

Abstract

The paper at hand discusses labour market trends within the Øresund region between Denmark and Sweden. It will do so by discussing the role cross-border city co-operation and the public authorities have played as well as looking to the effectiveness of the Øresund bridge. In order to assess the last, data is gathered before the bridge was built, shortly afterwards and for the longer term period. The paper is structured as follows: First the concepts of cross-border co-operation and labour market will be introduced together with the region of the Øresund. Second it will set out the influence of the public authority on the labour market discussing both direct (e.g. labour market policies) and indirect (e.g. large material constructs) effects. The third part will connect these concepts to the contemporary Øresund region. The fourth part will set out the development of the regional labour market. This is done by using the KILM scheme of the ILO. The main results of this part show an influence of the bridge on indicators such as the labour force participation rate and labour mobility, but hardly any influence on indicators such as the unemployment rate. The paper is finished by means of a conclusion.



Figure 1: The Øresund Region (Øresundsbron, 2010; 5)

Table of Contents

Chapter 1:	Introduction	4
§1.1	Introducing the Paper at Hand: Borderless	4
§1.2	Introduction	. 5
§1.3	Research Questions	8
Chapter 2:	Direct and Indirect Involvement to the Labour Market	9
§2.1	Understanding Direct Involvement to the Labour Market	. 9
§2.2	The Influence of Material Constructs and Place Marketing: Indirect Involvement.	10
Chapter 3:	The Øresund Case	12
§3.1	The Øresund Case, Decision-making and Critique	12
§3.2	The Committee and Labour Market Policies	14
§3.3	The Øresund, Business Development and Education	. 15
Chapter 4:	Labour Market Research within the Øresund	17
§4.1	Introducing Regional Labour Market Investigation within the Øresund	17
§4.2	Labour Force Participation Rate and Employment to Population Ratio	. 18
§4.3	The Structure of Employment	
§4.4	Unemployment	23
§4.5	Educational Attainment of the Labour Force	25
§4.6	Labour Productivity and Wages	. 26
§4.7	Labour Mobility	28
§4.8	Results	30
Chapter 5:	Conclusion	32
§5.1	Conclusion	32
§5.2	Recommendations	34
§5.3	Future Research.	35
References		36
Appendix		39

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

§ 1.1 - Introducing the Paper at Hand: Borderless

The Øresund bridge has become a symbol of intra-Nordic integration

Jun 12th 2003, the Economist

Untroubled waters

BOARD a train in Malmö, Sweden's third-largest city, and in under half an hour you are whisked above the waves to Denmark's capital, Copenhagen. The Øresund rail-and-car bridge was at last opened three years ago, after a century of talks, nine years of construction and an outlay of Skr 15 billion (\$1.9 billion).

The Swedes and the Danes were not always the best of friends—Denmark ruled this part of Sweden until 1658—but these days the two countries are good EU neighbours. They want their respective citizens to be able to cross the shared border more easily, as well as to encourage foreign investors to use the area as a hub of development for the Nordic and Baltic regions. The new bridge puts Copenhagen international airport as close to Malmö as it is to the Danish capital (a mere 15 minutes either way).

The newly named Øresund region of 3.5m people is now developing ties that would not have been possible without the bridge, such as a network of 12 Danish and Swedish universities with 140,000 students and 10,000 researchers, and a "medicon" valley with food, medical and biotech companies that already employ 26,000 people. Anders Olshov of Øresundsinstituttet, a body set up last year to study the effect of the new transport link, says that investment in the project has totalled SKr 100 billion.

Is it money well spent? "There is a sense of disappointment because very high expectations have not materialised," says Per Ohlsson, a journalist in Malmö. The number of cars using the bridge, at 9,000 a day, is much lower than expected because tolls are steep (SKr500 for a return journey), and cross-border traffic is building up only slowly. Some 2,500 Danes did buy (cheaper) houses in southern Sweden last year, but tax and social-security rules still make it hard to live and work in different countries.

Those teething troubles will no doubt be sorted out, and overall the project is already a success, says Mr Olshov. Culturally, integration is no problem because southern Swedes and Danes already have much in common. Economic benefits are becoming clearer too. Malmö had long been a depressed area, but is now the fastest-expanding city in the country. Small firms are flourishing, and bigger companies such as DaimlerChrysler and Biogen are moving into the area. Many new jobs have been created. If both countries adopt the euro, integration in the region will become even more complete.

Other corners of the Nordics are getting interested in cross-border ties too. Finns are starting to shop in cheaper Estonia as Estonians are finding jobs in Helsinki. And on the border between Sweden and Norway, Swedish retailers have set up shop to allow Norwegians to take advantage of lower Swedish prices. In short, the Nordics are beginning to see each other as an extended home market. But even if there were no internal barriers, that market would add up to only 24m people, so many Nordic firms have to look further afield as well.

