible that the Basque Nationalist Party will be tempted to focus its cross-border collaboration efforts on the area of the French Basque Country, instead of the whole region (of Aquitaine.). It is a legitimate concern: they have won the election and can develop the policies that they see fit. But that would lead us down a path of so called ‘sentimental territorial’ development, meaning the prime motivator behind relevant policy would be the ‘sentiments’ of the sitting government. But what we would prefer is the establishment of an area of cooperation and collaboration that would foster territorial competitiveness on an international level, a territorial cooperation model that excludes regional identity, nationalism, etc. So, instead of focusing our cross-border cooperation on our respective cultural practices and identities, we should be working toward stretching the reach of our relationships and extending our networks into Bilbao, Vitoria, Pau, Dax, and Bordeaux, perhaps with an ideally situated hub in San Sebastian.

**Subject B
Aquitaine-Euskadi Euroregion**

5.3.1.B Heterogeneity and Language Barrier Presence

A second set of barriers to cross-border cooperation analyzed within these bridging

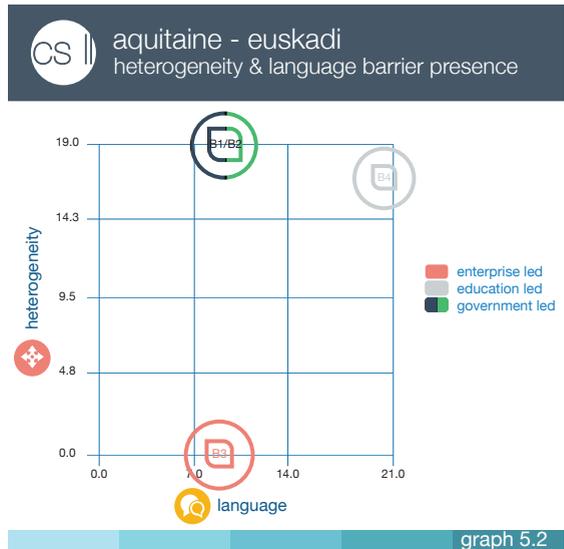
institutions includes language and heterogeneity variables (graph 5.2). Language develops highest frequencies of mentions in the education led bridging institution and moderate mentions in both enterprise and education led initiatives. Whereas heterogeneity is frequently displayed as a barrier within government and education led bridging institutions.

In the Aquitaine-Euskadi cross-border space, language barriers arise in a rather unique form. The extensive history of the region

details evolving language patterns. Whereas, Euskara was once universally spoken in the region as a whole (though the French have always maintained a slightly different version of Euskara), it was later banned on the Spanish side and heavily discouraged on the French side during the dictatorship of Francisco Franco, nearing the point of extinction. Eventually Euskara experienced a renaissance of sorts on the Spanish side, though it is not even recognized as an official language in France (Perez-Agote 2006). Our interviews with Subject A of the Eurocity and Subject A of Euskampus expand upon how this history has transformed a once universal language of the region into a barrier itself.

“*In this region, we have a problem, and it's a serious one. Our problem with language is that many of the people on the Spanish side of Aquitaine-Euskadi are not even fluent in Spanish, Euskara is their first language. Meanwhile, on the French side, Euskara is not an official language and French is spoken almost exclusively. We have even resorted to employing the use of translators with the hope that they might remove the unease with which communication between both sides is initiated.*

Subject A
Bayonne-San Sebastian
Basque Eurocity



“ I would go as far as to assume that were this same situation (cross-border joint degrees) arising between one region in Canada and another in the U.S.A., the process would be much less problematic on the whole. It is, no doubt, much easier to successfully implement this type of program in a place where actors on both sides of the border, at the very least, speak the same language. Any other starting point would represent a barrier, and this is the reality that we are facing here.

Subject A
Euskampus Euroregional
Cross-Border Campus

Within this case study, heterogeneity barriers are commonly described as a disparity of authority between governmental bodies/actors/institutions on both sides of the border. Subject B of the Euroregion notes that governments in both Aquitaine and Euskadi operate under diverse administrations, as well as legal and financial systems. These differences play a considerable role in the establishment (or lack thereof) of networks and trust mechanisms.

“ Asymmetries are one of the handicaps that seem to exist in all cross-border regions. We can identify them between Spain and France, France and Germany, or France and Italy. For example, Germany is a rather decentralized country, as is to a lesser extent Italy. But the asymmetry of authority and competency then also becomes a feature of all cross-border cooperation projects.

Subject B
Aquitaine-Euskadi Euroregion

We learn from our interviews with Subject B of the Eurocity and Subject A of Euskampus that unlike other barriers we have observed, heterogeneity is often seen as an opportunity and is the barrier that they have been most effectively able to confront. Bridging institutions often function as a mechanism by which the gap presented by this barrier is reduced.

“ Ultimately we must keep in mind that France is a key player and so is Spain. And while the administrative relationship and division of powers is necessarily different, our goal is to create a bridge and try to establish a sense of unity as we approach development together.

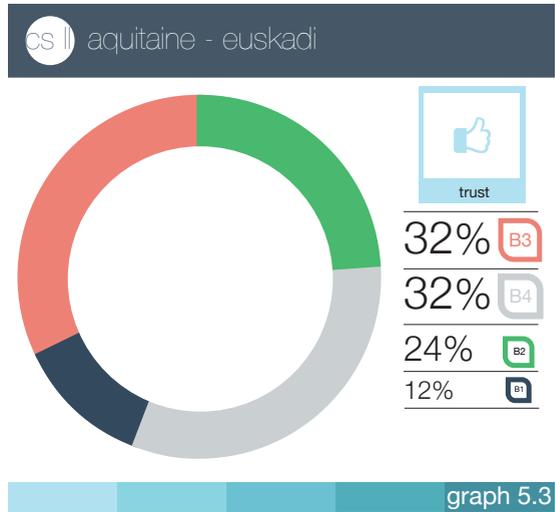
Subject B
Bayonne-San Sebastian
Basque Eurocity

“The objective that we are currently trying to accomplish is the coordination of our schedules. One problem we have encountered is that there is a lack of synchronization or matching of the agendas of the University of Bordeaux and the University of the Basque Country. So we have worked to synchronize schedules to see what actions we can initiate together, and see how those actions have to work internally to develop together. This is something that is not trivial.

Subject A
Euskampus Euroregional
Cross-Border Campus

5.3.2 Social Capital: Trust Presence

In this section we analyze trust as an element of social capital, one of the pillars of our social base. Trust is analyzed as a mutual understanding and by the confidence displayed by members of bridging institutions. As in the past case study, trust is perceived from the answers provided to us by our interviewees from each of the bridging institutions. Within this case study, trust appears with considerable frequency (graph 5.3) as an important social capital aspect



in two bridging institutions: Bihartean and Euskampus – Euroregional Cross-border Campus. Trust is slightly less of a factor in the Bayonne – San Sebastian Basque Eurocity, and it is displayed the least within the Aquitaine – Euskadi Euroregion.

Interview Subject A of Euskampus indicates that trust is generally seen as a driver for cross-border cooperation and that it can be fostered in several different ways. For example, having people within bridging institutions in positions of leadership who are seen as trustworthy and are respected on both sides of the border builds a foundation upon which cooperation is more readily advanced.

“There has been a key element in the effective functioning our organization, proving that the people factor cannot be underestimated. Jose Manuel Tuñón de Lara is the force behind PRES (Center for Research and Higher Education), as well as the director of The University of Bordeaux 2, and President of the Euroregional Cross-border Campus project. He is the son of the historian Manuel Tuñón de Lara, who is from the Basque Country, has a close personal relationship with the president of the University of The Basque Country, and, naturally, he maintains very strong ties with the Basque Country itself. This has all been and will continue to be central to the success of the Cross-Border Campus. The relationship that the two people at the helm of these projects and universities share, is what has facilitated our progress. If it had been other people with less personal connections, I do not doubt that we would have accomplished our objectives, but I am certain that the process would have been all the more difficult.

Subject A
Euskampus Euroregional
Cross-Border Campus

Cross-border cooperation, apart from dealing with multiple levels of governance, also involves a diversity of political parties and the ideologies they uphold. Subject A of Eurocity notes that in order to minimize political influences throughout collaborative projects, establishing clear frameworks and rules for collaboration generally promote trust and respect.

“With regard to a sense of trust, sometimes this is dependent upon political affiliations. Ultimately, everyone maintains political ideologies, but in theory those loyalties should not interfere with the collaborative process. Furthermore, a sense of respect is of equal significance. For example, when we began our work on cross-border cooperation we did so within Decalogue.’ This highly structured ten-step approach allowed us to get to know each other, encouraged respect for the decisions of others, discouraged an outright interference with the work of others, and educated us on the administrative realities on both sides of the border. We are working on a common project irrespective of political affiliation and respect is almost a prerequisite. Even if our opinions or approaches differ, as they often do, we leave our differences aside at the outset in order to further our goals of cooperation. Respect has undoubtedly been a valuable tool for us.

Subject A
Bayonne-San Sebastian
Basque Eurocity

Lastly, Subject A of Bihartean notes that trust should also be built from the scars of their shared history (several interviewees refer to them as historical nightmares). As is true in various cross-border regions, relationships between the two territories have not always been amicable and/or peaceful, but a central component of developing social capital is a willingness to rebuild a previously compromised sense of trust.

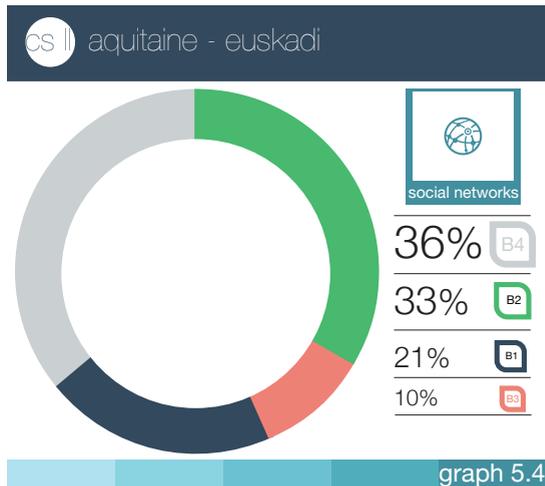
“ We must consider that there is still a degree of prejudice felt in light of our historical nightmares. The French have always maintained (even if only amongst themselves) that the Spanish economy is less developed than their own. Conversely, the Spanish have always viewed the French as the country that has prevented them from accessing the European economic market. This may bear some influence on customers and suppliers when conducting cross-border business, but the current business climate seems to be less and less affected by this. I would even say that businessmen of today have kept these historical issues foreign to their businesses dealings, and that for the most part, history has no weight in economic relations. When a misunderstanding does arise, however, it is helpful to have an intervening mechanism available to facilitate dialogue, help build confidence, and maybe even eliminate distrust or challenges. The Cross-border Chamber of Commerce (under the sponsorship of the Gipuzkoa Chamber of Commerce and the Bayonne Chamber of Commerce) often serves as this mechanism. Meeting with actors of a neighboring territory with the support of the Cross-border Chamber of Commerce seems to instill more confidence at the outset of establishing a business relationship.

**Subject A
Bihartean**

Having this presence of mind to build up trust between its members has allowed Bihartean to establish the successful business to business practices we presented in section 5.2.

5.3.3 Social Capital Networks Presence

Social networks make up the second pillar of our social capital analysis. As was done in our previous case study, this role of social networks was analyzed according to the ability of members of bridging institutions to interact and relate among each other and expand the reach of their respective institutions.



The presence of social networks was ascertained through the interviews conducted with representatives from each of the bridging institutions in the Aquitaine-Euskadi cross border space (graph 5.4). These networks are more apparent in both the Euskampus–Euroregional Cross-border Campus and the Bayonne–San Sebastian Basque Eurocity bridging institutions. There was a lesser presence of social networks in the Aquitaine – Euskadi Euroregion, and even less so within Bihartean.

Our interviews indicated that network connections (as a base for social capital), can be established in a variety of ways, but the majority of our interviewees emphasized the importance of people. Subject A from Euskampus, for example, notes that with regard to the establishment of trust, the selection of a bridging institution’s personnel would be greatly benefitted by a consideration for language capacity, cross-cultural identity, and relevant preexisting personal/professional networks.

“*Our Euroregional manager resides in Anglet, France, she is French, and had her formation in Bordeaux. And during the selection process, we preferred her precisely because of these connections, and arguably advantages, with the French. Similarly to the carrying out of any other form of international relations, it is critical that we make an effort to connect with our French counterparts, and we realize the significance of recruiting the ‘right’ kind of person to do just that. When the people that are acting on our behalf can be considered by our French partners as valid collaborators, it sets a tone for the entirety of the collaboration process. Ultimately, there are considerable cultural distances, though our respective regions are only kilometers apart. And having people on your team, whose preexisting networks help to reduce that distance, is very important.*

Subject A
Euskampus Euroregional
Cross-Border Campus

As we observed in section 5.2 it was precisely these types of networks that allowed this bridging institution to form the cross-border co-tutorships and Ph.D. networks that have allowed it to continue advancing its objectives.

Subject A of the Euroregion notes that some cross-border bridging institutions play a central role in providing the actual physical setting in which actors on both sides of the border can come together to either initiate regional projects or advance goals within this theme.

“*In order to accomplish our ultimate goal of cross-border cooperation, we must engage citizens and actors within this process. The EGTC provides the framework for this participation, though it cannot be expected to do everything. The EGTC serves as the setting in which actors from either side can come together, and offer their cooperation. We can also offer funding for projects, or even facilitate the process of actors who are interested in simply approaching other relevant parties. We also introduce actors who are initiating small projects to the plethora of European Union sponsored funding. This is our basic, but important function-- to start the cooperation process.*

Subject A
Aquitaine-Euskadi Euroregion

Subject A of Eurocity notes that networks also play a key role in the future of bridging institutions, and perhaps more importantly, cross-border cooperation. Bridging institutions in the Aquitaine-Euskadi cross-border space have developed student exchange programs with partnering schools and universities on both sides of the border that drive cross-cultural encounters and establish networks. The vision behind such programs rests in their potential to foster a mutual sense of collaboration, understanding, and hopefully, future regional development.

“*There are entirely social issues that must also be considered. We have always understood that the future of the Eurocity rests in the hands of future generations. Accordingly, we are collaborating with schools and heavily promoting student exchanges between them. Our hope is to foster a sense of cross-border unity through the mutual education of students on both sides of the border with regard to culture and language, etc. This is a project that we consider promising and critical to the future of the Eurocity.*

Subject A
Bayonne-San Sebastian
Basque Eurocity

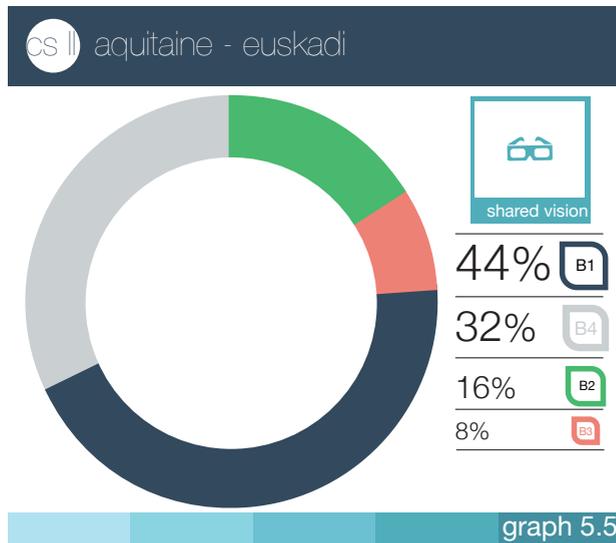
Our interview with Subject B of the Eurocity indicates that in cross-border contexts, personal networks cannot be developed without an existing infrastructure to encourage the mobility of people; thus, the issue of mobility can become a barrier to the creation of social capital. Reducing the impact of a mobility barrier might require the establishment of organized networks (actors with the same group of needs) who could then jointly advocate for the improvement of such cross-border infrastructure.

“We encounter mobility issues every day: when we need to travel to Bayonne or San Sebastian, two hours of travel by bus is not optimal. Can we really expect people to easily move around in this setting? Our primary objective is to provide the best public service to citizens on both sides of the border, but unfortunately such services can be devalued if there is a tangible lack of access to them. Can we truly expect that people from Bayonne will choose to study in San Sebastian every day if they are not able to go back and forth in a reasonably convenient manner? This lack of mobility is undoubtedly a constraint to our network as a whole. A Eurocity with mobility would make all the difference.

Subject B
Bayonne-San Sebastian
Basque Eurocity

5.3.4 Social Capital Shared Vision Presence

The final element of social capital analyzed within our framework is a shared vision, which is observed within this case study as joint initiatives, practices, and activities furthered by members of bridging institutions with a common goal. In this study, as in others (Perkmann 2003), the highly institutionalized dynamics of cross-border cooperation in Europe are evident. For example,



in the Aquitaine-Euskadi cross-border space alone, there are over 20 organizations dedicated to promoting cross-border cooperation, all of which are funded by the European Union. This extensive institutionalization of cooperation seems to inevitably set the groundwork for the development of a shared vision—a key element for the establishment and furthering social capital.

Within this case study, a shared vision (graph 5.5) is indicated with greater incidence in the Aquitaine – Euskadi Euroregion, followed by a relatively lower level of mentions in the Euskampus – Euroregional Cross-border Campus, and at the lowest extreme are both

the Bayonne – San Sebastian Basque Eurocity, and Bihartean. Interviews conducted with case study participants revealed that certain variables must be present along the path to a shared vision.

Interview Subject A of the Euroregion notes that within bridging institutions that are governed by political figures (as is the case of Euroregion), a shared vision can only be achieved if there is an initial willingness on behalf of both governments to set aside their political agendas throughout the collaboration process.

“*The Euroregion is the direct result of the coming together of apolitical participation and the fact that we share a legally recognized common space. At the outset of our organization’s creation Basque President, Patxi Lopez, and Aquitaine President, Alain Rousset, agreed jointly to create an institution of cooperation between universities, for innovation, and for infrastructure.*

Subject A
Aquitaine-Euskadi Euroregion

It is this display of apolitical participation and creation of a shared vision that has allowed this bridging institution to work toward a common space and create the shared statistical indicators we discussed in section 5.2.

This same political will, or lack thereof, can also inhibit the development of a shared vision. Subject B of Eurocity notes that heterogeneity barriers also impact the development of joint projects in this region. This lack of a shared vision is also seen as being responsible for the political barriers that we discussed in section 5.3.1.

“*Our agency as an organization, along with its supporting statutes, is doing well and is not necessarily in need of any significant changes. What is necessary, however, and entirely feasible, is that there be greater political (ideological) identification. Our problems do not arise from statutes, or the need for increased funding and personnel here at Eurocity. What is lacking is participation on behalf of politicians in support of our agendas. And in support of the case for improved mobility in our region, Eurocity public officials have voiced this need to appropriate governmental authorities to no avail. So this is current status of our mobility project, though it is essential to our region, it continues to be met with little success.*

Subject B
Bayonne-San Sebastian
Basque Eurocity

The ability to foster and maintain a shared vision also becomes a matter of time. Extended cooperation that is built throughout prolonged periods of time leads to increased levels of trust, networks and a shared vision as well. Subject A of Euskampus

notes that in the case of its education-led initiative (a cross-border campus), it has developed from an informal approach to cooperation into a more formal structure, which has facilitated the creation of a shared vision.

“ *With regard to cross-border cooperation, we once worked in a rather informal, but productive manner. We currently have established agreements, a firm and resolute commitment, active participation (even if only minimal) within the decision-making structures on both sides, and a joint action plan. We have all agreed to the development of the Euroregional Cross-border Campus that is inclusive of various disciplines. So, ultimately, we have been able to work toward a joint objective and a shared vision for its future.*

Subject A
Euskampus Euroregional
Cross-Border Campus

Subject A of Bihartean notes that the physical distances that separate two cities and/or regions in any cross-border space can prove troublesome for the prospects of a shared vision as well. This perception of this ‘gap’ is considerable within Bihartean, and they work continuously to reduce it. In fact, this institution demonstrates a focus on highlighting the complementarity of the region by promoting a sense of co-existence, and potential economic benefits resulting from a shared vision.

“ *Firstly, we must continue the day-to-day guidance and support of SME's so that they can continue to grow and create further linkages. On this issue, there is still work to be done almost on a daily basis. We must continue to act on conceiving cross-border cooperation as a complement as we are stronger together than apart motto, so we have to continue building this on both sides of the border. For example, nowadays tourism promotion stops at the border while tourists are not going to stop at the border. That is if they come to Bayonne it would be good if tourism promotion existed for the Spanish. And vice versa if you come to San Sebastian it would be good to promote tourism in the French Basque Country. Therefore, we must continue to insist that while there can be competition in the locality, there can also be complementarity internationally that, in this day, both territories have to go find their customers wherever they enter the territory, be it Bordeaux or Bilbao. That the tourist who comes here is offered everything that is available within the territory. Much remains to be done in this area; we must promote this destination as a whole Euroregion and not every side for itself.*

Subject A
Bihartean

Lastly, analyzing the interview from Subject A of the Euroregion for this aspect

of social capital has developed a point in where shared vision is very much linked to structure. Be it legal, administrative, political, etc., we observe that structure helps develop a shared vision. Structure is perceived to set the groundwork for working toward the development of a common identity that in turn leads to a shared vision.

“We will organize thematic meetings with bilateral institutional actors. For example with the Provincial Councils and their Aquitaine counterparts, which are the Departments. We will also hold meetings with the universities of both Aquitaine and the Basque Country, as with all the forestry sector. We will also bring clusters together and have directed contributions for them. Because everything starts from our draft, but it has to be enriched, and any necessary amendments need to be made to it, all of this to enrich the project of Euroregion. We will arrange bilateral meetings regarding each of our lines of action. We look to have a political and institutional contribution from the involved actors also with a certain degree of contributions from economic and social contributors through the CES (Economic and Social Councils). We are building a governance framework, which Europe requires for bilateral governance.

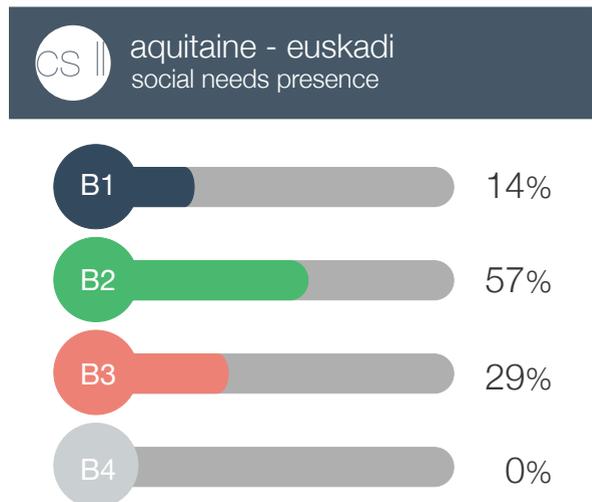
Subject A
Aquitaine-Euskadi Euroregion

5.3.5 Social Innovation

Taking into account that social innovation is defined as a new set of practices, actions or services aimed at solving a social need, this section analyzes how the bridging institutions within this case study serve the purposes of this definition. This analysis is once again conducted by examining the interviews held with directors of each of these bridging institutions. Two aspects are considered when talking about social innovation: social needs and socially innovative activities or practices. These are the two main lenses through which we analyzed our interviews.

5.3.5.1 Social Innovation: Social Needs

Social needs refer to the needs in a cross-border region in which a bridging institution can take part and contribute to possible solutions for these social, political and cultural issues. With regard to social innovation needs (graph 5.6) we observe that there is highest frequency of mentions in the Eurocity bridging institution followed by the enterprise led



graph 5.6

initiative. The Euroregion reports lower frequencies while the education led bridging institution does not amount to many frequencies.

We observe social needs to be present throughout this case study in different forms and with different characteristics. We perceive from the Eurocity's Subject A and B's interviews that garbage disposal and treatment was a need facing both sides of the border for quite some time. Through these two interview excerpts we observe how this bridging institution identifies its social needs and functions to resolve them.

“*Let us talk about a specific topic, garbage. In Guipuzcoa, there is a big problem with the garbage issue. It also exists in France. This is a topic with which we have been dealing with for over 15 years. The Spanish side conducted a study because, at the time, there was a question of building one or two trash incinerators. So Guipuzcoa directed a study on what was the best method to remove the rubbish. This study concluded with the need of an incinerator. Then we as the Eurocity amended that study, based on the needs of the French counterpart Eurocity member's also having problems with their garbage disposal. Then we suggested bringing that trash to us Guipuzcoa to incinerate there. The Eurocity put that report on the table and then when political issues arose on the French side it was not approved. These are our social needs, and this is an example of how we work together with the different levels of cross-border cooperation.*

Subject A
Bayonne-San Sebastian
Basque Eurocity

“It is a bit of everything. The agency draws on the services of its members as it is composed of local institutions acting locally in each territory. But it is also done much by law. For example, we realized that there was a EU directive that said the current waste treatment plants, located in San Marcos and Bayonne, were already obsolete. Either they were regenerated, with a terrible price, or we studied new ways for the treatment of waste. So we had that information, but at the same time we had set up a workshop, a thematic committee composed of technical members that were giving way to new ideas for working the cross-border issues while creating value added for both sides. And from these technical workshops arose a need or interest to study this issue together. They decided that building an incinerator had a terrible price and also requires a certain scale for waste treatment that was not going to be achieved only by Gipuzkoa or only through a part of French side, but adding them together would total more than 600,000 people, and that is why they generated that interest to work together. So (social needs are identified) by legislation, by technician exchanges or by the results of studies that can be applied directly.

Subject B
Bayonne-San Sebastian
Basque Eurocity

We identify that depending on the nature of the bridging institution social needs take on different meanings and characteristics. We observe from the interview to Subject A from Bihartean that a social need is presented in the form of an economic crisis. We perceive within this case study and in particular for this bridging institution that this current economic crisis resulted in a renewed interest in cross-border collaboration between firms on both sides of the border. This social need created a social innovation as we will see in section 5.3.7 and this social innovation realigned its cooperation strategy to the example we have seen in section 5.2.

“It is because of this discomfort that has been generated by the (economic) crisis that SMEs have decided to start considering what's around the corner and have started to diversify in terms of its customers, suppliers, partners, etc. This crisis has changed the situation somewhat, and since then cross-border relations have been modified.

Subject A
Bihartean

Lastly, we observe that once again depending on the bridging institution comes the scope and level of the needs. From Subject A's interview on the Aquitaine-Euskadi Euroregion we gather that the needs for this cross-border region amount to

commonalities on both sides, such as: transportation, accessibility and infrastructure.

“(For Aquitaine) it has always been with Euskadi with whom they have key common problems, such as transportation, accessibility, lobbying, infrastructure, and the road to sea - modal shift. Alain Rousset always had the idea of creating with Euskadi a joint institution, one in itself, also taking Navarre into account. This was intended firstly to develop lobbying projects at European Union level, as well as the Atlantic corridor projects, and to have a single voice in the European Union, a 6 million-citizen scale, for dealing with Madrid, Brussels and Paris.

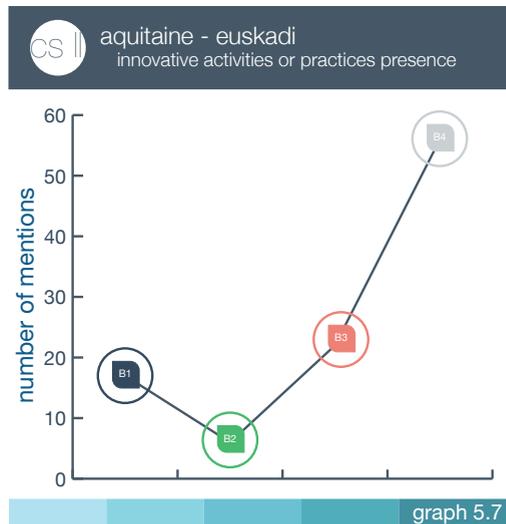
Subject A
Aquitaine-Euskadi Euroregion

5.3.6.1 Innovative Activities or Practices

Innovations in processes and in interactions between members of bridging institutions are referred to as innovative activities or practices. Changes in how members of these bridging institutions collaborate, relate, network, and work together are all examples of these activities. Once we detected from the interviews of participants how each bridging institution identified their social needs we then looked to classify its present functions in terms of socially innovative activities or practices. We perceived that not necessarily the bridging institution

with the greatest amount of social needs is the most socially innovative one. Our qualitative appreciation permitted us to observe the highest frequency mentions of innovative activities or practices (graph 5.7) to come from the education led bridging institution while both Bihartean and the Euroregion were a distant second. The Eurocity came in last in frequency mentions.

As with the previous section on social needs, innovative activities or practices were observed at different capacities and development during the interviews of this case study. We perceive from the interview to Euskampus' Subject A that their whole project



is in fact a series of innovative activities or practices because through a process of cultural change they are transforming cross-border education in a way that was not seen before.

“*And finally, we should not forget that all these campus of excellence projects, both internal and Euroregional Cross-border, including their objectives and indicators are all, in themselves, SocialInnovation projects. In this case, Social Innovations in a specific field, a broad one which is the eurorgion, which involve certain cultural changes, openness to others, and to see that you can do things together and so on.*

Subject A
Euskampus Euroregional
Cross-Border Campus

From this same subject we observe the impact that these socially innovative practices are having on the short term, specifically the shared work that is being done by the campuses on both sides of the border on co-tutorships for Ph.D. candidates. It is these socially innovative activities that allow for this bridging institution to have the impacts that these networks have achieved and that we discussed in section 5.2.

“*I say that the work we are doing within the field of the doctorate, with the co-tutorships, on one hand, and the establishment of the network, on the other hand, I think are the performances that may have more of an impact in the short term. They are the easiest to perform and looking from a results point of view are the ones that can generate more in the short term. We selected the Ph.D. topic because we are working with people who are better formed, working with people who already have significant international exposure because of their and their research work within the international community, and lastly because you have another concept of things, because of this everything was easier. The idea was to start with the doctorate and follow down from there.*

Subject A
Euskampus Euroregional
Cross-Border Campus

From the interview to Bihartean's Subject A we gather how a change in vision has turned into a social innovation. From this interview we perceive that before Bihartean existed both chambers of commerce had internationalization departments which were focusing on the macro aspects of internationalization slowly loosing sight of the more important micro aspects such as the cross-border region.

“It is true that crossing an international bridge could be considered internationalization because you are opening a whole new market and others. What has now changed is that now we specify on a very neighboring area, an area that has common consumers, tourists, and businesses ventures. Then there is also the fact of not taking for granted the cross-border context and losing it in the internationalization departments of both chambers. So we have had the opportunity to highlight and designate that we have a common territory. That is not a space of internationalization but a relationship between neighbors, and; therefore, we have proximity that we do not have with Asia, England etc. Hence because of that common space we have done a particularly specific style of internationalization.

Subject A
Bihartean

Finally we observe a different type of innovative activities or practices from the interview with Subject A from the Euroregion in which we perceive social innovation impulsed by laws and regulations. In this case we see that the European Commission is focusing cross-border efforts on the figures of European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation (EGTC). We observe that this recent focus has then permitted the Euroregion from setting a certain presence under the “european umbrella” and establish new grounds and forms for cross-border cooperation.

“... (In Europe) the new law clearly states that the EGTC's, the Commission itself says, should be the instruments to generate cross-border cooperation. It is quite clear, the will. In order to be noticed in Brussels, you need a partner whom they will recognize. This is ultimately why it (Euroregion) was done, So that we could go to Brussels and say we are cooperating, we are two regions. But we also developed this instrument to go with a united identity, as one.

Subject A
Bihartean

5.4 Bridging the Gap STAGE I

The following section describes the application of the first stage of our analytical framework to the case study of Aquitaine-Euskadi. Within this Stage I application, we are introduced to the structures and functions of the bridging institutions considered within this case study. Then we explore how these institutions employ the social capital and social innovation tools (Stage II: section 5.3), that ultimately result in the impacts on economic development and competitiveness strategies considered in Stage III: section 5.2. Bridging institutions within this section have been loosely structured in accordance with the suggested classifications of Euroregions as per the Association of European

Border Region's European Commission Practical Guide to Cross-border Cooperation (1997): organization, working methods, and content of cross-border cooperation (figure 4.2.1).



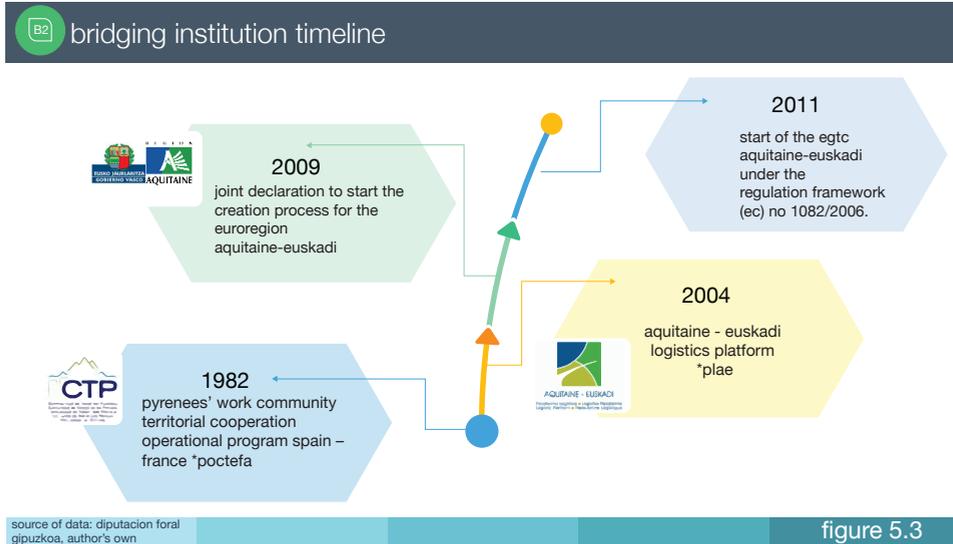
The bridging institutions considered within this case study have been formed as a direct result of a renewed focus within the European Union on regional integration and cross-border cooperation. According to the European Commission's website, this includes a formalized process encompassing more than sixty cooperation programs that provide access to a wide range of funding resources and other forms of incentives that total over six billion euro. With over thirty-seven percent of the EU's population residing in border areas, bridging institutions under the EU umbrella can largely be characterized by their formality, highly structured operation, and equal representation on both sides of the border. This contrasts greatly with the informal approach adopted in the creation of and management of the bridging institutions considered within our previous case study, Region Laredo.

This section presents the observed findings of applying the first stage of the proposed analytical model to the Aquitaine – Euskadi Cross-border Space. For the purposes of this study, research was conducted in four bridging institutions within this cross-border region (Table 1). We begin with a brief summary of each of the four bridging institutions, as described under the structures proposed for EU programs in Gabbe et al. (1999): organization, working methods, and content of cross-border cooperation.

5.4.1 B1 -AQUITAINE – EUSKADI EUROREGION

The Aquitaine–Euskadi Euroregion is a collaborative instrument operating between the French and Spanish border and under the European Grouping for Territorial Cooperation initiative (EGTC). This institution has undergone various stages of

transformation both in structure and function (see figure 5.3), but as of 2011 the Euroregion represents the largest geographic area than it ever has, and enjoys increased access to funding from the EU.



Organization

In accordance with the general characteristics of EGTC's, the Euroregion bridging institution in Aquitaine-Euskadi operates under the leadership of both Spanish and French authorities and actors. Its organizational structure employs a twin-pair joint committee approach (Harvey, 2010), which includes a key actor (the governments of each side of the border) partnering to promote the formation of a common space and future cooperation. Its General Assembly is comprised of ten members from each regional government (providing equal representation), a president (from either Aquitaine or Euskadi and alternates every two years), a six member executive committee, and a general director who oversees the daily functioning of the institution.

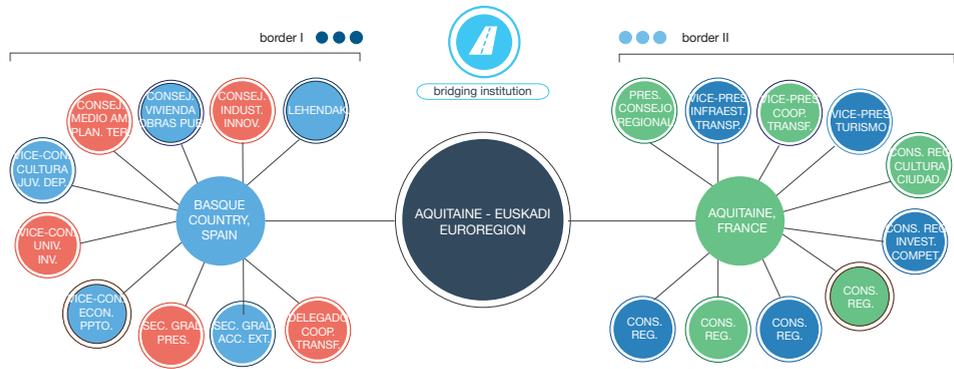


figure 5.4

Content of Cross-Border Cooperation

According to the Aquitaine-Euskadi Euroregion website, cross-border their institution's cooperation within the region is centered upon the following areas:

- Mobility: conducting more efficient transportation of people and goods while maintaining regional sustainability.
- Renewable energy promotion
- Research and Development: creating new social, economic, and technological dynamics for integration.
- Educational Mobility
- Agriculture, Food and Health: work jointly to better the quality and development of Eco-friendly agricultural practices
- Culture and Sports development: strengthen cross-border dynamics
- Tourism and leisure resource promotion

Working Methods

According to its website, The Euroregion bridging institution aims to attract and manage European funding, as well as act as a project commissioner on development programs. Subject A of the Euroregion notes that the road to cooperation in the region has formed simply as a result of geographic location and the amount of international trade taking place within that space.

“*This is the essence of our cooperation. We share only ten kilometers of land as our border, but two-thirds of all trade and tourism between the Iberian Peninsula and the rest of Europe crosses through them.*

Subject A
Aquitaine-Euskadi Euroregion

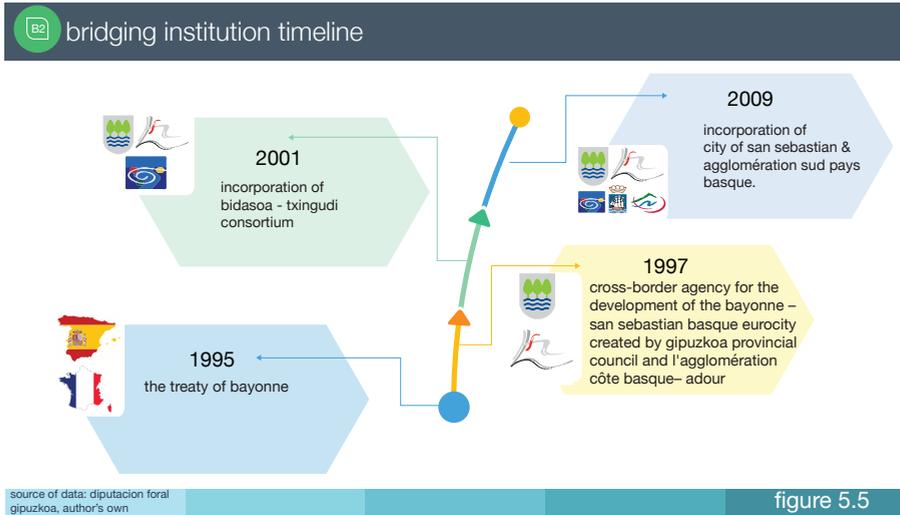
Subject B notes that because the Euroregion functions with the resources and under the relevant guidelines of the European Union, while the cooperation between different actors within this bridging institution is also defined and outlined by the EU. This EU ‘umbrella’ provides a sort of institutionalization to cross-border cooperation within this bridging institution.

“*One of our most significant strengths is that within the framework of the European Union, cross-border cooperation is always of primary importance in terms of policy, territorial development, and of course funding. Therefore, continuity is not a concern for us, nor is a lack of resources.*

Subject B
Aquitaine-Euskadi Euroregion

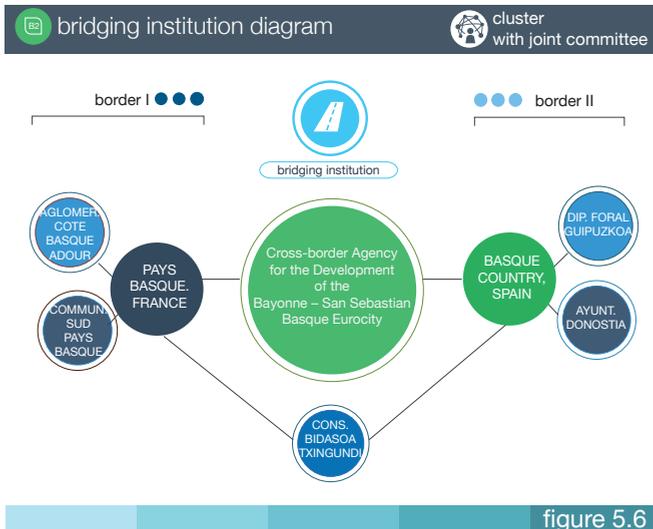
5.4.2 B2 - CROSS-BORDER AGENCY FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BAYONNE – SAN SEBASTIAN BASQUE EURO CITY

The Gipuzcoa Provincial Council, together with the City of San Sebastian (both of which operate on the Spanish side of the border) and the Agglomération Côte Basque-Adour with the Agglomération Sud Pays Basque (both of which operate on the French side of the border), as well as the Bidasoa–Txingudi Consortium, give shape to the Cross-border Agency for the Development of the Bayonne–San Sebastian Basque Eurocity. The efforts of this institution are focused upon the fifty-kilometer stretch between Bayonne and San Sebastian, and their combined six hundred thousand inhabitants. This stretch features a cross-border conurbation of its own encompassing the cities of Irun and Hondarribia, Spain bordering with Hendaye, France.



Organization

The Eurocity is structured as a cluster with a joint committee (expanding upon Harvey, 2010): a group of organizations joining in cooperation, while creating a shared working unit. Structurally the Eurocity is comprised of four components: the presidency and vice-presidency, the General Assembly, the General Council, and the Directorate. The most important role within this agency's organizational structure is that of the Directorate, in which the daily operations of Eurocity are managed.



Content of Cross-Border Cooperation

According to its website, the Eurocity focuses its cross-border interactions in three main lines of action.

- Construct the Atlantic platform for intermodal transportation, communication and information exchange.
- Structure a polycentric lineal metropolis network.
- Protect and enhance our natural heritage.

Working Methods

The opening of European borders in 1993 gave way to a renewed focus on cross-border territories, including the Bayonne–San Sebastian corridor in the Aquitaine–Euskadi cross-border space. Prior to 1993, this region faced a sometimes-opposing shared-history and, to some extent, a residual lack of organized cooperation.

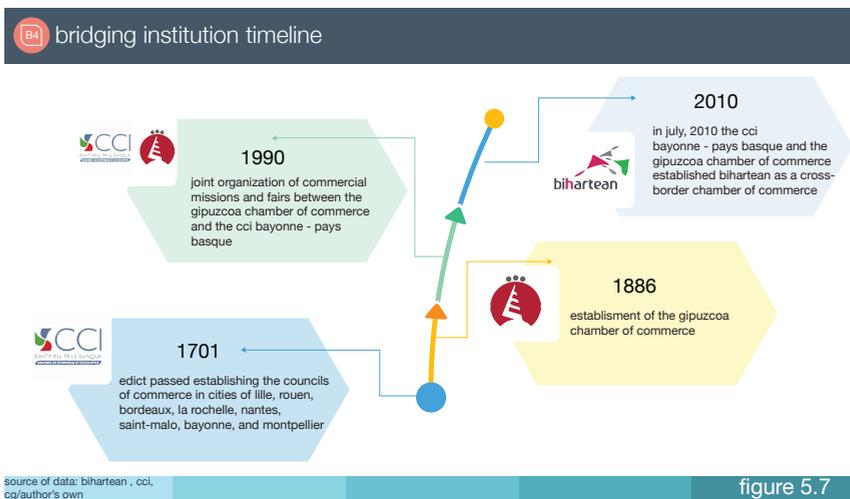
The new, transformed, borderless Europe prompted initial attempts by the Provincial Council of Gipuzcoa and what is now the Agglomération Côte Basque–Adour to jointly promote cross-border cooperation. Subject A of Eurocity notes that while the physical barriers disappeared, others, including political affiliations and differing legal and administrative government systems across both territories, remained. These barriers shaped the working methods of the Eurocity by narrowing its scope to include only member projects.

“*The Basque Eurocity Cross-Border Agency operates on the basis of our region’s shared common skills, and we aim to do so without exceeding the powers invested in our two principal actors: the Provincial Council of Gipuzcoa and the City of Bayonne. There is a significant difference between this agency and the Aquitaine – Euskadi Euroregion. Whereas the objectives of the Euroregion are, to a considerable degree, dictated by the European Union, and it functions as a self-proclaimed manager of competencies (in accordance with its five guiding principles), the Basque Eurocity Agency maintains an altogether different mission and corresponding approach. Our institution is a grouping of economic interests that was established 20 years ago with the ultimate goal of designing a dynamic but common space.*

**Subject A
Bayonne-San Sebastian
Basque Eurocity**

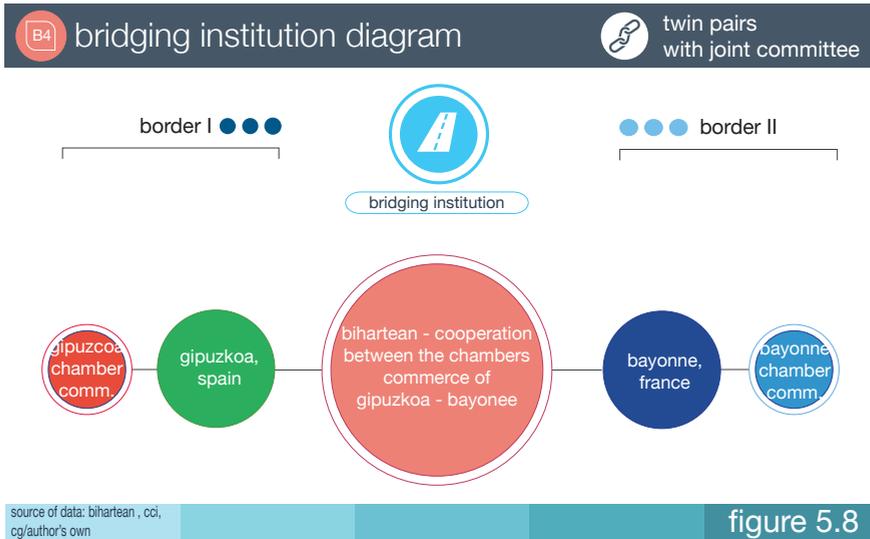
5.4.3 B3 - BIHARTEAN

Bihartean, which in Euskara means, ‘the future between two,’ is a joint partnership developed by the Gipuzcoa Chamber of Commerce and the Bayonne Chamber of Commerce and Industry. It was established under the European Union’s regulation for European Economic Interest Grouping (EEIG) in order to develop cross-border economic development opportunities, collaboration between businesses within the region, and jointly promote the region on a global scale. Similarly to other bridging institutions considered in this case study, Bihartean was created in response to an emergent need to foster cross-border cooperation between two territories, that in the past had little economic motivation for such joint efforts. The political systems and closed borders of the past required limited cross-border interaction of this region, while the recent economic crisis has fueled its newfound need for cooperation.



Organization

Bihartean is organized as a twin pair with a joint committee (Harvey, 2010), and a key actor on each side of the border (The Chamber of Commerce of Guipuzcoa, and The Chamber of Commerce of Bayonne). This bridging institution is unique in that it maintains only one salaried employee, the Director, who divides her time equally between both chambers: half a week in San Sebastian, Spain and the other half in Bayonne, France. She also works in conjunction with the respective economic development staff of both the chambers.



Content of Cross-Border Cooperation

Bihartean focuses its cross-border cooperation efforts through a diversity of strategies with the goal of gaining maximum benefits for actors on both sides of the border. The following includes this institution's lines of action, according to its official website.

- To promote, coordinate and encourage cross-border projects of both Chambers of commerce and industry
- To act as a bridge for companies within both territories wishing to develop across borders
- To organize meetings with and between companies from all economic sectors (trade - industry - services)
- To develop and implement a common training scheme in both territories
- To develop lobbying actions servicing companies in both territories

Working Methods

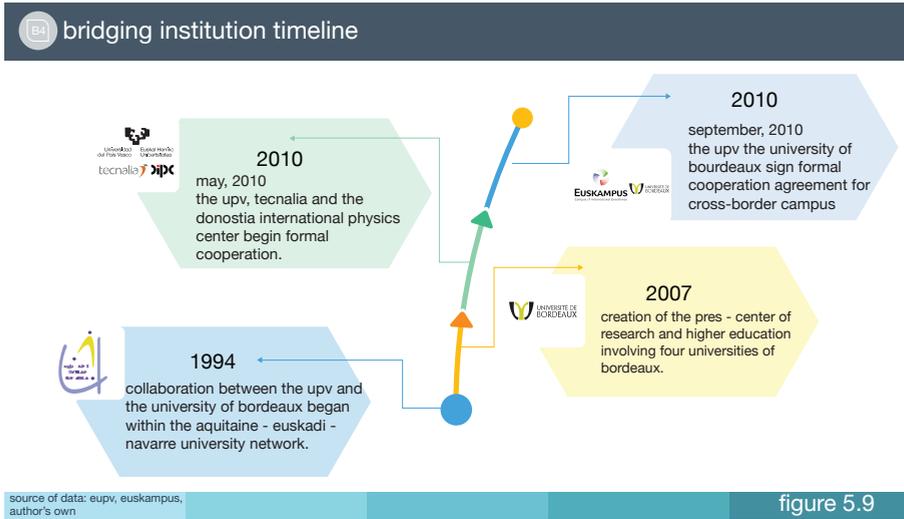
Subject A of Bihartean notes that the efforts of this institution are focused on the gaining of mutual benefits for its organization's two primary stakeholders, the Bayonne and Guipuzcoa Chambers of Commerce. All efforts and interactions are centered upon cross-border cooperation and are structured to supply information to firms on both sides of the border, to group potential cooperating sectors, and to build common economic proposals to offer at an international level.

“In recent years, cross-border interaction in our region has undergone a transformation of sorts. Although our territories have always been contiguous and maintained some degree of collaboration, cross-border economic relations were once weak and negligible. In the Euskadi and Aquitaine cross-border space, approximately three thousand people commute from one side to the other on a daily basis. This figure is remarkably low for a border region (for example, compared with the northern border of France and Belgium, where there are an estimated 30,000 commuters), but we can arguably attribute this to the fact that our two regions did not, in the past, necessarily need one another. On one side, Gipuzcoan companies had enough buyers, providers, and sufficient volumes of business in the Spanish Basque Country to be able operate comfortably; french companies also enjoyed stable economic activity within its own ‘borders’. But the economic crisis of 2007 demanded a change in approach on our border. Since then, we have accepted and acted upon the realization that business volumes within each territory are simply not sufficient. These and other economic implications of

Subject A
Bihartean

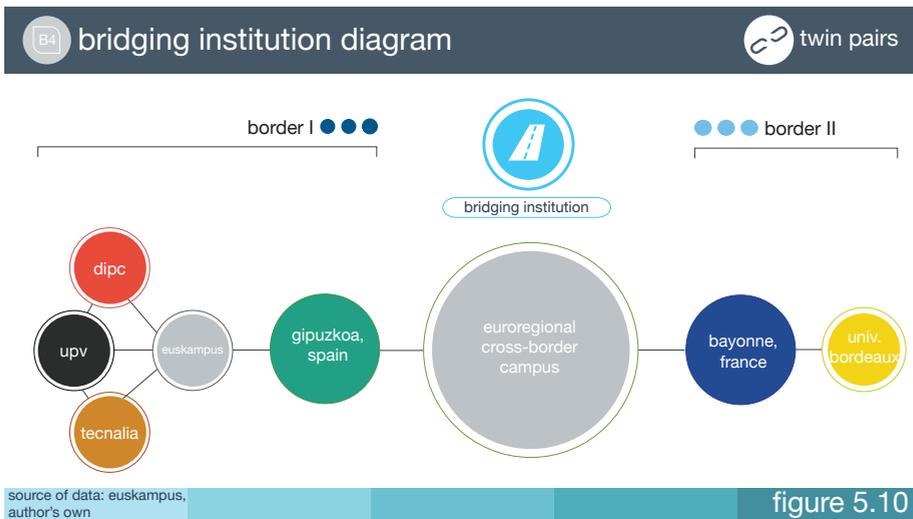
5.4.4 B4 Euskampus – Euroregional Cross-border Campus

The Euskampus project, and the final bridging institution that we consider in this case study, was designed for the specific advancement of a Euroregional cross-border campus. In order to create such a campus, The University of the Basque Country, Tecnalia, and The Donostia International Physics Center joined efforts with The Bordeaux University Consortium Center for Research and Higher Education (PRES) (which includes the participation of universities in Bordeaux, the Polytechnic Institute, The Bordeaux Agro Sciences, and Sciences Po Bordeaux). These efforts have resulted in the creation of a setting in which training, research, innovation, and international outreach are encouraged and facilitated. And while the campus naturally serves students in the Aquitaine-Euskadi region, it has served to increase global visibility for the region as a whole.



Organization

This bridging institution is set up under what Harvey (2010) calls Twin Pairs. Twin Pairs occur when two institutes interact with each other within a border, working in a joint project but each keeping its own organization.



Content of Cross-Border Cooperation

The operation of the Euroregional Cross-border Campus is based upon the following three lines of action, as established by its both partners: Euksampus and the University

of Bourdeaux-PRES:

- Priority projects dynamics: Collaborative work on projects of the shared excellence areas as defined in the strategic plans of the two campuses of international excellence.
- Euroregional dynamics: Collaborative projects on issues, which are the driving forces of the euroregional dynamics, especially important for the development of The Euroregional Campus Excellence Perimeters
- Main operational objectives:
 - Generate an attractive and joint academic offering internationally
 - Obtain synergies in R & D
 - Promote joint evaluation and transfer of knowledge at the international level with a direct impact on the social welfare of the territorial network of influence
 - Promote The Euroregional Campus on an international level

Working Methods

The Euroregional Cross-border Campus initiative operated jointly by Euskampus (on the Spanish side) and the University of Bourdeaux PRES (on the French side) is founded upon the Campus of Excellence initiatives of both campuses. Subject A of Euskampus notes that the formation of this institution on the basis of these two independent initiatives involves a power and participation balance within the context of strategies and efforts. Actions are first consented to on each side of the border, and later brought together in joint committee meetings.

“Our approach to any given joint action usually includes the following: we first conduct internal exercises during which we define the tools that re available for us to work with, the resources and initiatives that are to be considered in the medium-to-long term, as well as the steps that re required to arrive at those objectives. This same brainstorming process is conducted in parallel at Bordeaux, and subsequently, together. Accordingly, by the time that both sides actually meet, we have each already worked independently at length on the issue at hand. Once together, both sides of our acting membership analyze our proposals with the goal of reaching a consensus as to those that can be developed cooperatively and in a set time frame. And the next step inevitably involves determining the source of funding for any given project. So, there is a clear internal exercise phase, and a subsequent shared exercise phase. For the former, each side agrees to apply the parameters of consideration and analysis, so that in the latter stage of discussions we are virtually assured to be on the same page. Herein lies the strength of our institution’s approach.

5.5 Conclusions

The case study of Aquitaine-Euskadi exemplifies the formation of bridging institutions through public policy. Within this case study, we encountered the influence of (what we refer to as) the 'European Umbrella,' which (as seen in section 5.4) includes extensive public policy, over sixty cooperation programs providing access to a wide range of financial resources, and various forms of incentives that total over six billion euro. Such extensive funding allows for the creation and maintenance of highly structured and formalized bridging institutions in the Aquitaine-Euskadi cross-border space, contrasting considerably with the informal approach adopted in our first case study, Region Laredo.

In section 5.2 of this case study, we note the significance of establishing a shared vision (the cognitive dimension of social capital) throughout the development of a social base. The Aquitaine Euskadi cross-border region includes several bridging institutions with high frequencies of a shared vision, one of which (the Aquitaine-Euskadi Euroregion) is even working toward the establishment of a 'common space.' One example of this progression is the formation of common statistical indicators for the cross-border region as a whole.

Section 5.2 of this case study also illustrates the impact that social capital networks formed through the Euskampus bridging institution have had on furthering the region's economic development strategies. Such networks have enhanced the value of human capital in this bridging institution by furthering their employability.

We also note the role that trust plays in developing a social base within the Aquitaine-Euskadi cross-border space. We learn from the Bihartean bridging institution (see section 5.2), how working on the basis of trust among its members, the organizing of business-to-business collaboration opportunities lead to furthering the region's economic development.

Finally, this case study illustrates how social innovation takes on different forms in the development of a social base within the Aquitaine-Euskadi cross-border region (see section 5.3.5). First, we learn how Euskampus, a social innovation in and of itself, has employed social innovations to transform cross-border education through a process of cultural exchange. Within Bihartean, we also observe how a change in vision can also represent a social innovation. Structural evolutions within this bridging institution include the transition from independent international departments within each of the organizations involved, to a primarily joint effort with the creation of a cross-border chamber of commerce—ultimately allowing Bihartean to focus on more important micro aspects of cross-border economic development and competitiveness.

6

ÖRESUND

📁 sociodemographics

social aspects	denmark (capital region & zealand)	sweden (skane)
population	3.7 million	
	67%	33%
geographic size	20,869 Sq.Km.	
	47%	53%
per capita income	\$40,117.00 USD	\$32,250.00 USD
life expectancy	78	81
average schooling	12.1years*	11.7years*
human development index	0.900*	0.897*
wef competitiveness index	15	6
happy planet index	1	6
social progress index	8	2
r&d expenditure	3%	3.4%
tertiary education	34%	35%
researcher x 1000 emp.	13.61	10.66

*using national averages and rankings

source: eurostat, oecd,
un, orestat, wef, happy
planet, social progress index

figure 6.1

The inclusion of this region as Case Study III in this dissertation can be attributed to both the innovative nature of the Öresund region as a model of successful cross-border development, as well as the author's interaction with academic scholars well versed in the case itself.

Introduction

This chapter serves as the third and final case study of our dissertation. As explained in section 1.1, Öresund was initially selected as a case study because the region has been extensively cited as an example of successful cross-border cooperation (Asheim and Moodysson 2008, Calzada 2014; Garlick, Kresl, and Vaessen 2006; Lundquist and Trippel 2009; Maskell and Tornqvist 1999, Nauwelaers, Maguire, and Ajmone Marsan 2013).

Within this chapter, we will apply selected segments of our analytical framework to the Öresund case study, and we will complement this design with secondary data. The use of secondary data within this case study is the result of two primary factors: Öresund's standing as "the most widely publicized model of cross-border integration in the EU" (Nauwelaers, Maguire, and Ajmone Marsan 2013) offered a wealth of existing research on this region and relevant subject matter; and the bridging institutions within this region have undergone a process of constant evolution (see section 6.1) leading to limited access and semi-structured interviews. The application of our framework and access to this secondary data allows us the necessary tools to analyze the impacts (joint public policy or collective action) of a social base on this case study as well as the relevant economic development and competitiveness strategies encountered leading to successful integration of this cross-border region.

As with our previous case studies, the sequence of our analytical model (section 2.3.1) is inverted in order to provide a more fluid approach to understanding the Öresund region. This section considers the impacts (figure 6.1.A) that a social base within this case study has had on economic development and competitiveness strategies in the region; such impacts will be analyzed in accordance with the resulting data from our



bridging institution comparative

	B1	B2
name	oresund chamber of industry and commerce	medicon valley alliance
year started	1999	1997
legal setup	collaboration agreement	non-profit membership organization
organizational structure	single company partnership	cluster
type of partnership	private - private	public- private
leadership	enterprise	triple helix
financed by	enterprise	triple helix
number of actors	2	250+

data source: oresund chamber of industry and commerce, mva and author's own

table 6.1

BRIDGING INSTITUTIONS

Two bridging institutions were selected for the research of this case study (Table 6.1). The selection process of these bridging institutions is detailed in section 2.2.

With the Öresund Chamber of Industry and Commerce, and the Medicon Valley Alliance we achieved private-private and public-private representation, in the end beneficial for the elaboration of this case study.

interviews with two bridging institutions, and supplemented with analysis of available secondary data.

This chapter is divided into four sections. Our first section serves as an introduction to, including a brief history of, the Öresund Cross-border region, as well as an overlay of its socioeconomic demographics. The second section presents the findings observed in this case study with specific regard to the third stage of our analytical model. The third section illustrates the discernable barriers to cross-border cooperation within this case study, as well as the social capital and social innovation pillars that give way to the successful strategies described in the second section. Finally, the fourth section explores the bridging institutions that act as a base for the development of this cross-border region. The resulting research is then the product primarily of secondary research, and the interviews available to us at the time.

6.1 Overview

Öresund is a cross-border region situated in the heart of the Nordic countries. It is composed of the eastern part of Denmark and the southern part of Sweden, including the Capital and Zealand regions in Denmark and the southernmost county of Skane in Sweden. This cross-border region's population is fast growing and totals over 3.5 million inhabitants, over 25% of the total combined population of Denmark and Sweden (Garlick, Kresl, and Vaessen 2006). Copenhagen, Denmark and Malmo-Lund, Sweden are considered the main urban areas within this cross-border region.

A central figure in the region is The Öresund Bridge, a fixed link bridge spanning 16 km in length and inaugurated in 2000. It is the longest cable stayed bridge for road and rail transport in the world, allowing for travel between Copenhagen and Malmo in 40 minutes (Garlick, Kresl, and Vaessen 2006). There is a veritable 'before-and after' character to the Öresund cross-border region, which is seemingly indivisible from the bridge and its infrastructure. Before the bridge's opening in 2000, the level of regional cooperation between the two countries was considerably low (Matthiessen, 2004). Levels of cooperation began to increase, initially and gradually from 2000 to 2003, then considerably from 2004 onward, eventually even exceeding projected forecasts (Knowles & Matthiessen, 2009).

The Öresund Bridge gave way to a new dynamism in the region and cross-border cooperation has been fostered and has flourished since the bridge's conception in 1991 (Hansen 2013). Hansen (2013) notes that following Sweden and Denmark's bilateral ascension to the construction of the bridge, "public and private cross-border organizations were created, and existing organizations (from the business sector) began exercising an explicit focus on cross-border collaboration" (28). As was the case in our consideration of

Aquitaine-Euskadi, the European Umbrella has served as an important funding partner (in conjunction with the relevant two national governments) with regard to cross-border cooperation bridging institutions in the Öresund region, resulting in focused efforts for strengthening social relations and overcoming institutional differences between both sides of the border (Hansen 2013).

This above mentioned and well-documented focus upon cross-border cooperation in the Öresund Region has perhaps most notably resulted in the strengthening of key industries in this region including: biotechnology, pharmaceuticals and health; information technology and communications; food; tourism, culture and recreation; transport; building construction; and business and financial services (Garlick, Kresl, and Vaessen 2006). The development of these sectors has contributed to Öresund's above average private investment in R&D (4.9% of GDP), and highly educated population (over 35% of the workforce has a tertiary education) (Nauwelaers, Maguire, and Ajmone Marsan 2013), while the region is also host to over twenty higher education institutions.

6.2 Economic Development and Competitiveness Impacts STAGE III

Results (see table 6.1.A) in this section illustrate how establishing a shared vision, fostering synergies through social networks, and focusing on talent (elements that are described in section 6.3) help to improve this cross-border region's economic development and competitiveness strategies.

The first impact that we observe in this case study comes in the form of establishing a better conceptualization of this cross-border region, enabling the tools for creating a shared vision. We learn from Subject A of the Öresund Chamber of Commerce and Industry (OCIC), that one project of particular interest was the establishment on what is now known as the Öresund Integration Index.

“*We have also carried out a measurement of the integration in this region through the establishment of the Öresund Integration Index—a very important project, in my view. We created an index that would measure the levels of integration in this cross-border region on the basis of business-related principles, and it ultimately allowed us the opportunity to research how integration works.*

**Subject A
Öresund Chamber of
Industry and Commerce**

 impacts on economic development and competitiveness strategies

I bridging institution	II social capital / social innovation	III impact
oresund chamber of industry and commerce	establishing a better conceptualization of cross-border region (shared vision)	development of the oresund integration index: common indicators for future growth
oresund chamber of industry and commerce	continuously working on a shared vision through the oresund integration index	public policy recommendations
oresund chamber of industry and commerce	creating social capital network maps of b2b opportunities	creation of clusters such as the medicon valley alliance
medicon valley alliance	talent retention, attraction and availability	economic development projects
ocic ,mva and oresund in general	fostering a shared vision	establishment of the European Spatial Source

table 6.1.A

According to the OCIC website, this index began as the Öresund Business Index and its goal was to monitor the integration process within this cross-border region based upon a business perspective. This example also speaks to the evolutionary character that marks the bridging institutions on the whole in this case study (see section 6.1, Overview). Developed by the OCIC, over fourteen years The Öresund Business Index, evolved into its current state, The Öresund Integration Index. The latter is currently organized by the Öresundskomiteen, the official platform for regional political cooperation between the Swedish province of Scania (Skåne) and Denmark’s major island Zealand, as per its website. The interview with Subject A the OCIC illustrates the manner in which this

evolution- driven and adaptable approach came to be and how it functions in practice.

“ *We conducted the index ourselves for a number of years, but the interest in such indicators diminished considerably, after all, our findings were viewed by many (especially journalists) as ‘boring’ annual results of positive small changes. So we decided to scale back on such research for a few years, see what happened, and then maybe resume our focus. But during that period another actor reinitiated those efforts (instead of us) and we have found that to be a very positive development. It is a measure of success: we started it and somebody else is taking over.*

Subject A
Öresund Chamber of
Industry and Commerce

The Öresund Integration Index resulted in critical research and findings that have allowed actors throughout bridging institutions in this cross-border region to better conceptualize a shared vision and create a common space. Work on the index continues and has most recently been conducted with the inclusion of an additional consideration, which leads us to our second impact, public policy recommendations. Subject A of the OCIC bridging institution notes that this organization has recently focused its work on the achievement of even more significant results through the integration project. The OCIC coordinated the efforts of twenty researchers and together conducted a large survey with regard to cross-border integration in Öresund. The results of this analysis was still ongoing at the time of our interviews but had already resulted in draft generations of public policy recommendations and in the generation of new ideas with regard to cross-border cooperation.

“ *I think that our most successful project was actually an intellectual one. We conducted a substantially scoped survey, jointly with the participation of twenty researchers, in order to properly examine the integration project. While our chamber took a leading role, this extensive network of researchers were also deeply involved. The result so far has been a goldmine of analysis and policy recommendations, all of which we are beginning to chew through now. This has been essential to the generation of new ideas.*

Subject A
Öresund Chamber of
Industry and Commerce

The evolutionary approach adopted by bridging institutions in the Öresund region also resulted in our third impact: the formation of clusters. This impact comes from

creating social capital network maps of business-to-business opportunities. Our interview with Subject A from the OCIC demonstrates how this bridging institution, at its inception, conducted research analysis on mapping these business opportunities and then aimed to establish clusters in this region from those maps. This initial research led to the establishment of the Medicon Valley cluster, now the Medicon Valley Alliance bridging institution (see section 6.4.2). This interview illustrates the process of this ‘evolution-driven’ approach: initiation of projects, stepping back from them, and shifts of focus on the basis of changing needs.

“*At the outset, we did a lot of mapping of opportunities and we consulted with some scientists with regard to how we might discern clusters in the region, and they identified the medical area. That was essentially the ideology behind what now includes the networks of Medicon Valley and so on. And that all began with simple but focused analysis, from which we later pulled back and allowed the market to take over—this is an approach that we aim to continue following.*

Subject A
Öresund Chamber of
Industry and Commerce

Our interview with Subject A of the Medicon Valley Alliance (MVA) bridging institution indicates a fourth impact: talent retention, attraction, and availability within this cross-border region. According to our interviewee, when deciding where to invest, private companies consider proximity to big markets as a primary factor. But because Sweden and Denmark are both small countries, they are forced to compete for investment on the basis of a second factor: access to talent.

“*Life science and/or pharmaceutical companies tend to be attracted to the more global markets in the east: China, India, and Russia. There is also the issue of cost savings, so they are transferring a variety of operations to the east: clinical research, manufacturing, and research development. This results in the transfer of jobs and taxpayers, from our region toward the east. The primary reason for why a company is based in a specific geography is proximity to a growing large market, but Denmark and Sweden are both small countries. Our market is comparatively and significantly smaller than that of other countries. So we were required to shift our strategic response to include a focus on the second reason companies place their operations in a specific place: access to talent and highly educated people with a specific skill set for running specific activities.*

Subject A
Medicon Valley Alliance

Because of this, the MVA established the Beacon initiative, which according to their website, is a strategy to create a handful of world-class research environments within its cluster, resulting in more collaboration aimed at producing innovative products and technologies. We learn from our interview with Subject A that these Beacon's provided the MVA cluster with the tools to foster attractive environments to attract and retain talent in this cross-border region and this in turn furthers the region's economic development and competitiveness by attracting private companies investment.

“*This is how we can be competitive with regard to creating attractive environments, both from a scientific perspective as well as a business point of view, which will attract the best brains within specific areas. That is our primary concern, defining specific areas in which we have historical traditional strong holds, and accordingly create synergies between them. Through the establishment and promotion of such areas that people can identify with, we create an environment of collaboration in which individual university groups or private companies can identify precisely which beacon they can contribute them to. In so doing, we create a shared picture of the environment and competitive situation within our region, then develop a combined strategic approach that allows us a competitive advantage, as we strive to attract talent. Talented people want to go where the best environment are for their desired areas. They want to go where other talented people are going.*

Subject A
Medicon Valley Alliance

Finally, Subject A of the OCIC notes a fifth impact that the Öresund Bridge has had on this cross-border region in terms of the fostering of a shared vision. We identify this fifth impact as the European Union's selection of the Öresund region to develop the European Spatial Source. This EU-funded project promotes joint research efforts in physics, the setting of which will be the University of Lund in Sweden as well as a number of labs in Copenhagen, Denmark. The awarding of such a project to this region can be attributed in great part to the exemplary record of collaboration between Sweden and Denmark, which has characterized the region since the construction of the Öresund Bridge.

“One notable accomplishment that is indivisible from the building of the bridge is our regional undertaking of the international science project, The European Spatial source. This project fosters joint research effort in physics, and is comparable (though smaller scaled) to the investment made of over four billion euros in Boerne, Switzerland for the study of particle acceleration, etc. The European Union has decided to invest in Lund as well as in its university/campus, essentially on the basis of two factors. First, the initiative was originally proposed by both Swedish and Danish physicists. Secondly, both The Öresund Bridge and The Copenhagen International Airport offered an infrastructure that facilitated cooperation in the region and well as travel. These factors are actually very unique. So, the Swedish and Danish governments worked jointly throughout the selection process--some of the labs will actually be set in Copenhagen, and the main microscope will be in Lund. This sort of organization and strategy would simply be impossible without the bridge and the mindset that it has fostered.

**Subject A
Öresund Chamber of
Industry and Commerce**

6.3 Socializing Bridging Institutions STAGE II

Within this section we explore how the impacts on economic development and competitiveness strategies, observed above, became a reality. We consider how these impacts developed by researching Social Capital and Social Innovation and their interactions as two central components within bridging institutions. The presence of social capital in the form of trust, networks and a shared vision (Nahapiet and Ghoshal 1998) enable bridging institutions to make connections between cross-border territories more fluidly.

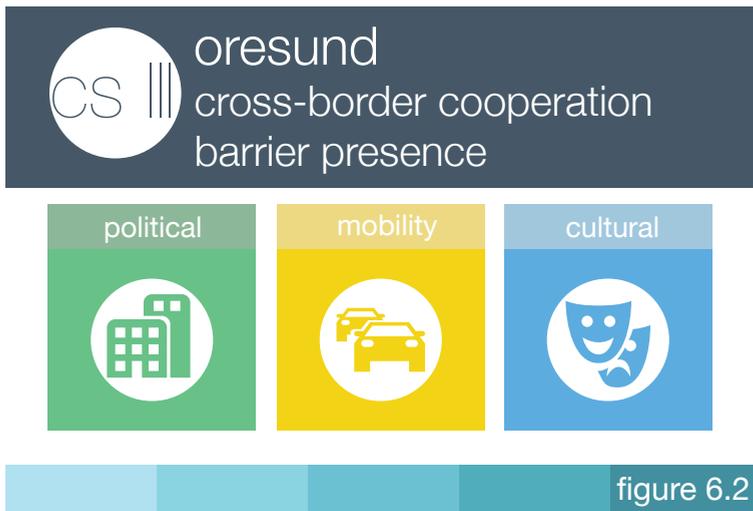
We begin this section by considering the barriers to cross border cooperation that bridging institutions are faced with and that play a role in the establishment of a social base. The second part of this section explores the process by which bridging institutions create social capital and implement social innovations, which together establish a social base.

6.3.1 Cross-Border Cooperation Barriers Presence

For this case study we identify cross-border cooperation barriers from our interviews with two bridging institutions in the Öresund region, as well as from our analysis of available secondary data. For the purposes of this particular case study, we will list the barriers, include their respective definitions and examples, but we will not elaborate on

their presence due to the limited data from our interviews.

Cross-border cooperation barriers identified in Öresund region bridging institutions center around three main types: political, mobility, and culture (figure 6.2). Secondary data seems to support our findings by identifying barriers such as culture, accessibility (mobility), and legislation (political) (see Hansen 2013, Knowles and Matthiesen 2009, Öresundskomiteen 2010). These barriers are generally similar, but do vary slightly with regard to the definitions of them, as compared with those found in our second case study on Aquitaine – Euskadi.



For this case study, we define political barriers in the same manner in which we do for our two previous case studies: politics or politicians that are perceived by our interviewed participants as hindering the process of collaboration (see sections 4.3 and 5.3). We perceive from our interview with Subject A of the Öresund Chamber of Industry and Commerce (OCIC) bridging institution that in the case of Öresund, political barriers are mostly represented in the context of regulatory and legislative issues: concerns arising from living on one side of the border and working on the other, or having two jobs (one on each side of the border), and how this affects citizens when reporting their taxes and who to pay to. While this same interviewee notes that companies do aim to address these issues, the specifics still remain largely unclear to residents, and these doubts can play a role on a person's decision as to where to live. This barrier is also one of the thirty-three obstacles and challenges identified by the Öresundskomiteen in their publication 33 Obstacles, Challenges and Possibilities: The Öresund Model 2010.

“For example, if one who lives near Boston and commutes to the city from the suburbs, that person would pay taxes to both the state of Massachusetts and the United States government. Here, however, someone who is ‘between both countries’ and both governments want your tax dollar so they struggle for your money and you end up in a hole because you don’t know what to do. Some of this has now been clarified or facilitated through a number of reforms, but there remain a number of issues that require clarification. For example, if someone lives in Sweden but works in Denmark (which I have done myself), then is offered a part-time weekend job in Sweden, that person cannot be certain as to how such employment would affect his personal tax rate. Having income in two countries can be perceived as bringing about too many problems, so that person is likely to turn down the job simply because she/he does not fully understand the implicated tax situation. And ultimately, where one pays taxes can be a definitive factor when deciding where to take residence.

Subject A
Öresund Chamber of
Industry and Commerce

We learn from our interview with Subject A of the Medicon Valley Alliance that political barriers usually arise within the context of interaction with different levels of government, on both sides of the border, and their differing agendas and priorities, as well as the coordination of efforts required for working together.

“The main barriers are, I think, similar to those found in any organization. Differences in objectives and differences in culture between organizational units. For example, if you take the regional governments-- we have three regions in our Medicon Valley Alliance or Öresund-- two are on the Danish side and one regional government is in Sweden. They each maintain their own agenda and sets of priorities, and each exercise independent and individual decision making processes. They have a group of politicians that are responsible for their own voters in their own regions, and ultimately there are three very different units (regions) that require synchronization. They must be addressing the same issues at the same times (very difficult, in and of itself), and they might each have a particular conflict between a region and its respective national government at any given moment in time (e.g.: in Denmark there is a battle between the capital Copenhagen and the rest of Denmark).

Subject A
Medicon Valley Alliance

He continues by noting that there are no conscious negative efforts at the foundation of such difficulties, rather there is simply a practical dilemma in coordinating such a diversity of regions, politics, etc.

“ *It is not a matter of ill will or that people simply don't want to collaborate. What is true is that the entirety of bureaucratic systems on both sides of the border makes such efforts very difficult. It is ultimately a process that must be orchestrated and managed with great care, otherwise the natural tendency to focus largely upon internal or national issues will far outshine a focus upon cross-border issues—to the detriment of the latter necessarily.*

**Subject A
Medicon Valley Alliance**

As in our previous case study, mobility barriers can be defined as the difficulties and efforts taken to get from point A to point B--in this case travelling within and along the cross-border region. While the Öresund Bridge has solved most of the mobility infrastructure needs in the Öresund region, Subject A of the OCIC notes that a mobility barrier might continue to exist in terms of future planning and the need for more bridges, tunnels and general infrastructure to support the future demographic growth in this region.

“ *In Öresund we face the future challenge of improving traffic issues. While we have the bridge now, at some point in the near future, that very bridge might not be able to serve the region to the extent that we will need it to. And the planning of new bridge and new tunnel construction seems merited.*

**Subject A
Öresund Chamber of
Industry and Commerce**

Finally, cultural barriers (as defined in chapter 4) are those that involve differing mindsets with respect to commonalities, of people on both sides of the borders. For this case study, as with our previous case study, this type of barrier primarily arises within the business community. According to the Öresundskomitten (2010) report on obstacles and challenges, “cultural differences on the Swedish and Danish sides of the border can lead to un- certainty and misunderstandings, as management cultures and organizational cultures are different in Swedish and Danish companies”(19). But, we also learn from our interview with Subject A of the OCIC, that cultural barriers serve as a scapegoat that is exaggerated in order to explain regional obstacles that are not directly related to culture, and are instead more appropriately attributed to the failure of actors and organizations to prepare for cross-border business negotiations.

“ I have found it to be quite a common practice in Öresund to blame failures on culture. If you are a company that takes decisions goes about conducting business dealings in Denmark, and then for some reason such a venture fails, often people will blame such outcomes on culture. They argue that because the other side (whichever it might be) is inept, work with such people is impossible--and so they blame the culture. This is something that is very commonly encountered, and I don't necessarily think that it is an accurate attribution of failure.

Subject A
Öresund Chamber of
Industry and Commerce

6.3.2 Social Capital: Trust Presence

As in our other two case studies, in this section we analyze trust as an element of social capital, one of the pillars of our social base. Trust is analyzed according to levels of mutual understanding and confidence displayed by members of bridging institutions. For this case study and because of our lack of data from our interviews, the presence of trust will not be graphed and instead will be only be interpreted by examples perceived from the answers provided to us by our interviewees from each of the bridging institutions.

Both interview Subject A of the OCIC and Subject A of the MVA indicate that trust is an element that requires constant work in the context of cross-border cooperation. Both interviewees also state that the general myths with regard to cross-border neighbors also exist in Öresund and are principally related to the cultural barriers that we discussed above.

“ Trust is not a significant issue in our region, per se, but I think there will always be a degree of trust lack of it that should be taken into account throughout the cooperative process--particularly, when cooperation is being initiated with 'new people'. In this context, cultural barriers can in the form of prejudice. There is a widely held myth that Danes are day traders, they appreciate a good bargain, and they care little about the long term relationship, so long as they can sort of squeeze as much out of today as possible. And the myth about the Swedish is that they are considerably more long-term oriented and that they value relationships that stand the test of time. But I do not think that any of these preconceived notions are necessarily true, I believe that such cultural traits have much more to do with the individual. Often people in our region will begin a new relationship seemingly seeking confirmation of such myths, and their interactions/dealings can become a bit of a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Subject A
Öresund Chamber of
Industry and Commerce

We perceive from Subject A of the MVA that trust is a virtual requisite within the context of cross-border cooperation in the Öresund region, that is almost always present, and that it seems to be a natural byproduct of cooperating across borders. He notes that a precise definition of trust is an illusive one, that problems often associated with trust have more to do with disparities in cultural values, and that such issues of trust arise in both the private and public sectors, as well as within the organizations themselves.

“*This is a difficult question, because what is trust really? Do you trust even if you are working within the same company? If you are in the marketing department do you trust the production or development departments? In cross-border regions there is understandably an atmosphere of ‘us vs. them. Collaboration across the public and private sectors is also carried out in light of differences in culture and approach. Often actors on one side of a border know little about how things are done on the neighboring side. Conflicts arise accordingly, and if we disagree with the Swedes or if they don’t behave in accordance with our expectations, it is almost reflexive to argue that such disagreement is the result of their well—Sweedishness. And I am quite certain that the Swedes would say the same thing about the Danes. Whether we like it or not, stereotypical perceptions are formed about how things are and what each side thinks about the other, and this is not limited to the Öresund region to be sure. The Spanish likely think some things about the French, and the French likely have their own ideas about the Spanish and so on.*

Subject A
Medicon Valley Alliance

6.3.3 Social Capital: Networks Presence

Social Capital networks represent the second pillar of our social capital analysis. As was done in our previous case studies, the role of social networks was analyzed according to the ability of members of bridging institutions to interact and relate among each other and expand the reach of their respective institutions. As with the previous section, for this case study, the presence of social networks was ascertained through the interviews conducted with representatives from each of the bridging institutions of Öresund. Again, for this case study and because of our lack of data from our interviews networks presence will not be graphed and instead will be only be interpreted by examples perceived from the answers provided to us by our interviewees from each of the bridging institutions.

Our interviews in this case study indicated that social capital networks were a key element in the beginning of both the OCIC and the MVA bridging institutions, and served

as a basis for the integration of the region. Both interviewees agree that the construction of the fixed link bridge initiated the formation of these networks, which later translated to cluster development, business to business opportunities, and the commuting of staff to corporate headquarters on both sides of the border.

Subject A of the OCIC notes that with regard to his bridging institution, when the Öresund bridge was built, much work went into establishing social capital networks with the goal of bridging this cross-border region. Some of these networks remain today (see the MVA example in section 6.1), while others have become obsolete.

“*The first phase of the Öresund Chamber of Industry and Commerce was when the bridge opened and we did a lot of work helping to set up networks between companies, some of this still live today and some have died out because they were obsolete. That was primarily what we spent our energy on. This network building was facilitated by the building of the bridge itself.*

**Subject A
Öresund Chamber of
Industry and Commerce**

The same is true of the Medicon Valley Alliance, and our interview with Subject A of the MVA indicates that building social capital networks was initially the central function of this institution. The MVA identified a need of new companies within their cluster to familiarize themselves with one another. When the bridge was built, the MVA worked to bring Danes and Swedes together, as well as accelerate the growth and maturity of their cluster on the whole.

“*When the Medicon Valley Academy was formed in 1997 our organization's purpose was very much to coordinate network activities including meetings, conferences, and seminars etc. At that time, there was a need not only between Denmark and Sweden, but also in terms of the emerging biotech sector in the late 1990's. At one point, there were twenty to twenty-five new companies founded every year in Medicon Valley. We were made aware of a need for the management teams within these companies to meet, and exchange experiences/ideas with regard to the operation and startup of companies. And it was ultimately a combination of these needs-- to bring Danes and Swedes together after the building of the bridge, and to mature this startup environment of new biotech companies-- that so heavily influenced our agenda for the first four to six years. Our function was then to organize as many meetings as possible, bring all of these people together, teach them something, and deal with some specific issues.*

**Subject A
Medicon Valley Alliance**

Finally, Subject A of the OCIC notes that networks play a key role in building business opportunities for the members of its organization as well as for cross-border cooperation between them. The business opportunities generated by the OCIC through its establishment of networks, has facilitated the process by which residents of the Öresund region commute, live and work on the border. The vision behind such networks has evolved into a general willingness to collaborate and further regional development in Öresund, even in the absence of the OCIC's efforts in that direction.

“Initially, our development of networks for our members produced business opportunities, but the business environment has evolved into one in which companies are coming together without the help of the chamber of commerce. Most current developments include private initiatives. One example is Mercedes (which we frequently cite because of its name recognition): Mercedes maintains a Nordic headquarters in Malmo, with half of that staff commuting from Copenhagen, and they operate for both Denmark and Sweden from this one location. The same is true for a number of banks, including the largest bank in Norway, as well as Weightwatchers. Alternatively, many companies maintain headquarters in Copenhagen. This morning, in fact, I spoke to a PR company that was founded by two Swedes but was located in Copenhagen because they were drawn to a more interesting client base in Denmark. So the fact that these independent actions are occurring with increasing frequency is a very positive development. People need less and less assistance from organizations like ours-- and that is a good thing.

Subject A
Öresund Chamber of
Industry and Commerce

6.3.4 Social Capital: Shared Vision Presence

As with our previous two case studies, the final element of social capital analyzed within our framework is a shared vision. A shared vision for the purposes of our research can be defined as: joint initiatives, practices, and activities furthered by members of bridging institutions with a common goal.

Subject A of the OCIC notes that in terms of fostering a shared vision within this cross-border region results can be classified in to two time periods, before and after the Öresund Bridge. Prior to the construction of the fixed link bridge that connects this cross-border region of Sweden and Denmark, big corporations at the national level, and primarily in terms of international trade largely undertook cross-border cooperation.

“Before the bridge existed, you could say that cooperation was engaged in largely in terms of the business elite: the decision makers, CEO’s and politicians, hospitals, etc. And at that time Copenhagen was perceived by many companies to be an export market, albeit a very close one, but an export market nonetheless. And in terms of the everyday citizen, Copenhagen was seen mostly as a leisure spot, somewhere to visit for a couple of beers, eat well, board an international flight. There were some examples of collaboration within the business elite, and even less so for the average citizen, but they seem negligible compared to the cooperative environment that has emerged since the building of the bridge.

Subject A
Öresund Chamber of
Industry and Commerce

We learn from Subject A of the OCIC that after the bridge was built, both Swedes and Danes have been very receptive to it and its relative infrastructure. Further that the bridge has helped foster this sense of a shared vision by enabling them to explore opportunities on both sides of the border, not present before the building of this infrastructure project. According to our interviewee the Öresund Bridge helped to promote a shared vision and an integration of the region fostering what he called a revolution in terms of integration.

“With regard to the bridge we have been very fortunate in that people are culturally very open and positive about this concept. Nobody is against the bridge, some are really actively for it, and others like to promote the fact that we now have it. For instance, looking for work on either side of the bridge is widespread in this region, more so on the Swedish side, but nearly equally on the Danish side (although there are twice as many Danish people living in the Öresund region: we are 1.5 million and they’re 2-2.5 million). And this employment ‘hunt’ has very much fostered a shared vision throughout the region. With 20,000 people commuting every day, the integration of both the labor market and the housing market, I would say that the bridge has brought about a revolution in terms of integration.

Subject A
Öresund Chamber of
Industry and Commerce

Finally, Subject A of the MVA notes that their work on the fostering of a shared vision has been undertaken as an assurance of survival for their cluster with regard to globalization. Having recognized that multinational companies in its cluster could very well pick up their operations and establish themselves in a more competitive setting,

this institution began promoting (and are still working upon) a regional agenda that emphasized a shared vision among all of its stakeholders, Danes and Swedes, public and private. This shared vision aims to promote the cluster as a competitive and attractive cross-border region for investment over the next twenty years.

“*In a global context, we began to promote a more regional agenda, trying to mobilize the various stakeholders to approach the future while keeping issues of globalization in mind. It became important for us as an organization to define this common destiny toward which we should all work together—including the public and the private sector, Danes and Swedes. We were all challenged by the same reality--globalization--and if we hadn't been able to join forces, we would have been rendered substantially weaker than our competition. We stood to lose the high quality jobs that were already well established here; and over a period of 10-15 years, we could have lost our regional attractiveness altogether. This is what we argue and discuss with our board of directors: we need to work together in order to survive. So, while the MVA began as a networking organization and later evolved into an information center about startups and capital, now we are addressing the strategic challenges for the region as such.*

Subject A
Medicon Valley Alliance

6.3.5 Social Innovation

As with our previous case studies, we define social innovation as a new set of practices, actions or services aimed at meeting a social need. Innovations in processes and interactions between members of bridging institutions are referred to as innovative activities or practices. Changes in how members of these bridging institutions collaborate, relate, network, and work together are all examples of such activities. This section analyzes how the bridging institutions within this case study serve the purposes of this definition. This analysis is once again conducted by examining the interviews held with directors of each of these bridging institutions. For this particular case study, because of a reduced number of interviews, the presence of social innovation will not be graphed, but will be interpreted through examples within the answers provided to us by our interviewees from each of the bridging institutions.

Scholars such as Calzada and Bjork (2014) have undertaken recent work on the subject of social innovation in the Öresund Region. Their preliminary findings suggest an increase in social innovations in the region correlating with the establishment of the National Forum on Social Innovation and the following key contributors: an abundance of bottom-up/civil society initiatives, cross-border collaboration increasing, and strong support from government for social innovation activities.

In Öresund, social innovations manifest in the following two contexts: 1) bridging institutions, how they function, cooperate and most importantly evolve, 2) opportunities and integration models that the fixed link Öresund Bridge has given way to.

Subject A of Öresund's Chamber of Industry and Commerce (OCIC) notes that the structural evolution of this bridging institution represents a social innovation in and of itself. The evolution of this bridging institution has included reinventions of its work and cooperation style, the process of merging two separate organizations on both sides of the border to one, and a willing flexibility to adapt to the needs of its maturing cross-border region.

“*There has been a requisite trial and error process throughout our evolution. We have one idea and try it out; we have enjoyed some initial successes, only to later find out that some things do not work to the expected degree. Then we were left to reinvent our way of working in response. Further, the concept of separate organizations for integration may have initially been appropriate. But in terms of network expansion, the containment of networks within separate organizations poses a barrier as well. Equally notable, at the outset of our founding, special structures for integration were critical to the process, but now we are more focused on working organically to merge both sides. And instead of creating a region, we are aiming to create one city—which is undoubtedly a long-term process, but that is the direction in which we feel that we need to go.*

**Subject A
Öresund Chamber of
Industry and Commerce**

Subject A also notes a social innovation in terms of the evolution of this bridging institution established goals and path to them. We learn from Subject A that the focus of the OCIC has also adapted to relevant circumstances and is now working toward a more organic integration in the region.

“*Our organization has shifted its efforts to a concentration on policy issues and the identification of which integration needs currently exist in our region. We are collaborating with the legislature and public sector in the development of rules and initiatives to further the process of integration within our region.*

**Subject A
Öresund Chamber of
Industry and Commerce**

Subject A of the Medicon Valley Alliance also notes that the efforts of this bridging institution have also evolved to include to a vision that is focused on addressing the

social needs of the region as a whole, and not just those of their cluster. We can identify this too as a social innovation, as this institution has adapted both its methods and goals for the betterment of their cross-border region.

“Our organization has progressed from establishing networks, to promoting entrepreneurship, to linking financial projects to assure success, to (currently) addressing and working to create strategic answers to the challenges facing the Öresund region as a whole. We are working to generate a shared view of ourselves as a region, one that can help us define a learning platform, one that can help us use this shared learning platform to bridge our cross-border environment.

**Subject A
Medicon Valley Alliance**

Finally, both Subject A of the OCIC and Subject A of the MVA indicate that although both bridging institutions existed before the fixed link Öresund Bridge was built, this infrastructure project accelerated and emphasized the need to integrate as a region. The Öresund Bridge brought along with it a shared vision and a general optimism about the future of cross-border cooperation initiatives, all of which was warmly received by both the public and private sectors within the region. This case study presents a condition not present in either Region Laredo or Aquitaine-Euskadi: an infrastructure project, (a physical bridge) that is itself a social innovation because of the integration and cooperation that it gives rise to.

“Because of the Öresund Bridge, Danes and Swedes have been given a great opportunity to work together, to cooperate, to integrate. This shared mindset of working together and as one, would have seemed impossible in the absence of the bridge.

**Subject A
Öresund Chamber of
Industry and Commerce**

“Since the bridge project was conceived, residents in this region began planning the formation of organizations like the MVA in order to take better advantage of the infrastructure and further integrate our region. These organizations were created as a response to the cooperative optimism that the building of the Öresund Bridge brought throughout the region

**Subject A
Medicon Valley Alliance**

6.4 Bridging the Gap STAGE I

This following section presents the application of the first stage of our analytical framework to the case study of the Öresund Cross-border Region. Within this section

we explore how the bridging institutions in this case study work to further the elements of social capital and social innovation that are needed to produce the relevant impacts on economic development and competitiveness strategies described in section 6.2. Bridging institutions within this section have been loosely structured in accordance with the suggested classifications of Euroregions as per the Association of European Border Region's European Commission Practical Guide to Cross-border Cooperation (1997): organization, working methods, and content of cross-border cooperation (figure 4.2.1).



We find the Öresund region to be innovative with specific regard to its establishment of bridging institutions for cross-border cooperation. Bridging institutions within this case study were primarily a result of the planning and subsequent building of the Öresund Bridge (see section 6.1) and serve the purpose of promoting cross-border cooperation on the basis of a new infrastructure project designed at bringing together this cross-border region, The Öresund Bridge.

Formalized and structured bridging institutions are also observed within this case study (similarly to our second case study), but we also perceive the evolution of these institutions, something not present in the other two cross-border regions explored in this dissertation (see Ch. 4-5). In Öresund, bridging institutions tend to evolve in accordance with their own needs as well as those of the cross-border community. This form of evolution is highlighted within the two bridging institutions analyzed for this case: the Öresund Chamber of Industry and Commerce, and the Medicon Valley Alliance.

This evolutionary approach as adopted by bridging institutions in the Öresund region, is achieved in large part through swift, well-planned, and well-executed "efforts to build an 'Öresund identity' in a culturally and linguistically similar but still diversified population" (Nauwelaers, Maguire, and Ajmone Marsan 2013). Such an identity has been shaped by the Öresund Regional Development Strategy (conceived in 2010) and

an established a long-term vision (through the year 2020) within four concrete themes: knowledge and innovation, culture and events, a diverse yet cohesive labor market, and accessibility and mobility.

6.4.1 **B1 - ÖRESUND CHAMBER OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE (OCIC)**

Organization

The Öresund Chamber of Industry and Commerce (OCIC), labeled as the world's first transnational Chamber of Commerce, began as a joint effort between the Dansk Erhverv (Danish Chamber of Commerce) and the Syndsvenska Handelskammaren (Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Southern Sweden) in the year 1999. According to the Öresund Chamber of Industry and Commerce web site, this cross border bridging institution currently represents more than 10,000 member firms in the region, totaling over 500,000 employees.

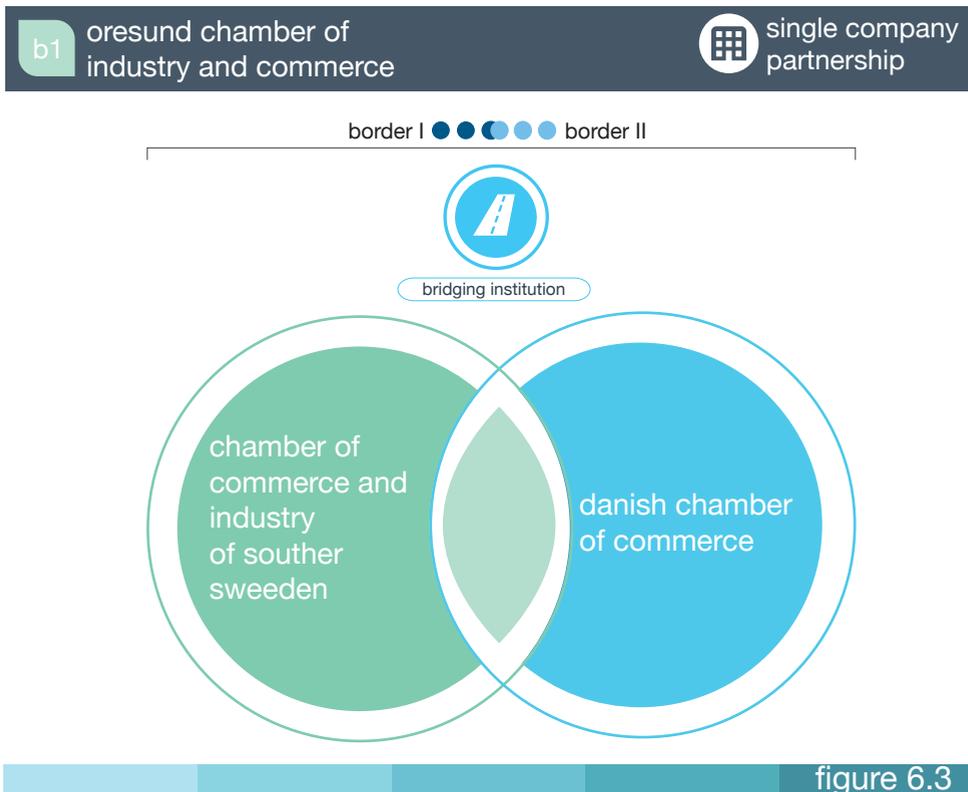
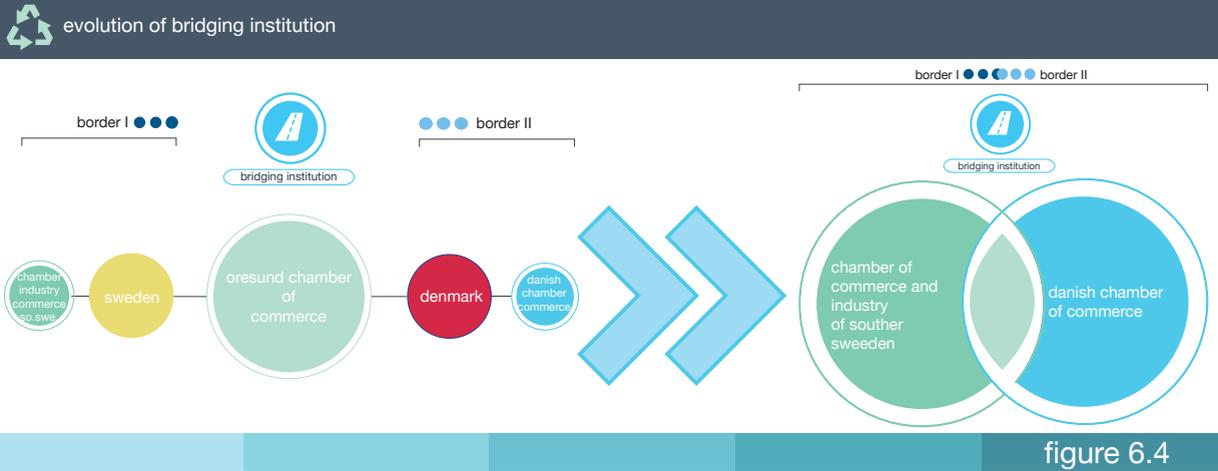


figure 6.3

As figure 6.4 shows us, this bridging institution has evolved from what Harvey (2010)

describes as a twin pair with joint committee institution at its inception, to a present day twin pair institution. This evolution was a result of the natural maturing within this bridging institution and the mutual agreement on behalf of both actors to become one.



Subject A of the OCIC notes that this bridging institution was conceived as joint project manager and not as a separate legal entity because they perceived that the latter might hinder cooperation more than it would encourage it.

“ We began with what we called the Öresund Chamber of Commerce, which was basically an association of projects between us. We never even began operating as separate legal entities, because we felt that would be defeating the purpose of our existence. Our function was, after all, to integrate our chambers—not to create a separate, independent unit with no integration between its parent members. So, we opted instead for a project organization and have remained that way to this day. We work jointly on specific projects, have regular meetings, and participate in various activities together, but we do so on a project-to-project basis because we want to integrate. And this has worked well for us.

Subject A
Öresund Chamber of
Industry and Commerce

Subject A also illustrates the evolutionary mentality of bridging institutions in general within this case study, by noting this organization’s progressive distancing from the OCIC brand in order to foster independence, yet continue to further integration.

“Currently, we don't tend to use the term OCIC, which we originally established, but now are reluctant to use as much. Ultimately we think that the institutions on each side of the border should be comfortable operating independently, though continue to integrate mutually without the need for an additional formal structure to guide such cooperation. In the 1990's, before the bridge was built, the focus was very much upon creating special structures for integration. That was appropriate at the outset-- the startup phase-- but in a normal urban area integration begins to occur almost organically and on its own. So we prefer to continue advancing in that direction, adopting more of a long-term approach to the integration process, which I think is more sound.

Subject A
Öresund Chamber of
Industry and Commerce

Content of Cross-Border Cooperation

Even in terms of the content of the OCIC's cooperative and integrative functions, we observe an evolutionary approach. Subject A of the OCIC notes that this bridging institution has gone through two phases: at the outset it began by building networks, and later shifted its efforts in the direction of cross-border policy.

The OCIC laid out an extensive framework of networks between companies on both sides of the border, some remain in existence, while others became obsolete.

“The first phase began when the bridge was built/opened, and we did a lot of work helping to set up networks between companies, some of these still live today and some have died out because they were obsolete. That was primarily what we spent our energy on.

Subject A
Öresund Chamber of
Industry and Commerce

The second and current phase of cooperation within the OCIC, which includes a greater focus upon cross-border policies, has this bridging institution increasingly involved in strengthening ties between the public and private sector in order to further regional integration through public policy.

“We currently exercise more of a focus more on policy issues: establishing what rules and initiatives could be adopted, working with the legislature, public sector, and the enterprise sector to smooth the process of integration between the regions.

**Subject A
Öresund Chamber of
Industry and Commerce**

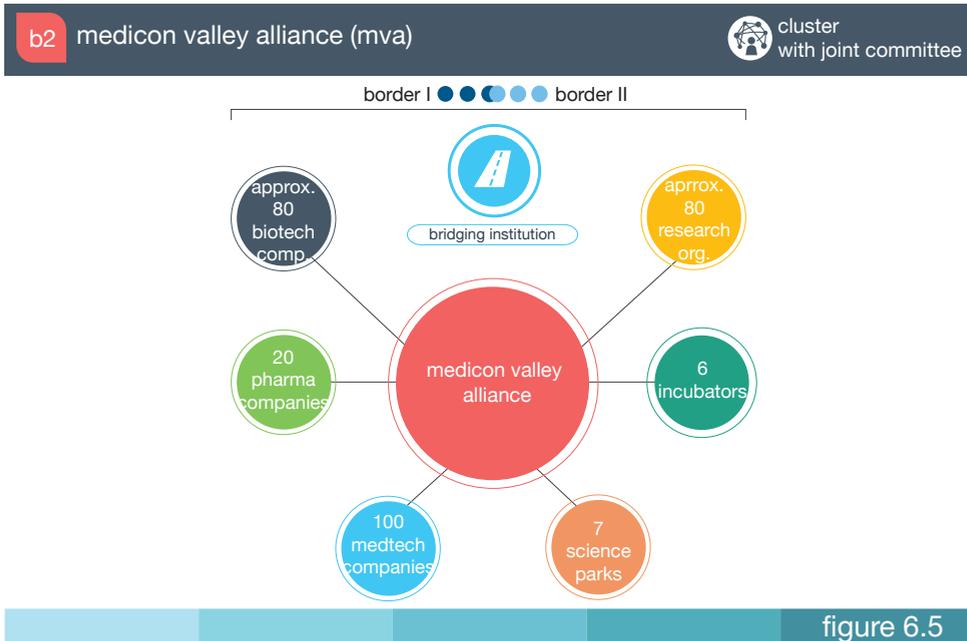
The website of the Öresund Chamber of Industry and Commerce indicates their primary goals to be the following:

- To coordinate business policy
- To ensure the best possible competition and growth conditions for companies in the Öresund Region
- To increase business activity in the Öresund Region
- To increase the Öresund region's international attractiveness
- To identify and remove barriers to integration

Working Methods

According to the Öresund Chamber of Industry and Commerce website and as explained above, the OCIC does not replace either of its two active members, and is instead an integral part of both. As such, the projects undertaken by this bridging institution are overseen by a board consisting of both the Dansk Erhverv and the Syndsvenska Handelskammaren board of directors, and are coordinated by an executive committee made up of the directors of both chambers. For everyday activities two people from each chamber participate in the execution of such projects, while the remaining actors within the organization participate when deemed necessary.

6.4.2 B2 - Medicon Valley Alliance (MVA)



Organization

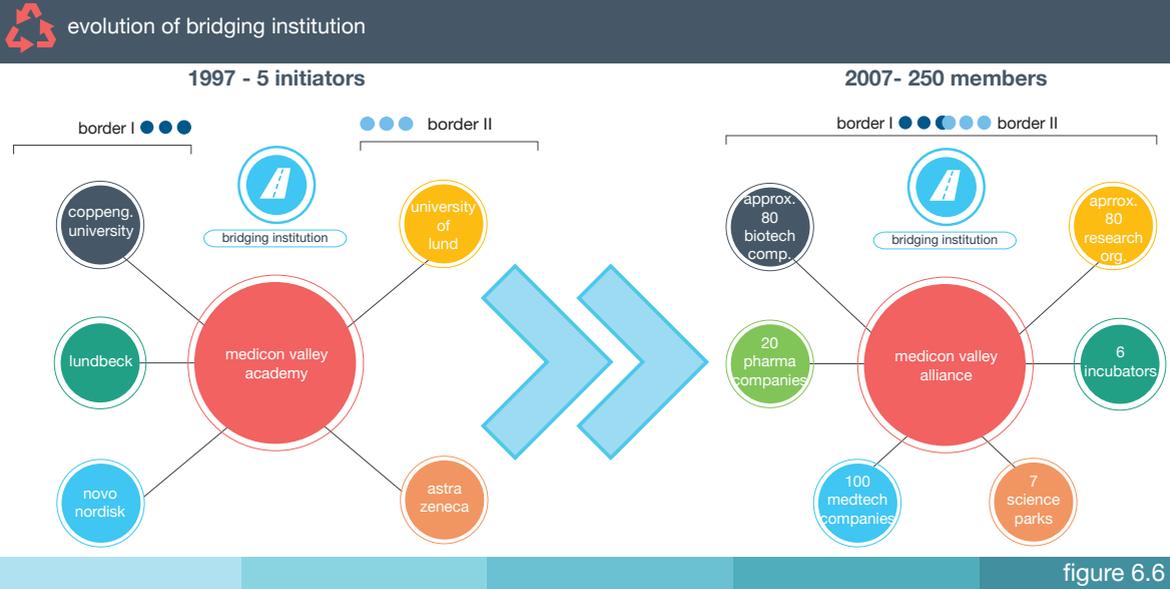
Subject A of the Medicon Valley Alliance, in accordance with its website, MVA is a cluster of over 250 Danish and Swedish members in the public and private sectors, dealing with the life sciences. MVA represents over 140,000 people in fields, spanning the region's triple helix and including universities, life science firms and regional governments. According to Subject A, the MVA creates a bridge not only between Denmark and Sweden, but between the public and private sector as well.

“*Medicon Valley Alliance is an alliance between a variety of stakeholders, both private and public, Danish and Swedish. When you talk about a bridging organization, we are not only a bridge between Denmark and Sweden, but also between the public and the private sector. The barriers and challenges that can hinder cooperation in our cross-border region are just as considerable between the private and public sectors, as they are between Swedish and Danish institutions.*

Subject A
Medicon Valley Alliance

According to Harvey (2010) this bridging institution can be classified as a cluster, taking into account its alliance composition. As figure 6.6 illustrates, we observe that

the MVA has evolved beyond a simple name change: it transitioned from Medicon Valley Academy in 1997, to Medicon Valley Alliance 10 years later in 2007. According to the MVA website, when the Öresund Bridge became a reality, expectations of regional integration grew in scope and quantity. On the basis of such expectations, the Universities of Lund and Copenhagen (with the backing of the region's major pharmaceutical companies) joined forces to create the Medicon Valley Academy. Their goal was to function as a bridge between Danish and Swedish life science actors.



Subject A notes how the focus of this bridging institution has shifted from network building, to promoting a regional agenda based on the future that a globalized perspective implies.

“Over the last five to six years, we have shifted our focus from the organization of all of these networks and conferences, to an approach that takes into account the external challenges that our region is facing in terms of globalization. Many regions, all trying to position themselves as the best place for life science expertise, are competing for the same thing-- talent and capital. And it is in this global context that we began to promote a more regional agenda, with the goal of mobilizing a variety of stakeholders to consider the significance of globalization on the future of our region.

Subject A
Medicon Valley Alliance

Content of Cross-Border Cooperation

Subject A also notes that the MVA is currently operating in a climate of extreme competition, with over 250 other life science clusters globally vying for the attention of the same talent pool. The MVA approaches this competition with a belief that this ‘talent’ is the key to jobs and economic growth, and ultimately them increasing competitiveness for the region as a whole. And in order to be successful at talent attraction, the MVA has been working on the definition of a common learning platform that will permit them to create a same set of ideals on both sides of the border. This common learning platform is spearheaded through the creation of the MVA Beacons Program.

“Another way to bridge an environment is the generation of the same view of self, or the same learning platform for the entire region; we have tried to define the latter. Because of globalization, the competition between geographies in terms of attracting talent and capital (and through that, jobs and economic growth) has increased. So, instead of looking at the differences between two different cultures, for attraction purposes, we can create a mutual sense of urgency, in order to = bring people together and foster competitiveness.

Subject A
Medicon Valley Alliance

At the MVA, talent is the central component in the knowledge-intensive, life sciences sector. We learn from the MVA website that the Medicon Valley Beacons were designed to promote the MVA as the most attractive destination for the best talent within life sciences, by illustrating the region’s scientific strengths. The MVA, through the Boston Consulting Group, identified five Beacons for this initiative: drug delivery, systems biology, immune regulation, structural biology and independent living. We further gather from our interview with Subject A, that the MVA’s Beacon strategy is focused on creating synergies between all five of them furthering the region’s stronghold on the life science cluster. The MVA utilizes this Beacon strategy to promote the bridging of the region and contribute to a shared sense of belonging, one where talent will ultimately attract talent.

We also gather from our interview with Subject A, that the MVA’s Beacon strategy is focused upon creating synergies between all five beacons in order to further the region’s stronghold on the life science cluster. The MVA utilizes this Beacon strategy to promote the bridging of the region and contribute to a shared sense of belonging, one where talent can ultimately attract more and more talent.

“We have individual market strongholds in Denmark and Sweden, in both the public and private sectors. Really though, our goal is to create an organization/structure through which we might make each stronghold even greater by creating synergies between them-- these are our ‘beacons’: areas ripe with potential strategies. People and organizations can then correlate their needs with a certain beacon. In so doing, we create a shared picture of the environment and competitive situation within our region, then develop a combined strategic approach that allows us a competitive advantage, as we strive to attract talent. Talented people want to go where the best environment are for their desired areas. They want to go where other talented people are going.

Subject A
Medicon Valley Alliance

Working Methods

According to the organization’s website, the MVA’s board of directors currently consists of seventeen board members and is comprised of Danish and Swedish representatives from the region’s triple helix. Day-to-day activities are conducted by a secretariat comprised of nine staff members and three global MVA ambassadors.

Subject A notes that a primary focus of the MVA is to translate political speeches and goodwill into practical/pragmatic projects and objectives that can benefit the region. We learn from the interview, that this too bridges the region, the different cultures within it, and the diversity of approaches that its actors may adopt.

“We have individual market strongholds in Denmark and Sweden, in both the public and private sectors. Really though, our goal is to create an organization/structure through which we might make each stronghold even greater by creating synergies between them-- these are our ‘beacons’: areas ripe with potential strategies. People and organizations can then correlate their needs with a certain beacon. In so doing, we create a shared picture of the environment and competitive situation within our region, then develop a combined strategic approach that allows us a competitive advantage, as we strive to attract talent. Talented people want to go where the best environment are for their desired areas. They want to go where other talented people are going.

Subject A
Medicon Valley Alliance

In order to build such cultural and working bridges, the Medicon Valley Alliance Web site states that this bridging institution encourages cooperation between the public

and private sector for the development of projects and activities within the life science sector of the Öresund region.

6.5 Conclusions

Our study of the Öresund cross-border region introduced the capacity of bridging institutions to evolve in accordance with changing regional needs and political and economic climates. This characteristic is unique within the context of our case studies and one that plays a significant role in the successes enjoyed in Öresund (see Ch. 4-5). While bridging institutions in this region are formalized and structured (as was also the case in the Aquitaine-Euskadi cross-border space), their capacity to undergo constant evolution allows them to adapt their goals and directives and formulate socially innovative solutions (see section 6.4).

This case study also exemplifies the importance of establishing a shared vision in the process of forming a social base for cross-border cooperation in the Öresund cross-border region. We learn, for example, how the Öresund Integration Index and the Öresund Regional Development Strategy are both models of well-planned and well-executed efforts at establishing a better conceptualization for this region (see section 6.2).

We also learn from this case study that building networks (as a form of social capital) helped to facilitate cross-border integration processes in the Öresund region (see section 6.2). Establishing networks, through business-to-business opportunities, fostered the formation of cross-border clusters in this region, the most prominent being the MVA (see section 6.4).

Section 6.2 of this case study explores the significance of access to talent, in Öresund, as a regional variable that fosters cross-border cooperation in both the short and long term. The Medicon Valley Alliance bridging institution has focused its efforts on talent retention, attraction, and availability as a form of competing for private investment, all of which has contributed to the global recognition of The Öresund Region with regard to education-related indicators.

Finally, we learned that a concerted focus on variables of social capital and social innovation can and did produce tangible economic development and competitiveness strategy impacts in The Öresund Region. The fostering of a regional shared vision through a number of bridging institutions, the establishment of university-oriented networks to facilitate access to talent, and the construction of the fixed link bridge (social innovation) contributed to this cross-border region being selected as the site of The European Spatial Source, only the second project of its kind in all of Europe.

7

CONCLUSIONS

The preceding chapters offered a critical and descriptive case study analysis of three different cross-border spaces and how a social base impacts economic development and competitiveness strategies in those regions. This final chapter concludes our dissertation by helping us to learn from the results of our study of Region Laredo, Aquitaine-Euskadi and Öresund and the differences within and between each case study. We will also conclude with some final remarks and potential future research suggestions.

7.1 Final Remarks

The central goal of this dissertation has been to contribute to the understanding of how our concept of a social base, which involves the merging and interactions of social capital and social innovation, impacts economic development and competitiveness strategies in cross-border contexts. Such a contribution was filtered through our two research questions: what are the critical factors for establishing economic social relations in a cross-border context? and how do these economic social relations impact economic development and competitiveness strategies in a cross-border context? In order to better understand these relationships, we have analyzed three case studies, in three different cross-border regions, and evaluated them according to our analytical model. The findings within each of the case studies offer us the opportunity to learn from the differences through our comparative case study analysis, as well as emphasize the importance of a bridging institution as a vehicle for the creation of a social base, and the need to implement joint strategies for building highly developed and competitive cross-border regions.

Through our research, we can conclude that cross-border regional integration requires proximity (see Ch. 4-6), infrastructure (see section 5.3.4), money (see section 4.3.1.C), and, most importantly, effort to reduce barriers to cooperation (see Ch. 4-6). We also find that "effort", defined as a vigorous or determined attempt, is a significantly influential factor in the cross-border cooperation process and is required by both parties in a cross border region in order that they might effectively implement policy, stimulate degrees of integration, build infrastructure, and bridge socio-institutional factors.

Finally, we can also conclude that cross-border regional economic development

and competitiveness strategies cannot be effective in absence of a strong social base that is formed through the integration and interaction of pillars of social capital and social innovation, including: the selection of a bridging institution's personnel with a consideration for language capacity, cross-cultural identity, and relevant preexisting personal/professional networks (see section 5.3.4), establishing clear frameworks and rules for collaboration in order to promote trust and respect (see section 5.3.2,) and the establishment of networks for the benefit of future business opportunities within and outside of a bridging institution (see section 4.2). In this dissertation, social innovations are evident throughout various sectors within cross-border regions: firms- by employing the corporate social responsibility banner and bridging together different firms under this banner to cooperate across the border (see section 4.3.6); private and public collaborations- by adapting strategies to foster cooperation with the other side of the border, and employing a more proactive and involved approach in the pursuit of business development opportunities (see section 4.3.6); universities- the Euskampus project is based on a series of innovative activities or practices encouraging a process of cultural change for transforming cross-border education (see section 5.3.5); and within all actors of the triple helix of the Territorial Innovation Models. Throughout these sectors, there remains a common denominator-- people. In cross-border regions, perhaps more than anywhere else, we perceive social integration to be the foundation for innovation. The purpose of this dissertation has been to attempt to highlight the significance of social relationships within Territorial Innovation Models, and to encourage further consideration of the impact that such relationships play on cross-border economic development and competitiveness.

The central conclusions of this dissertation can be classified as follows (further development is presented in the subsequent sections):

- 1.- Conclusions related to the application of the Learning from Differences methodology to the three cross-border regions explored in our case studies.
- 2.- Conclusions regarding the application of our analytical framework to our case studies, measuring how a social base impacts economic development and competitiveness strategies in cross-border regions; and
- 3.- Conclusions regarding the theoretical contribution as per our social base approach.

7.2 Which differences?

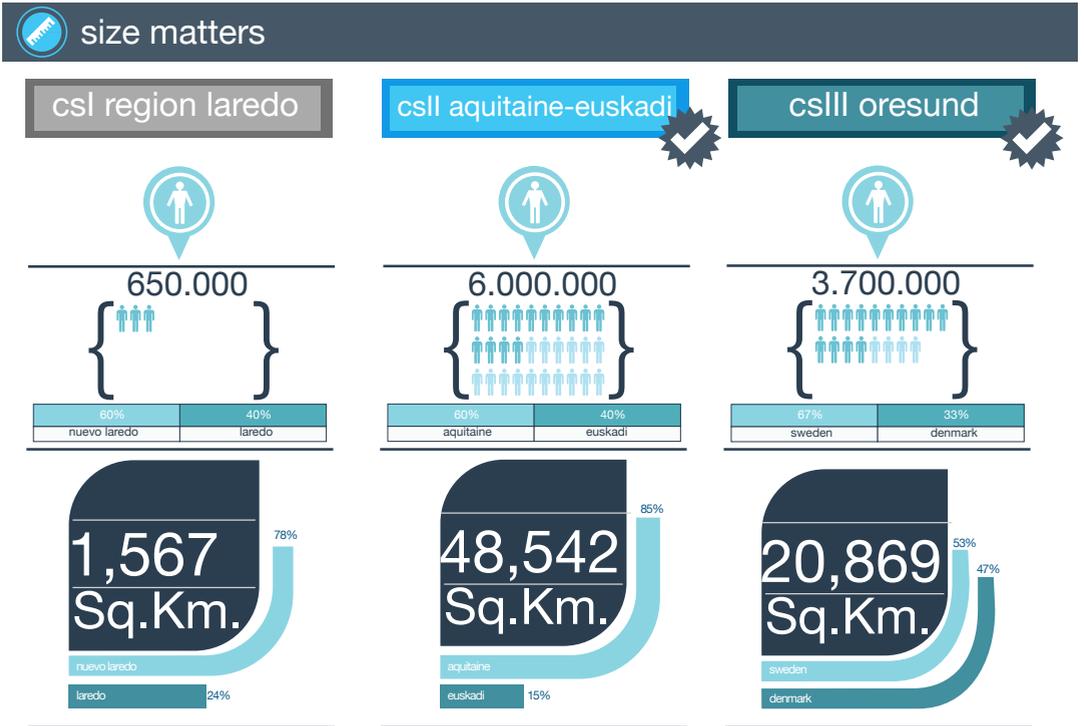
This following section explores the discernable differences found between our case studies, as well as a number of realities facing cross-border regions globally. Because there are hundreds of cross-border regions worldwide, each unique from one another in

character and variables, we find that the application of the 'Learning from Differences' methodology to cross-border cooperation allows us to more appropriately conclude our comparative case study analysis.

The question then becomes: which differences did we find? The following section explores our comparative case study findings through a consideration of what we consider to be four critical contributors to successful integration in cross-border regions: size, equality, vision, and investment in the production of knowledge. For the analysis of these drivers, it is worth noting that the term 'social' is defined throughout this dissertation as elements of collective action and teamwork (Fromhold-Eisebith, Werker, and Vojnic 2014, 123). 'Social' does not refer to social development, social policy, or other usual terms commonly applied as descriptors of the word. Instead, economic relationships are considered within the context of what Foray and Lundvall (1996) describe as social cohesion (ultimately representing them as social relationships). Accordingly, within this section economic drivers are researched within their social dimension.

7.2.1 Size Matters

The first discernible difference between the three case studies within this dissertation is the actual size of the different cross-border regions (see socio-demographic information in Ch. 4-6). As figure 7.1 illustrates, there are notable disparities both in geographical size, as well as population across all three cases. This size-related gap suggests a possible interaction between such geographical/population markers and the successes within each region. For example, the Öresund cross-border region (see Ch. 6) includes a national capital (Copenhagen, Denmark), no doubt an attractive feature for both potential talent and investment, and accordingly talent intensive projects (such as the Medicon Valley Alliance Life Science Cluster (see section 6.4.2). We learn from Neawalaers (2013) that achieving a 'greater critical mass' has also proved essential to cooperation in the Öresund Region. Size also seems to be of equal importance within both the Aquitaine-Euskadi and Öresund cross-border spaces, specifically within the context of education initiatives. The creation and maintenance of the expansive cross-border Euskampus (see section 5.4.4), which includes two large university systems (Universidad del Pais Vasco and University of Bordeaux), as well as the Öresund University Network, which includes seven universities, also seems to serve as a significant contributor to the integration process via these regions' educational systems. Contrastingly, the comparatively smaller population and geographical area of Region Laredo, prohibits the above-mentioned "critical mass" and poses challenges to investment attractiveness potential in that cross-border space.



source: plan de gran vision 2040, eustat, orestat, and author's own illustration

figure 7.2

7.2.2 E is for Equality

As figure 7.3 illustrates, a number of significant development indexes, including the New Economic Foundation's Happy Planet Index, The World Economic Forum's Global Competitiveness Report, and the United Nation's GDP per Capita measures, almost always place the Nordic countries of Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden within the top ten. While our first case study, Region Laredo, cannot boast such cross-border equities, we can still learn much from this region's cooperative weaknesses when we compare it with the two other case studies considered. Figure 7.3 (see also fig. 4.1) illustrates considerable economic, social and cultural disparities between the United States and Mexico; this 'gap' also manifests at a regional level, specifically within Region Laredo (see figure 4.1). And while the cross-border region considered in our third case study, Öresund, demonstrates the arguable benefits that equality in such regions brings about, we can also take note of the barriers that large disparities between two sides of a border can give rise to, such as social and competition barriers (see section 4.3).



For the purposes of this dissertation, we note specifically that Sweden and Denmark are remarkably equal with regard to gross domestic product and other socioeconomic indicators (see Fig. 6.1 and 7.3). Both countries have similar levels of economic, social and cultural wellbeing, allowing for a high degree of interchangeability between citizens within each country itself. Such equal standing fosters deeper levels of integration in the Öresund region as citizens enjoy higher levels of understanding between each other. This equality can be seen to a lesser but notable degree in our second case study, Aquitaine-Euskadi. While France and Spain also share similarities in terms of economic, social and cultural wellbeing, the equities increase considerably when they are considered at the regional level (see figure 5.1).

7.2.3 Focus on Objectives

The Öresund Bridge and the region it gave way to have united southern Sweden and Denmark for over fifteen years, while the region's rapid evolution and notable successes have been remarked and studied by scholars across fields. Forms and methods of cooperation in Öresund are held as exemplary and can be attributed to a keen focus on an established joint vision with little deviation from it--keeping their eye on the prize, so to speak. Subject A of the Medicon Valley Alliance notes that actors on both sides of this border have been working jointly in the development of networks and bridging institutions since 1992, eight years before the bridge linking the region was even constructed (see section 6.1). This degree of shared vision and future planning should not be discounted as we consider the successes that characterize the Öresund cross-border region.

While at a slower pace than Öresund, the Aquitaine-Euskadi cross-border region has

also recently shown progress in its fostering and development of a shared vision. Our study of this region and developments since, indicate that the Euroregion Aquitaine-Euskadi bridging institution, in particular, has been dedicated to the formation of promising alliances, some that will in time give rise to an enhanced shared vision—including their work toward the creation of a ‘common space’ as well as cross-border regional indicators (see section 5.4.1).

We learn from the case studies of Aquitaine-Euskadi and Öresund, and particularly the latter, that Region Laredo would greatly benefit from an increased focus on cross-border planning. Preparation and strategic actions in this cross-border region are usually undertaken separately, with organizations/actors on each side of the border adopting their individual approaches. And while the ultimate goal is to merge such individual plans, development in Region Laredo is often inhibited by this fragmented approach to cooperation. Contrastingly, the establishment of a shared vision, shared objectives, and shared approaches are typified throughout the bridging institutions in Öresund (see sections 6.4.1 and 6.4.2). If Region Laredo could establish its own set of more formalized bridging institutions serving the cross-border space as a whole, an effective shared vision could more easily be fostered.

7.2.4 Knowledge Production

A fourth and final discernable difference that we can learn from is the varying degrees of importance that is placed on the production of knowledge throughout our three case studies. We observe from figure 7.4 (and previously seen in socio-demographic data of ch. 4-6) that Sweden and Denmark maintain the highest levels of research and development expenditure as a percentage of GDP, rates of tertiary education, and researchers per thousand employees, as compared with the bordering countries that make up the regions in our other two case studies. Öresund’s standing, according to the above-mentioned indicators, places this region above the OECD average in each category. Our second case study, Aquitaine-Euskadi, reflects similar investment in knowledge production within both Spain and France.



making the grade



Our first case study on the other hand displays high levels of education and research and development inequality between both sides of the border. While the United States ranks similarly to the Nordic countries with regard to these indicators, Mexico falls far behind. Many of the social issues that arise in northern Mexico are deeply rooted in low levels of education, unemployment and low skilled and low paying jobs (Robles, Calderon and Magoloni 2013). This unlevelled playing field creates further obstacles to cross-border cooperation and these social issues arising from them have deep impacts on the relationships within bridging institutions in this region.

7.3 Three Keys to Developing Cross-Border Regions

This dissertation posits three keys to the development of cross-border regions through bridging institutions (figure 7.5): informality, institutionalization, and evolution. We learn from our study of Region Laredo that cross-border cooperation can be fostered not only in spite of, but through informality (see Ch. 4), and can often be the first step in the collaborative process and subsequent formation of a social base. For example, the EDC and Binational Center bridging institutions agreed to an informal joining of forces, which in turn allowed them to adapt their participation and actions to meet the specific needs of a given time.

 keys to develop cross-border regions



The institutionalization of cross-border regions is a second key feature in the collaborative process that we identify and learn from within the context of our second case study, the Aquitaine-Euskadi Cross-border Space. Through our consideration of this region and its processes/approaches to cross-border integration, we can identify the significance of what we refer to as the 'European Umbrella'. This resource facilitates the formalization and institutionalization of cross-border cooperation in this region, fosters equal representation on both sides of the border, and reduces the negative effects of funding-related uncertainty throughout the process. With relevant funding resources and incentive programs totaling more than six billion euros per year throughout the European Union, this 'European Umbrella' represents one of this region's primary and unique strengths (see Ch. 5).

From our third case study of the Oresünd Cross-border region, we learn that the capacity of bridging institutions to evolve is essential for developing cross-border regions (see Ch. 6). The two bridging institutions researched within this case study have evolved from their original conceptualization to their current working methods. For example, the Oresünd Chamber of Industry and Commerce began as a joint effort between the *Dansk Erhverv* (Danish Chamber of Commerce) and the *Syndsvenska Handelskammaren* (Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Southern Sweden). In 2000, this bridging institution became the first transnational chamber of commerce in the world when both parties existing agreed to begin the process of merging legally and conceptually, while doing away with their individual organizations. Another form of evolution is exemplified in the process by which The Medicon Valley Academy became the Medicon Valley Alliance, and increased its membership and expanded its focus exponentially over only 10 years. The evolution of this bridging institution occurred parallel with the creation of the Öresund Bridge, with expectations of regional integration growing throughout its planning, development and construction process.

Through the 'Learning from Differences' lens (see section 2.2.7), we are able to identify a key component to successful cross-border development in each of our three case studies; Region Laredo-informality, Aquitaine-Euskadi-institutionalization, and Öresund-evolution. While they may seem relatively contradictory, these combined identified components ultimately do compliment each other: a sense of informality in cross-border cooperation can set the basis for the institutionalization of cooperation, and later lead to the evolution of cross-border regions. We offer these findings with the hope that policy makers can work with them, build upon them, and perhaps create a cross-border environment in which all three are present.

7.4 Conclusions Regarding Our Analytical Framework

By analyzing each of our case studies in accordance with the concepts introduced

within our analytical framework, we can establish this methodology as a valid lens through which cross-border regions can be researched, with specific regard to how a social base is formed and the impacts that it might have in such regions. This framework is based on academic contributions of borderlands and cross-border cooperation, territorial innovation models, social capital and social innovation. Upon this theoretical platform, we conducted in-depth and data-filled case studies, which through our framework, allowed us to construct our findings through a comparative case study analysis (see section 2.2.3). Accordingly, our results were also structured.

Establishing this framework within a three-step process has allowed us to obtain results that illustrate a relationship between the stages of our analytical framework. By presenting our case studies and findings in a format that inverts our analytical framework, we hope to better explain how the impacts in each case study came to be.

We also apply this framework in order to better understand the impact that a social base has on economic development and competitiveness strategies, and to contribute new knowledge with regard to the research gap concerning social relationships and interactions within Territorial Innovation Models. The analysis of our concept of a social base, along with the application of our analytical model, allowed us to gather more dynamic data in order to better understand these relationships.

The structure and application of this analytical framework offer us a base upon which Territorial Innovation Models and cross-border regions can more appropriately be considered. And our three case studies illustrate the value of applying our framework for researching cross-border territorial development processes.

7.5 From an Analytical Framework to a Theoretical Contribution

Within this dissertation we have highlighted the lack of academic debate with a directed focus on the role of socioeconomic interactions within territorial innovation models (TIM). While TIM studies posit the general ideas that surround such interactions, they largely exclude descriptions, definitions and the functions of them (Asheim and Coenen 2005; Cooke 2001; Wolfe & Creutzberg 2003; Malmberg and Maskell 2002). Moulaert and Sekia (2003) contribute to this academic debate by addressing that this lack of focus prevents TIM's from focusing and 'empowering' other parts of an economy, such as: "(public sector, social economy, cultural sector, etc.), as well as community life (socio-cultural dynamics as a level of human existence by itself, political and social governance of non-economic sections of society, cultural and natural life)" (300).

This dissertation aims to contribute to relevant current academic debate by establishing a new concept within cross-border development and territorial innovation model theories: a social base. This conceptual contribution arises as a direct result of

the merging of social capital and social innovation in territorial innovation models, and within a cross-border context. We therefore, present a social base as a key factor to be considered an approach by which we can evaluate economic development and competitiveness strategies in cross-border regional case studies. The concept of a social base is presented as a tool that may contribute to the formulation of cross-border development strategies. We define a social base as the coming together of different actors within civil society, engaged by trust, networks and a shared vision (social capital), motivated to establish new sets of practices, actions or services aimed at solving social needs (social innovation). This definition offers a lens through which we can analyze social interactions in cross-border contexts as well as the impacts that they have on economic development and competitiveness strategies. Simultaneously we can measure the levels of trust, the networks, and the degree of shared vision that these social interactions give rise to, as well as the levels of innovativeness that they develop.

Within this approach to cross-border regions, the bridging institution serves as a cohesive structure and catalyst for the formation of a social base. Members of such institutions interact with each other on both sides of a border, create links of social capital, and innovate their approaches to cooperation—all for the benefit of developing their cross-border communities. As seen in section 1.4, our definition of a bridging institution might also serve as a contribution to existing literature cross-border cooperation and Territorial Innovation Models. Throughout several sections of this dissertation (ch. 3, 4, 5, and 6) we highlighted the factors that foster the development of these organizations and how they operate, all while analyzing the impact that they have in transforming cross-border regions.

The successful application of our analytical framework to the three cross-border regional case studies within this dissertation, Region Laredo, Aquitaine Euskadi and Öresund, can also serve to encourage similar applications to other cross-border regions.

7.6 Future Research

At the conclusion of any research process, we are often confronted with questions regarding the limits of our findings, areas of improvement and even potential future lines of investigation. We focus the following suggestions for future research upon the contributions of this dissertation: mainly a social base, bridging institutions and learning from differences.

Future research should continue to explore the relationships and complementarities that exist between social capital and social innovation, as considered in our social base concept. Expanded researching of a social base may lead to an improved understanding of the ways in which social capital can serve as a key component to social innovation and

ultimately how these social innovations enhance social capital in parallel with innovation and competitiveness (figure 3.5.1).

Through the application of our analytical framework (figure 3.6), as well as the consideration of three diverse case studies, we have attempted to demonstrate the ways in which a social base impacts economic development and competitiveness strategies in a cross-border region. Relevant future research by academics and policy makers alike can be filtered through this analytical tool in the study of other cross-border contexts. In so doing, we can aim to improve upon this framework, gain broader data, and ultimately complement the “Learning from Differences” approach that we incorporated into our dissertation’s comparative case study analysis and results.

Finally, within this dissertation, we have established a basis for the incorporation of social network analysis (appendix 1) as a complimentary method for analyzing a social base within cross-border regions. Relevant future research should employ the survey we developed for this analysis, and be conducted in bridging institutions across other cross-border contexts. Doing so will further the compilation of data that will allow for future refinement of both our survey and methods of analysis.

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APPENDICES



appendix 1 - analysis of web-based survey

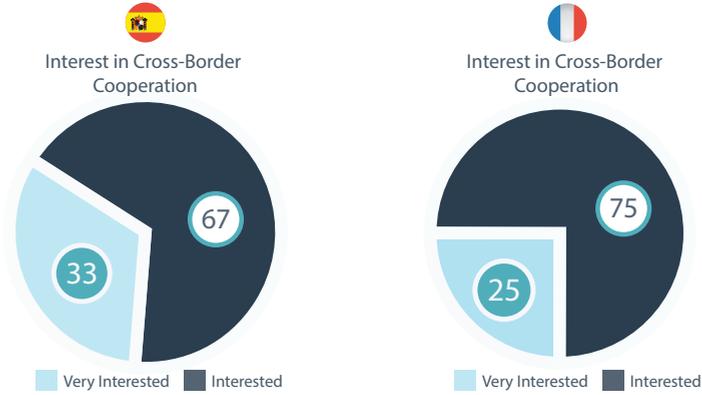
As explained in section 2.2.6, a web-based survey was designed in light of this dissertation in order to examine the quantity and quality of the relationships between people and agents participating in cross-border development, and further assesses the role that bridging institutions play in cross-border cooperation. The responses received and results generated from this survey targeted respondents from one of the cross border regions explored in this dissertation, Aquitaine-Euskadi. Ultimately, we were able to gather an amount of responses that we deemed insufficiently statistically representative to provide an accurate sample for the purposes of our analysis. Accordingly, the initial results contained in this appendix are not posited as wholly representative of respondents in the relevant region, but should instead be considered as supplementary to our established research findings, and illustrative of the benefits of employing such a survey in the future research of cross-border regions.

Our Qualtrics web-based survey was conducted in June of 2013, and included eight hundred and twenty-three members of Bihartean, the Gipuzkoa–Bayonne Cross-Border Chamber of Commerce bridging institution that we explored in our second case study. We received forty-seven responses, which were divided as follows: 10-not answered, 16-partially answered, and 21-completely answered.

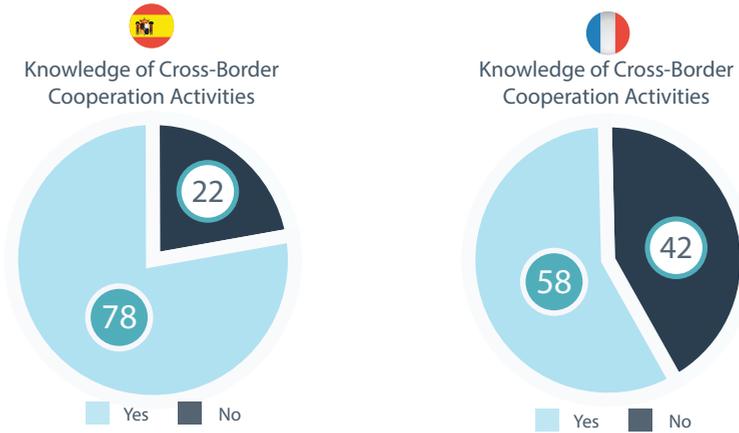
	Number of Cases	Percentage
Total Database	47	100%
Not Answered	10	21%
Partially Answered	16	34%
Completely Answered	21	45%

The first set of questions asked in our survey was designed to provide insight as to the interest of members of this bridging institution with regard to cross-border cooperation. As the following graph depicts, member interest in cooperation was found to be generally present, to a slightly higher degree within French membership. Seventy-five percent of French members of Bihartean reported to be ‘very’ interested, while the remaining twenty-five percent reported to be simply interested. Sixty-seven percent of Spanish respondents reported to be very interested, while the remaining thirty-three percent reported simple interest.

appendix 1 - analysis of web-based survey



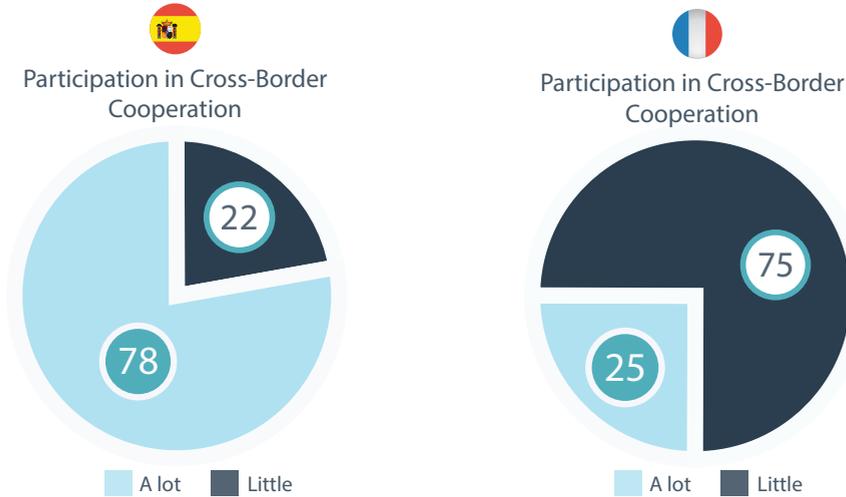
With regard to respondents' knowledge of cross-border cooperation activities that Bihartean conducts, we found a higher percentage of Spanish members (seventy-eight percent) affirming their knowledge, while only fifty-eight percent of French membership reported awareness of such activities.



The final question within the first section of our web-survey considers the participation rate of members of the bridging institution with regard to cross-border cooperation activities. As with the question above, we observed a higher percentage of Spanish members (seventy-eight percent) participating 'a lot' in such activities, compared to only twenty-five percent of French respondents.



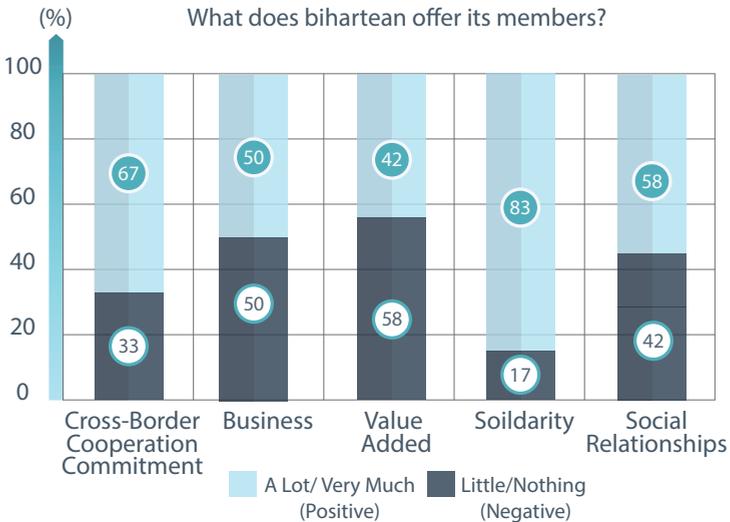
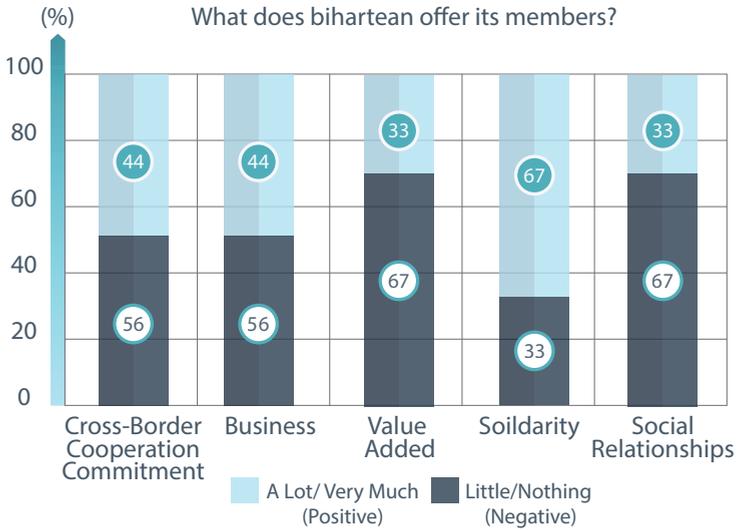
appendix 1 - analysis of web-based survey



The following two graphs illustrate what respondents perceive this bridging institution offers to its members in terms of activities and interactions that facilitate cross-border cooperation. Respondents were given the option to rate benefits including cross-border cooperation, business opportunities, value added to their businesses, solidarity with the members of the bridging institution and cross-border community, and social relationships from as low as none, to little, much, or a lot. For the purposes of our analysis, we paired the answer option 'a lot' with 'much' and 'little' with 'none', developing simply either a positive or negative answer, respectively. Sixty-seven percent of French respondents perceive that Bihartean provides them with cross-border cooperation commitment; this compares to forty-four percent of respondent Spanish members. Business opportunities are perceived with equal ambiguity on both sides of the border: fifty percent reported feeling that 'a lot/very much' of such opportunities were offered through Bihartean, while fifty percent reported feeling that 'little/no' opportunities were offered. Solidarity between members of the bridging institution with the cross-border community seems to represent a benefit according to sixty-seven percent of Spanish respondents and eighty-three percent of French respondents. Benefiting from social relationships as a result of membership was reported almost negligibly by Spanish respondents, with only thirty-three percent of members reporting that they benefited 'a lot/ much'.



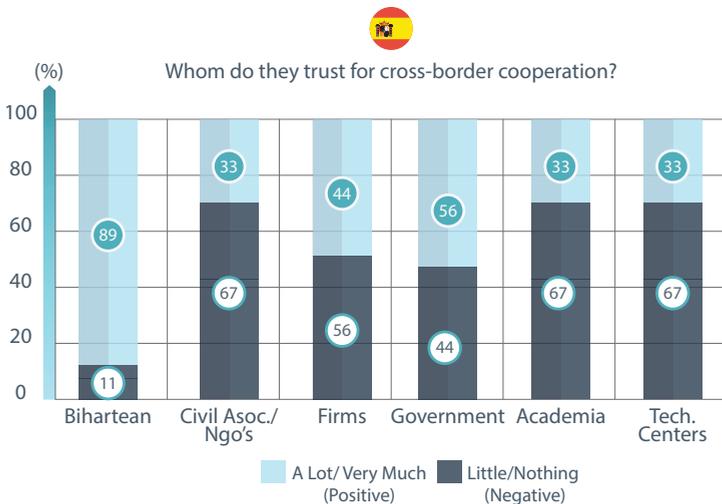
appendix 1 - analysis of web-based survey



Our next survey question considered whom Biharteian members trusted, specifically in terms of engaging in cross-border cooperation. The answers made available to them

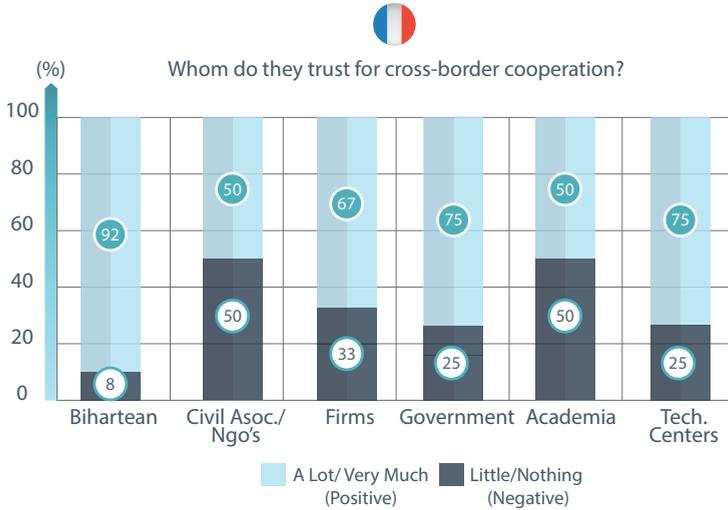
 appendix 1 - analysis of web-based survey

included: their own bridging institution (Bihartean), civil associations/non governmental organizations, firms, government entities, academic institutions and technological centers/clusters. As the following two graphs illustrate, high levels of trust in Bihartean itself were reported. French respondents reported a slightly higher level of trust toward the bridging institution: ninety-two percent reported feeling ‘a lot/ much’ trust, whereas eighty-nine percent of Spanish members reported the same. Trust in civil associations and NGO’s was rated highly by French respondents, with fifty percent reporting feeling ‘a lot/much’; meanwhile sixty-seven percent of Spanish members reported having ‘little/no’ trust in them. Trust in government entities, in terms of the cross-border cooperation process, was found to be lower within the Spanish respondent pool (only fifty-six percent reported feeling ‘a lot/ much’ trust), whereas seventy-five percent of French respondents report the same. With regard to a sense of trust between Bihartean members and individual firms, sixty-seven percent of French respondents reported ‘little/no’ trust, while forty-four of Spanish respondents reported the same. Results from these graphs also indicate that Spanish members of Bihartean have little to no trust in academic institutions and technological centers/clusters (sixty-seven percent) with regard to cross-border cooperation, signaling a possible lack of cooperation between these two sectors and Spanish members of Bihartean. Among French members of Bihartean, results are the opposite, particularly with regard to technological centers. Seventy-five percent of French respondents reported trusting academic centers, while fifty percent of them seem to trust academia.



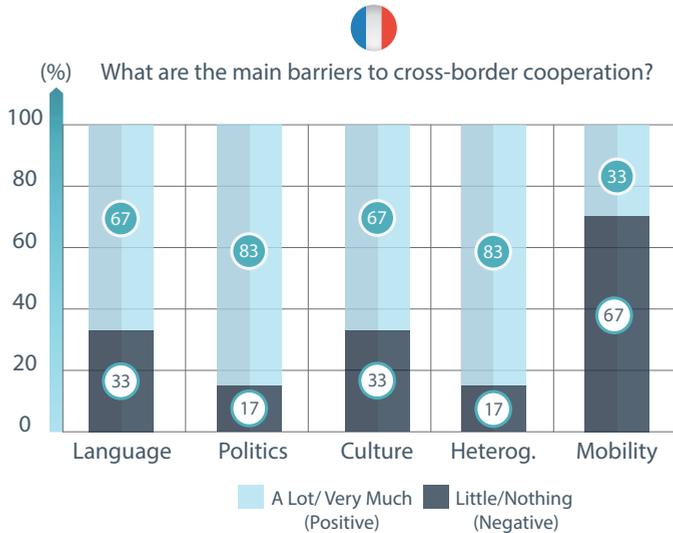
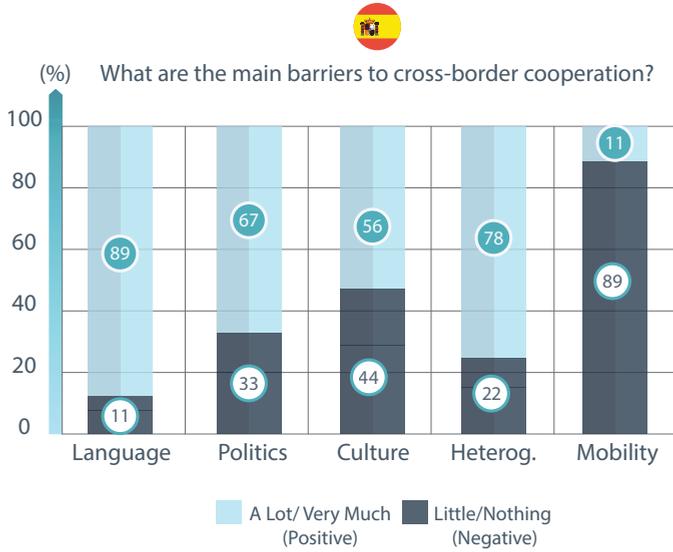


appendix 1 - analysis of web-based survey



Our next two graphs consider the barriers to cross-border cooperation, as perceived by Bihartean members. The barriers outlined in the web-questionnaire include those that we most commonly observed throughout our case studies: language, political, cultural, heterogeneity, and mobility. Language represents a principal barrier to cross-cooperation according to eighty-nine percent of Spanish respondents. According to French respondents, the political barrier is seen as the primary barrier to cross-border cooperation, with eighty-three percent reporting feeling that it presents 'a lot/much' of a challenge. Culture is also reported as 'a lot/much' of a barrier by sixty-seven percent of French respondents, compared to fifty-six percent of Spanish respondents. Heterogeneity represents a barrier to cross-border cooperation on both sides of the border: both French respondents (eighty-three percent) as well as Spanish (seventy-eight percent) reported it as presenting 'a lot/ much' of a barrier. Finally, mobility did not seem to be regarded as a barrier by respondents on either side of the border.

appendix 1 - analysis of web-based survey

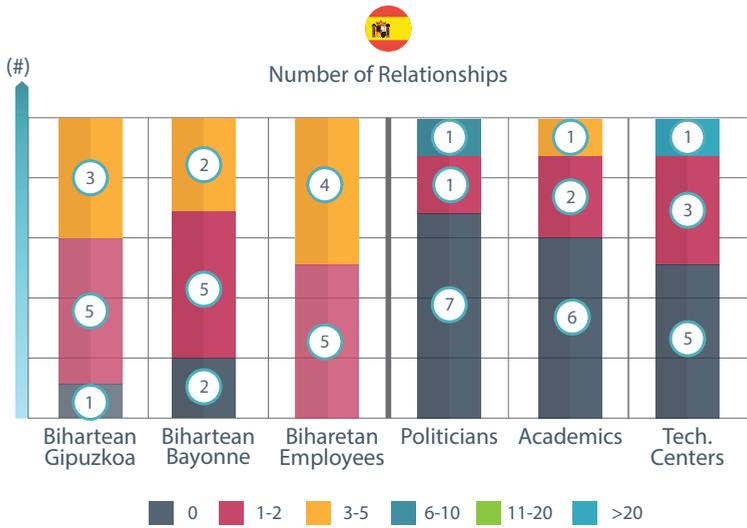


In this following section, we attempt to measure the quantity of relationships that members of this bridging institution maintain on both sides of the border, as well as with whom members connect the most. We learn from the following two graphs that Spanish members of Bihartean feel more connected to their French counterparts, than

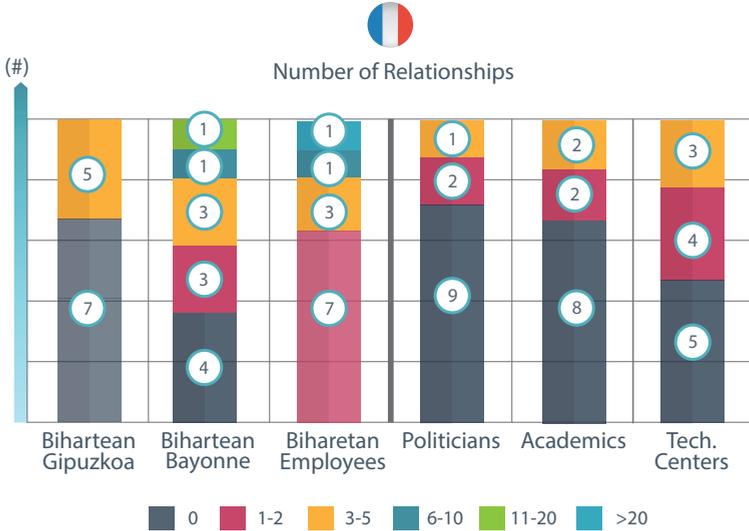
appendix 1 - analysis of web-based survey

is the case in the inverse. Five of the Spanish respondents acknowledge between one and two connections, while three reported between three and five connections with French members of the bridging institution. Seven French respondents reported no connections with members on the Spanish side of this bridging institution, while five reported between three and five connections. In terms of connections made among members of the same side of the border, French respondents reported considerably more connections than did their Spanish counterparts.

The perceived opportunity and ability of members to connect with politicians, academics, and technological centers/clusters are reported in relatively equal measure on both sides of the border. We found very few reported connections among respondents with politicians and academics on both sides of the border. Bihartean members also report perceived increased opportunities to connect with technological centers/clusters. Among French members, four identified connecting with between one and two technological centers/clusters, while three connected with between three and five. Three Spanish respondents reported connecting with between one and two technological centers/clusters, while one member reported connections with more than twenty.



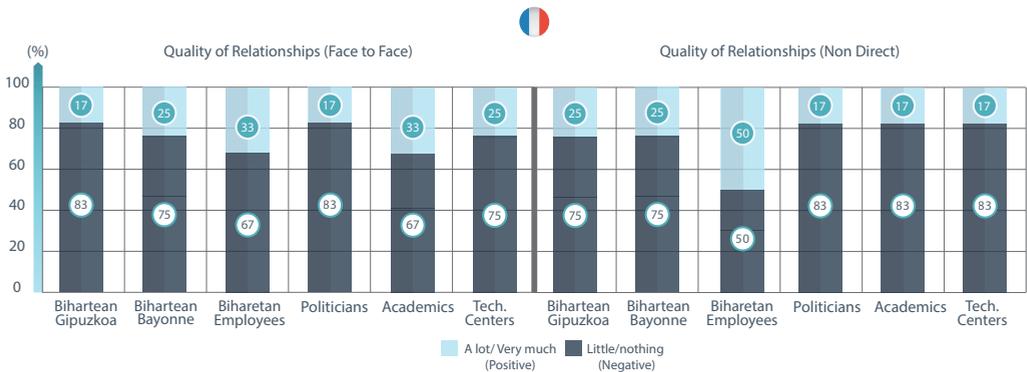
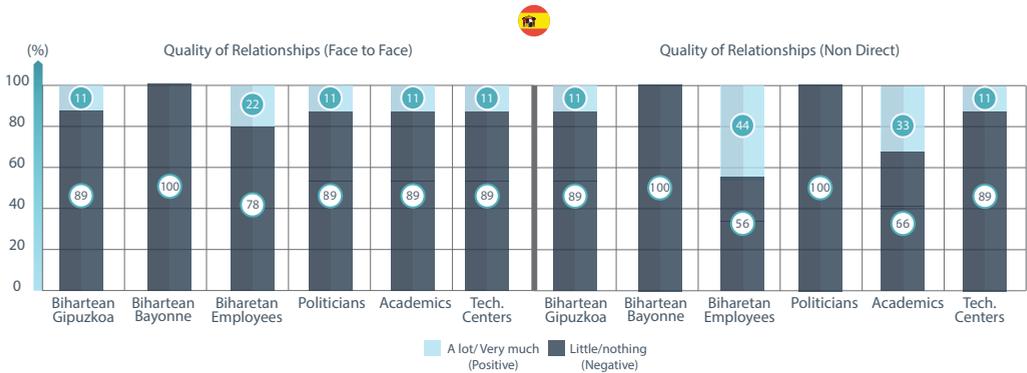
appendix 1 - analysis of web-based survey



The following graphic serves as an example of how social networks are depicted by establishing the relevant connections for each survey participant while utilizing data gathered from this survey.

appendix 1 - analysis of web-based survey

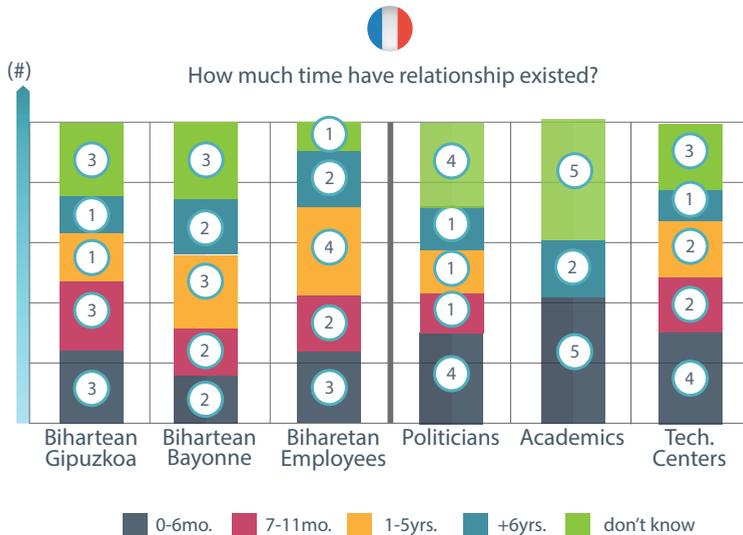
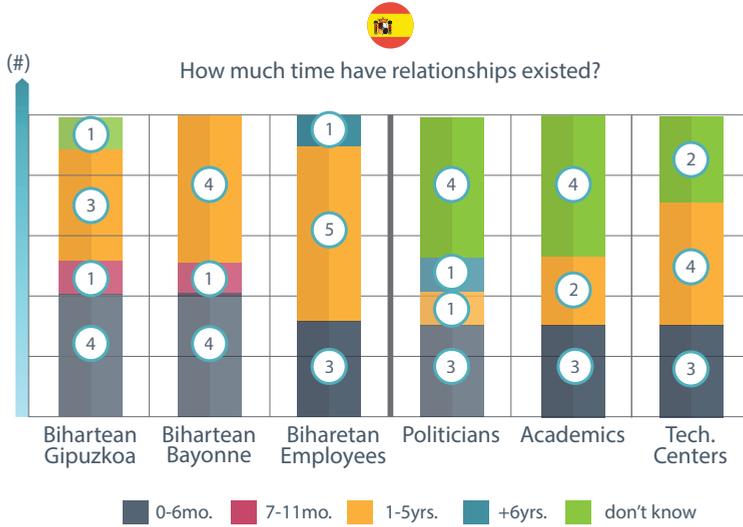
politicians are different for both sides of the border. Forty-four percent of the Spanish respondents acknowledge non-direct communications, while thirty-three percent of French members reported face-to-face communication with political actors.



Continuing to address the quality of the relationships of members from this bridging institution, our next two graphs consider the time frame that relationships among members have existed. We learn from these graphs that forty-four percent of Spanish respondents have established relationships lasting between one to five years with members of this bridging institution from the other side of the border, compared to less than ten percent of French respondents for that same time frame. Relationships with technological centers/clusters According to Spanish and French respondents, relationships with technological centers/clusters are reported as strong, with forty-four percent of Spanish members reporting relationships of one to five years, while forty-two percent of French members report relationships ranging from seven months to six years,

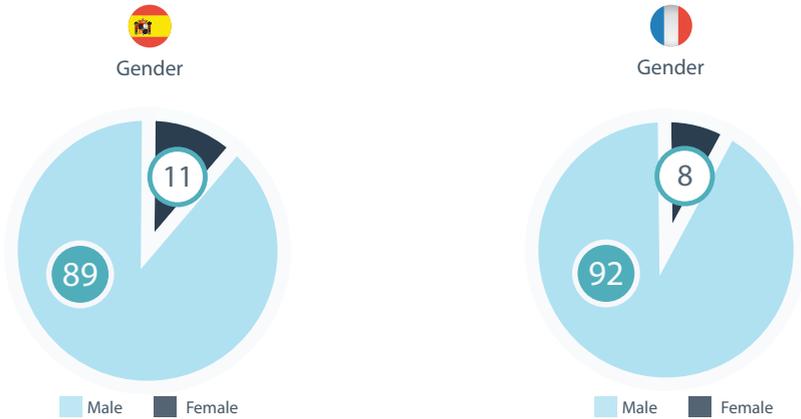
appendix 1 - analysis of web-based survey

a strong point that can continue to be developed for stronger cross-border cooperation.



 appendix 1 - analysis of web-based survey

Finally, sociodemographic information for respondents on both sides of the border was perceived to be quite equal. A majority of respondents were male, eighty-nine percent of Spanish members and ninety-two percent of French members.



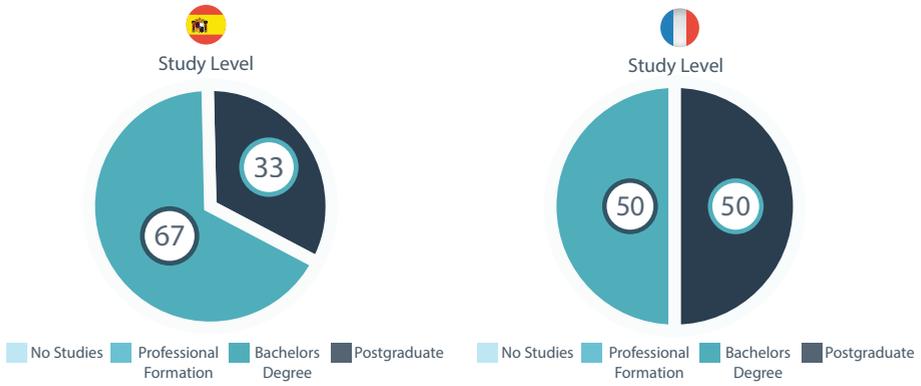
A majority of respondents on both sides of the border were between thirty to fifty-nine years of age.



One hundred percent of respondents on both sides of the border had completed studies of at least a bachelors degree.



appendix 1 - analysis of web-based survey





web-based survey



Grupo 1 Capital Social Comunitario - Nivel de conocimiento e interés

José Daniel Covarrubias, Doctorando Investigador de Orkestra – Instituto Vasco de Competitividad, está realizando una investigación sobre la cantidad y calidad de las relaciones entre las personas y agentes que intervienen en las distintas actuaciones que promueven y desarrollan la cooperación transfronteriza en el Espacio Transfronterizo Aquitania - Euskadi.

A través de este cuestionario queremos recoger sus impresiones sobre diversos aspectos que están relacionados a Bihartean.

La información aquí aportada será **confidencial** y el **anonimato** está garantizado.

Acerca de esta encuesta:

- Sus respuestas se grabarán cada vez que presione el botón >>.
- El botón << le permite regresar a la página anterior.
- Si lo desea, puede salir de la página y regresar más tarde para completar la encuesta.
- Una vez de que presione el botón >> en la última página ya no podrá cambiar sus respuestas.

Rellenar el cuestionario le llevará de 10 a 15 minutos.

Le agradecemos el tiempo que le va a dedicar.

¿Hasta qué punto le interesan las cuestiones relativas a la cooperación transfronteriza Aquitania - Euskadi?

Mucho Bastante Poco Nada NS/NC

¿Hasta qué punto conoce usted las acciones que desarrolla Bihartean en la cooperación transfronteriza Aquitania - Euskadi?

Mucho Bastante Poco Nada NS/NC

¿Ha participado en algún evento organizado por Bihartean?

Si No



web-based survey

Qualtrics Survey Software

5/7/15, 9:22 PM

Grupo 16 Capital Social Individual - Reciprocidad

Diría usted que Bihartean le ha proporcionado:

	Mucho	Bastante	Poco	Nada	NS/NC
Mayor compromiso respecto del entorno de la cooperación transfronteriza en el Espacio Transfronterizo Aquitania - Euskadi.	<input type="radio"/>				
Oportunidades de negocios transfronterizos	<input type="radio"/>				
Valor añadido a su empresa	<input type="radio"/>				
Sentimiento de solidaridad, de comunidad.	<input type="radio"/>				
Relaciones sociales.	<input type="radio"/>				

Grupo 2 Capital Social Comunitario - Nivel de confianza y calidad de relaciones

¿Confía usted en Bihartean como medio para la cooperación económica transfronteriza?

Mucho
 Bastante
 Poco
 Nada
 NS/NC

En general, ¿confía usted en el trabajo de otras entidades implicadas en la cooperación transfronteriza Aquitania - Euskadi?

	Mucho	Bastante	Poco	Nada	NS/NC
Organizaciones (ej. asociaciones civiles, no gubernamentales, etc.)	<input type="radio"/>				
Empresas	<input type="radio"/>				
Entidades Gubernamentales (ej. Euroregion Aquitania - Euskadi, Eurociudad Vasca Bayonne - San Sebastián, etc.)	<input type="radio"/>				
Instituciones Académicas (ej. UPV - EHU, Universidad de Bordeaux, etc.)	<input type="radio"/>				
Centros Tecnológicos y Clústeres	<input type="radio"/>				

Grupo 3 Capital Social Comunitario - Cantidad de relaciones

A continuación, se presentan enunciados que tratan de recoger la cantidad de relaciones que tiene usted con distintas personas. Por favor seleccione de cada lista la opción de respuesta elegida.

	0	1-2	3-5	6-10	11-20	Más de 20
Número de miembros / empresas de Bihartean (Gipuzkoa) con los que usted se relaciona.	<input type="radio"/>					

<https://a21.qualtrics.com/ControlPanel/Ajax.php?action=GetSurveyPrintPreview&T=3ZC5EB2fhkaqqAd24fvqx1>

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web-based survey

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Número de miembros / empresas de Bihartean (Bayonne) con los que usted se relaciona.	<input type="radio"/>					
Número de personal de Bihartean y las Cámaras de Comercio de Gipuzkoa y Bayonne con las que usted se relaciona.	<input type="radio"/>					
Número de personas con cargo político del Espacio Transfronterizo Aquitania - Euskadi con las que se relaciona en relación a la cooperación transfronteriza.	<input type="radio"/>					
Número de personas de instituciones académicas con las que se relaciona en relación con la cooperación transfronteriza.	<input type="radio"/>					
Número de personas de centros tecnológicos y clústeres con las que se relaciona en relación con la cooperación transfronteriza.	<input type="radio"/>					

Grupo 5 Capital Social Comunitario - Frecuencia de las relaciones directas y no

¿Cuánta relación personal tiene usted con...

	Relaciones personales directas (cara a cara)					Relaciones personales no directas (via carta, e-mail, teléfono o similar)				
	Mucho	Bastante	Poco	Nada	NS/NC	Mucho	Bastante	Poco	Nada	NS/NC
Miembros / Empresas (Gipuzkoa) de Bihartean	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Miembros / Empresas (Bayonne) de Bihartean	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Personal de Bihartean y de las Cámaras de Comercio de Gipuzkoa y Bayonne	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Personas con cargo político del Espacio Transfronterizo Aquitania - Euskadi en relación a la cooperación transfronteriza	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Personas de instituciones académicas relacionadas con la cooperación transfronteriza Aquitania - Euskadi	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Personas de centros tecnológicos y clústeres relacionadas con la cooperación transfronteriza Aquitania - Euskadi	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Grupo 7 Capital Social Comunitario - Antigüedad de las relaciones

¿Qué antigüedad tiene su relación con...

	0 - 6 meses	7 - 11 meses	1 - 5 años	+ 6 años	NS/NC
Miembros / Empresas (Gipuzkoa) de Bihartean	<input type="radio"/>				
Miembros / Empresas (Bayonne) de Bihartean	<input type="radio"/>				
Personal de Bihartean y de las Cámaras de Comercio de Gipuzkoa y Bayonne	<input type="radio"/>				
Personas con cargo político del Espacio Transfronterizo Aquitania - Euskadi en relación con la cooperación transfronteriza	<input type="radio"/>				
Personas de instituciones académicas relacionadas con la cooperación transfronteriza en el Espacio Transfronterizo Aquitania - Euskadi	<input type="radio"/>				
Personas de centros tecnológicos y clústeres relacionadas con la cooperación transfronteriza Aquitania - Euskadi	<input type="radio"/>				



web-based survey

Grupo 8 Capital Social Comunitario - Cooperación - Barreras

Hasta qué punto cree que afecten las siguientes barreras en relación a la cooperación transfronteriza Aquitania - Euskadi?

	Mucho	Bastante	Poco	Nada	NS/NC
Barreras del Idioma	<input type="radio"/>				
Barreras Políticas (ej. falta de apoyo de los gobiernos para la cooperación transfronteriza)	<input type="radio"/>				
Barreras Culturales	<input type="radio"/>				
Barreras de Heterogeneidad entre entidades gubernamentales en ambos territorios (diferencias de normativa, de ley, de trámites, etc.).	<input type="radio"/>				
Barreras de Movilidad entre ambos territorios.	<input type="radio"/>				

Grupo 9 Innovación Social - Entidad Socialmente Innovadora

Por favor seleccione la opción de respuesta elegida en base a su **grado de acuerdo o desacuerdo** sobre el rol ejercido por Bihartean como entidad **socialmente innovadora** en la cooperación transfronteriza Aquitania - Euskadi.

Bihartean se desarrolló como un aspecto novedoso para la cooperación transfronteriza.

Muy de acuerdo Bastante de acuerdo Poco de acuerdo Nada de acuerdo NS/NC

Bihartean ha pasado de ser una idea (invento) a una practica implementada (innovación) en relación a la cooperación transfronteriza en el Espacio Transfronterizo Aquitania - Euskadi.

Muy de acuerdo Bastante de acuerdo Poco de acuerdo Nada de acuerdo NS/NC

Las Cámaras de Comercio de Gipuzcoa y de Bayonne han acertado en crear Bihartean, una Cámara dedicada a la colaboración transfronteriza.

Muy de acuerdo Bastante de acuerdo Poco de acuerdo Nada de acuerdo NS/NC



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Bihartean ha venido a satisfacer una necesidad social (cooperación económica transfronteriza).

Muy de acuerdo Bastante de acuerdo Poco de acuerdo Nada de acuerdo NS/NC

Bihartean ha impulsado la colaboración del sector empresarial en la cooperación transfronteriza en Aquitania - Euskadi

Muy de acuerdo Bastante de acuerdo Poco de acuerdo Nada de acuerdo NS/NC

La puesta en marcha de Bihartean favorece la incorporación y fortalecimiento de la cooperación transfronteriza Aquitania - Euskadi.

Muy de acuerdo Bastante de acuerdo Poco de acuerdo Nada de acuerdo NS/NC

Grupo 11 Capital Social Comunitario - Participacion

¿En qué grado cree usted que Bihartean motiva la implicación y la participación de las siguientes entidades en la cooperación transfronteriza Aquitania - Euskadi?

	Mucho	Bastante	Poco	Nada	NS/NC
Organizaciones (ej. asociaciones civiles, no gubernamentales, etc.)	<input type="radio"/>				
Empresas	<input type="radio"/>				
Entidades Gubernamentales (ej. Euroregion Aquitania - Euskadi, Eurociudad Vasca Bayonne - San Sebastián, etc.)	<input type="radio"/>				
Instituciones Académicas (ej. UPV - EHU, Universidad de Bordeaux, etc.)	<input type="radio"/>				
Centros Tecnológicos y Clústeres	<input type="radio"/>				

Grupo 12

¿Cual es su percepción sobre el rol ejercido por Bihartean en la cooperación transfronteriza Aquitania - Euskadi?

Liderazgo Decisiva Influyente Ejecutiva Subsidiaria Receptora NS/NC

¿Cual es su percepción sobre el rol ejercido por otras entidades en la cooperación transfronteriza Aquitania - Euskadi?

Liderazgo Decisiva Influyente Ejecutiva Subsidiaria Receptora NS/NC

<https://az1.qualtrics.com/ControlPanel/Ajax.php?action=GetSurveyPrintPreview&T=3ZC5EB2fhkaqqAd24fvqx1>

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web-based survey

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5/7/15, 9:22 PM

Organizaciones (ej. asociaciones civiles, no gubernamentales, etc.)	<input type="radio"/>						
Empresas	<input type="radio"/>						
Entidades Gubernamentales (ej. Euroregion Aquitania - Euskadi, Eurociudad Vasca Bayonne - San Sebastián, etc.)	<input type="radio"/>						
Instituciones Académicas (ej. UPV - EHU, Universidad de Bordeaux, etc.)	<input type="radio"/>						
Centros Tecnológicos y Clústeres	<input type="radio"/>						

Grupo 13 Capital Social Comunitario - Eficacia

¿Considera usted que la cultura organizacional de Bihartean favorece la relación y la cooperación entre todos los agentes implicados en la cooperación transfronteriza Aquitania - Euskadi?

Mucho Bastante Poco Nada NS/NC

¿Considera usted que los recursos materiales que destina Bihartean a la cooperación transfronteriza Aquitania - Euskadi garantizan el cumplimiento de los objetivos establecidos?

Mucho Bastante Poco Nada NS/NC

Grupo 14 Capital Social Comunitario - Nivel de asociación

Ahora estamos interesados en cuestiones referidas al nivel de asociación. Por favor seleccione de cada lista la opción de respuesta elegida.

	0	1-2	3-5	6-10	11-20	Mas de 20
Número de asociaciones en general en las que usted es socio/a.	<input type="radio"/>					
Número de asociaciones relacionadas con su actividad laboral en las que usted es socio/a.	<input type="radio"/>					

Grupo 17 Capital Social Individual - Valores, actitudes y conductas y Cooperación

Finalmente, queremos conocer en qué grado de acuerdo o desacuerdo está con cada uno de los siguientes enunciados. Por favor seleccione de cada lista la opción de respuesta elegida.

	Muy de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Poco de acuerdo	Nada de acuerdo	NS/NC
Tengo buena disposición al trabajo de Bihartean.	<input type="radio"/>				
Me gusta cooperar con mis compañeros/as de Bihartean.	<input type="radio"/>				



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Dentro de Bihartean sólo coopero con personas que me interesan.

La cooperación entre los integrantes de Bihartean permitiría mejorar el desarrollo económico y la competitividad del Espacio Transfronterizo Aquitania - Euskadi.

En Bihartean planteo muchos proyectos, propuestas, tareas, etc. por iniciativa propia.

Recurso muchas veces a personas fuera de Bihartean para que me ayuden a resolver cosas relacionadas a la cooperación transfronteriza en el Espacio Transfronterizo Aquitania - Euskadi.

Datos Censales

Genero

- Femenino
- Masculino

Edad

- Hasta los 29 años
- 30-44 años
- 45-59 años
- 60 ó más años

Nacionalidad

- Español
- Francés
- Otra

Estudios

- Sin estudios
- Estudios primarios
- Estudios secundarios
- Formación profesional
- Estudios universitarios
- Estudios de Posgrado
- Otros



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Tipo de Empresa

- Micro (1-10 empleos)
- Pequeña (11-50 empleos)
- Mediana (51-200 empleos)
- Grande (201 o mas empleos)
- Otra []

Este es el final de la encuesta.

Le agradecemos sinceramente el tiempo que le ha dedicado.

¿Tiene cualquier duda o comentario con respecto a esta encuesta?

Todavía puede regresar y revisar sus respuestas. Si está satisfecho/a y no quiere cambiar sus respuestas, presione >>.



appendix 2 - guideline for interviews to bridging institution representatives



interviews date chart and descriptions

case study I			
interviewee/ bridging institution	date	place	type
subject a border liaison mechanism	09-17-2012	usa consulate general nuevo laredo, mexico	face to face
subject a lared2	02-19-2013	lared2 office nuevo laredo, mexico	face to face
subject a economic development coop.	02-19-2013	laredo develop. foundation laredo, usa	face to face
subject b economic development coop.	02-19-2013	industrial develop. committee nuevo laredo, mexico	face to face
subject c economic development coop.	02-20-2013	industrial develop. committee nuevo laredo, mexico	face to face
subject a tamiu binational center	02-21-2013	tamiu binational center laredo, usa	face to face
subject a custom brokers association	02-21-2013	custom brokers association nuevo laredo, mexico	face to face
subject a border liaison mechanism	08-21-2013	mexico consulate general laredo, usa	face to face
case study II			
interviewee/ bridging institution	date	place	type
subject b aquitaine - euskadi euroregion	6-25-2012 11-16-2012	cross border cooperation office san sebastian, spain	face to face
subject a bihartean	11-21-2012	gipuzkoa chamber of commerce san sebastian, spain	face to face
subject a bayonne - san sebastian eurocity	11-26-2012	gipuzkoa foral department san sebastian, spain	face to face
subject b aquitaine - euskadi euroregion	11-28-2012	aquitaine - euskadi euroregion hendaya, france	face to face
subject a assoc of european border regions	12-03-2012	gronau, germany	skype
subject a bayonne - san sebastian eurocity	12-05-2012	gipuzkoa foral department san sebastian, spain	face to face
subject a euskampus - cross-border camp.	12-05-2012	gipuzkoa foral department san sebastian, spain	face to face
case study III			
interviewee/ bridging institution	date	place	type
subject a oresund chamber industry & com	10-29-2013	malmo, sweden	skype
subject a medicon valley alliance	11-04-2013	copenhagen, denmark	skype

table 2.2



interview guide composition

stage I	components	interview section
bridging institutions	1.1 context 1.2 actors 1.3 cooperation	1.1 1.2 a 1.3
stage II	components	interview section
social base	2.1 barriers 2.2 social capital 2.2.1 trust 2.2.2 networks 2.2.3 shared Vision 2.3 social innovation 2.3.1 social need 2.3.2 innovative act	2.1 2.2 social capital 2.2.1.a. , b, c, & d 2.2.2 a, & b 2.2.3 a, b, & c 2.3 social innovation 2.3.1 a, & b 2.3.2 a, & b
stage III	components	interview section
economic develop. & competitiveness strat.	3.1 public policy involvement 3.2 economic dev. & comp. promotion 3.3 cross-border public policy development	3.1 a, b & c 3.2 a, & b 3.3 a, & b

Based on
Seidman, I. (2006).

table 2.3



Case Study Interview Question Guide

STAGE 1

1. - Bridging Institution

1.1 Context

What is the general context of this bridging institution?

1.2 Actors

1.2.A. How many actors does the bridging institution incorporate?

1.2.B. What is its structure?

1.3 Cooperation

How does the cross-border cooperation work?

STAGE 2

2. - Social Base

2.1 Barriers

What barriers do you observe that impede cross-border cooperation?

2.2 Social Capital

2.2.1 Trust

2.2.1.A. Is it easy for actors within this bridging institution to trust each other?

2.2.1.B. What makes them generate trust?

2.2.1.C. Who is most trustworthy of whom?

2.2.1.D. How familiar are members of the cross-border bridging institution with one another?

2.2.2 Networks

2.2.2.A. What are the important social and economic groups in this cross-border bridging institution (e.g., as identified by industry, purpose, public, private, etc.)?

2.2.2.B. Once actors collaborate within the bridging institution, what changes?

2.2.3 Shared Vision



2.2.3.A. To what extent do cross-border community members collaborate with one another in order to solve shared problems?

2.2.3.B. Describe recent examples of cross-border collective action that have taken place in the community. What was the course and outcome of these activities?

2.2.3.C. Are some cross-border groups, and/or associations, more likely than others to work together, and if so, why?

2.3 Social Innovation

2.3.1 Social Need

2.3.1.A. How is a social need detected to collaborate on?

2.3.1.B. Once a social need is detected, who takes the leadership position with regards to it?

2.3.2 Innovative Activities or Practices

2.3.2.A. What process change has occurred with regards to how things were done previously?

2.3.2.B. What has changed with regards to results, attitudes, collaboration?

STAGE 3

3. - Economic Development and Competitiveness Strategies

3.1 Public Policy Involvement

3.1.A. How does this bridging institution promote cross-border economic development and competitiveness public policy?

3.1.B. Who does it work with?

3.1.C. On both sides of the border?

3.2 Economic Development and Competitiveness Promotion

3.2.A. What economic development and competitiveness impact has this bridging institution generated?

3.2.B. How can we measure this impact?

3.3 Cross-border Public Policy Development

3.3.A. Who should develop cross-border public policy?

3.3.B. Should both sides of the border develop them jointly?



INTERVIEW FORM



BRIDGING THE SOCIECONOMIC GAP:
INTEGRATING CROSS-BORDER REGIONS
THROUGH COMPARING DIFFERENT WORLDS -
REGION LAREDO,
AQUITAINE - EUSKADI
and
ÖRESUND

Jose Daniel Covarrubias

Date

Place

Time

Case Study

- CS 1 - Region Laredo
- CS 2 - Aquitaine - Euskadi
- CS 3 - Öresund

Subject B
Border Liaison Mechanism

Full Name

First

Last

Contact Information

E-mail

Phone Number

Company
/Association

Job Title

INTERVIEW FORM



BRIDGING THE SOCIECONOMIC GAP:
INTEGRATING CROSS-BORDER REGIONS
THROUGH COMPARING DIFFERENT WORLDS -
REGION LAREDO,
AQUITAINE - EUSKADI
and
ÖRESUND

Jose Daniel Covarrubias

Date

Place

Time

Case Study

- CS 1 - Region Laredo
- CS 2 - Aquitaine - Euskadi
- CS 3 - Öresund

**Subject A
LaRed2**

Full Name

First

Last

Contact Information

E-mail

Phone Number

Company
/Association

Job Title

INTERVIEW FORM



BRIDGING THE SOCIECONOMIC GAP:
INTEGRATING CROSS-BORDER REGIONS
THROUGH COMPARING DIFFERENT WORLDS -
REGION LAREDO,
AQUITAINE - EUSKADI
and
ÖRESUND

Jose Daniel Covarrubias

Date

Place

Time

Case Study

- CS 1 - Region Laredo
- CS 2 - Aquitaine - Euskadi
- CS 3 - Öresund

**Subject A
Economic Development
Cooperation**

Full Name

First

Last

Contact Information

E-mail

Phone Number

Company
/Association

Job Title

INTERVIEW FORM



BRIDGING THE SOCIECONOMIC GAP:
INTEGRATING CROSS-BORDER REGIONS
THROUGH COMPARING DIFFERENT WORLDS -
REGION LAREDO,
AQUITAINE - EUSKADI
and
ÖRESUND

Jose Daniel Covarrubias

Date

Place

Time

Case Study

- CS 1 - Region Laredo
- CS 2 - Aquitaine - Euskadi
- CS 3 - Öresund

Subject B
Economic Development
Cooperation

Full Name

First

Last

Contact Information

E-mail

Phone Number

Company /Association

Job Title

INTERVIEW FORM



BRIDGING THE SOCIECONOMIC GAP:
INTEGRATING CROSS-BORDER REGIONS
THROUGH COMPARING DIFFERENT WORLDS -
REGION LAREDO,
AQUITAINE - EUSKADI
and
ÖRESUND

Jose Daniel Covarrubias

Date

Place

Time

Case Study

- CS 1 - Region Laredo
- CS 2 - Aquitaine - Euskadi
- CS 3 - Öresund

**Subject C
Economic Development
Cooperation**

Full Name

First

Last

Contact Information

E-mail

Phone Number

Company
/Association

Job Title

INTERVIEW FORM



BRIDGING THE SOCIECONOMIC GAP:
INTEGRATING CROSS-BORDER REGIONS
THROUGH COMPARING DIFFERENT WORLDS -
REGION LAREDO,
AQUITAINE - EUSKADI
and
ÖRESUND

Jose Daniel Covarrubias

Date

Place

Time

Case Study

- CS 1 - Region Laredo
- CS 2 - Aquitaine - Euskadi
- CS 3 - Öresund

Subject A
TAMU Binational Center

Full Name

First

Last

Contact Information

E-mail

Phone Number

Company /Association

Job Title

INTERVIEW FORM



BRIDGING THE SOCIECONOMIC GAP:
INTEGRATING CROSS-BORDER REGIONS
THROUGH COMPARING DIFFERENT WORLDS -
REGION LAREDO,
AQUITAINE - EUSKADI
and
ÖRESUND

Jose Daniel Covarrubias

Date

Place

Time

Case Study

- CS 1 - Region Laredo
- CS 2 - Aquitaine - Euskadi
- CS 3 - Öresund

Subject A
Custom Brokers Association

Full Name

First

Last

Contact Information

E-mail

Phone Number

Company
/Association

Job Title

INTERVIEW FORM



BRIDGING THE SOCIECONOMIC GAP:
INTEGRATING CROSS-BORDER REGIONS
THROUGH COMPARING DIFFERENT WORLDS -
REGION LAREDO,
AQUITAINE - EUSKADI
and
ÖRESUND

Jose Daniel Covarrubias

Date

Place

Time

Case Study

- CS 1 - Region Laredo
- CS 2 - Aquitaine - Euskadi
- CS 3 - Öresund

Subject A
Border Liaison Mechanism

Full Name

First

Last

Contact Information

E-mail

Phone Number

Company
/Association

Job Title

INTERVIEW FORM



BRIDGING THE SOCIECONOMIC GAP:
INTEGRATING CROSS-BORDER REGIONS
THROUGH COMPARING DIFFERENT WORLDS -
REGION LAREDO,
AQUITAINE - EUSKADI
and
ÖRESUND

Jose Daniel Covarrubias

Date 6/25/2012, 11/16/2012

Place Oficina de Cooperacion Transfronteriza Euskadi - Donostia

Time 14:00, 13:00

Case Study

- CS 1 - Region Laredo
- CS 2 - Aquitaine - Euskadi
- CS 3 - Öresund

Subject A
Aquitaine - Euskadi Euroregion

Full Name

First [Redacted]

Last [Redacted]

Contact Information

E-mail [Redacted]

Phone Number [Redacted]

Company /Association [Redacted]

Job Title [Redacted]

INTERVIEW FORM



BRIDGING THE SOCIECONOMIC GAP:
INTEGRATING CROSS-BORDER REGIONS
THROUGH COMPARING DIFFERENT WORLDS -
REGION LAREDO,
AQUITAINE - EUSKADI
and
ÖRESUND

Jose Daniel Covarrubias

Date

Place

Time

Case Study

- CS 1 - Region Laredo
- CS 2 - Aquitaine - Euskadi
- CS 3 - Öresund

**Subject A
Bihartean**

Full Name

First

Last

Contact Information

E-mail

Phone Number

Company
/Association

Job Title

INTERVIEW FORM



BRIDGING THE SOCIECONOMIC GAP:
INTEGRATING CROSS-BORDER REGIONS
THROUGH COMPARING DIFFERENT WORLDS -
REGION LAREDO,
AQUITAINE - EUSKADI
and
ÖRESUND

Jose Daniel Covarrubias

Date 11/26/2012

Place Diputacion Foral de Gipuzkoa

Time 16:00

Case Study

- CS 1 - Region Laredo
- CS 2 - Aquitaine - Euskadi
- CS 3 - Öresund

Subject A
Bayonne - San Sebastian Eurocity

Full Name

First

Last

Contact Information

E-mail

Phone Number

Company /Association

Job Title

INTERVIEW FORM



BRIDGING THE SOCIECONOMIC GAP:
INTEGRATING CROSS-BORDER REGIONS
THROUGH COMPARING DIFFERENT WORLDS -
REGION LAREDO,
AQUITAINE - EUSKADI
and
ÖRESUND

Jose Daniel Covarrubias

Date

Place

Time

Case Study

- CS 1 - Region Laredo
- CS 2 - Aquitaine - Euskadi
- CS 3 - Öresund

Subject B
Aquitaine - Euskadi Euroregion

Full Name

First

Last

Contact Information

E-mail

Phone Number

Company /Association

Job Title

INTERVIEW FORM



BRIDGING THE SOCIECONOMIC GAP:
INTEGRATING CROSS-BORDER REGIONS
THROUGH COMPARING DIFFERENT WORLDS -
REGION LAREDO,
AQUITAINE - EUSKADI
and
ÖRESUND

Jose Daniel Covarrubias

Date

Place

Time

Case Study

- CS 1 - Region Laredo
- CS 2 - Aquitaine - Euskadi
- CS 3 - Öresund

Subject A
Assoc. of European Border Regions

Full Name

First

Last

Contact Information

E-mail

Phone Number

Company
/Association

Job Title

INTERVIEW FORM



BRIDGING THE SOCIECONOMIC GAP:
INTEGRATING CROSS-BORDER REGIONS
THROUGH COMPARING DIFFERENT WORLDS -
REGION LAREDO,
AQUITAINE - EUSKADI
and
ÖRESUND

Jose Daniel Covarrubias

Date 12/05/2012

Place Diputacion Foral de Gipuzkoa

Time 12:15

Case Study

- CS 1 - Region Laredo
- CS 2 - Aquitaine - Euskadi
- CS 3 - Öresund

Subject B
Bayonne - San Sebastian Eurocity

Full Name

First

Last

Contact Information

E-mail

Phone Number

Company /Association

Job Title

INTERVIEW FORM



BRIDGING THE SOCIECONOMIC GAP:
INTEGRATING CROSS-BORDER REGIONS
THROUGH COMPARING DIFFERENT WORLDS -
REGION LAREDO,
AQUITAINE - EUSKADI
and
ÖRESUND

Jose Daniel Covarrubias

Date

Place

Time

Case Study

- CS 1 - Region Laredo
- CS 2 - Aquitaine - Euskadi
- CS 3 - Öresund

Subject A
Euskampus Cross-Border Campus

Full Name

First

Last

Contact Information

E-mail

Phone Number

Company
/Association

Job Title

INTERVIEW FORM



BRIDGING THE SOCIECONOMIC GAP:
INTEGRATING CROSS-BORDER REGIONS
THROUGH COMPARING DIFFERENT WORLDS -
REGION LAREDO,
AQUITAINE - EUSKADI
and
ÖRESUND

Jose Daniel Covarrubias

Date

Place

Time

Case Study

- CS 1 - Region Laredo
- CS 2 - Aquitaine - Euskadi
- CS 3 - Öresund

Subject A
Öresund Chamber of Industry and Commerce

Full Name

First

Last

Contact Information

E-mail

Phone Number

Company
/Association

Job Title

INTERVIEW FORM



BRIDGING THE SOCIECONOMIC GAP:
INTEGRATING CROSS-BORDER REGIONS
THROUGH COMPARING DIFFERENT WORLDS -
REGION LAREDO,
AQUITAINE - EUSKADI
and
ÖRESUND

Jose Daniel Covarrubias

Date

Place

Time

Case Study

- CS 1 - Region Laredo
- CS 2 - Aquitaine - Euskadi
- CS 3 - Öresund

Subject A
Medicon Valley Alliance

Full Name

First

Last

Contact Information

E-mail

Phone Number

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/Association

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