§ 1.2 - Introduction

This paper deals with labour market development within the cross-border Øresund region. The article from the Economist shows that there has been amplified integration within the region since the bridge was built and therefore the amount of small firms, economic profit and foreign investments increased. Also culturally Sweden and Denmark share no burden for integration. However, as the article shows, the amount of cars using the bridge, high toll prices, taxes and social-security rules create a burden for commuters and integration and therefore labour mobility is negatively affected. This paper investigates whether cross-border activity and the bridge connecting the Øresund region did have an influence on the "regional labour market." This concept exposes patterns in the supply and demand of labour services which might change across the region due to the bridge closer co-operation. Furthermore, understanding labour patterns and increasing employment across the region have a positive effect on economic activity (ILO, 2011). Lastly this paper also looks to the role public authority has influenced the shape of the Øresund and its labour market.

Research on the concepts of cross-border co-operation and city networking is not new (see for instance Perkmann, 2003; Church and Reid, 1996; Capello, 2000; Docherty et al., 2004; Warnaby and Medway, 2008). The same applies to connecting cross-border city co-operative policies to the regional labour market (Benner, 2010; Reggiani et al., 2011; Glendon and Vigdor, 2003) as well as Øresund specific research (Lofgren, 2007; Bucken-Knapp, 2007). What makes cross-border city co-operation an interesting field to conduct and enhance research on is the integrative process of two regions subject to a different governmental regime who decide to draft shared policies for one common geographical domain and bundle their interests for the interest of its citizens and its prosperity. This process where not only national governments collaborate in cross-border influence but also local actors, counties, municipalities and regional authorities, is a phenomenon which can be regarded as decently new within Europe. As Perkmann (2003) discusses, the process of creating cross-border regions initiatives in Europe developed around the 1950s but only made a significant increase during the 1990s towards a point these days where virtually all local or regional authorities are involved in cross-border co-operation. The European Union itself plays a key-role in this development as it produces both quantitative (by means of increasing incentives) and qualitative (by means of institutionalizing poorly equipped communities) support on the one hand, whereas it provides funds via its Interreg program on the other.

Cross-border regions commenced out of different interest fields and have different features. Networking between and within regions and cities can be identified by different size and other territorial features to specialization patterns. Cross-border city co-operation for instance is more likely to be of larger size than urban networking, but the latter is often more specialized. On the other hand national governments possess more power over different regions and cities, but the latter have greater response capacities. However, regional agencies sometimes gain significant access to meso-level governance at national levels, resulting in an increase in power (Church and Reid, 1996). But networking can not only be differentiated on administrative, political and geographical features. They also differentiate on economic features. For example, the Øresund has made decisions to collaborate in the regional labour market and increase its spatial economic development, whereas the Transmanche Metropole between South-England and North-West France includes decisions to collaborate on port and industry activities on the one hand and enhancing tourism on the other (Church and Reid, 1996). According to Capello (2000) the largest benefits derived from networking are of economic origin. First when participating in a

network it is possible to exploit scale economies, which are performed by economic actors in the economic and spatial network. Second networking creates larger economies of scale increasing economic development. However, costs of networking, in the eyes of Capello, have political and administrative motives as time demands, coordination problems and the influx of interest groups within the co-operation network.

However, this paper does not emphasize on the theory of cross-border city co-operation, but rather uses it as an explanation for the process of closer ties within the Øresund region, which has developed the Øresund link or Øresund bridge. The Øresund region shows features of increased co-operation during the last decennia. In fact the Øresund is a waterway that connected historic Denmark with the kingdom's eastern provinces of Scania, Blekinge and Halland. However, under the treaty of Roskilde these regions were set under Swedish control. Since then many people have crossed the border to experience "the land of tempting otherness" (Lofgren, 2007). Due to its shared history and daily crossings by people life in Copenhagen and Malmö was considered strikingly similar at several levels. This was reinforced by the introduction of steamers, or steamship traffic, which made it possible to cross the border in just 90 minutes. Around the end of the nineteenth century the first ideas and plans to design a bridge had started, but they were technically, politically and economically not feasible. During the period of 1960 it was possible to overcome these difficulties, but several environmentalist movements and antiurban growth movements were opposing the build of the bridge with success. However, stagnating economies, high unemployment and aging industrial structures in both Copenhagen area and Malmö area accelerated the need for fast travel, which finally resulted to the decision from the national governments of Denmark and Sweden to build the Øresund Link in 1991.

The Øresund region, where the Baltic Sea meets the Nordic Sea, contains an area of 21.000 square kilometres. Nowadays nearly four million citizens (Appendix A) inhabit the Øresund region, where 72.000 people cross the Øresund Link either by car or train every day (Øresundsbron, 2010). It is also the most densely populated agglomeration in Scandinavia (Hospers, 2006). However, two-third of the inhabitants live in the Danish part compared to one third in the Swedish. It is made up of seven counties, which are accordingly divided in 132 municipalities. Today the Øresund is often seen as a distribution centre from the European mainland to Scandinavia and vice versa. This idea got stronger with the introduction of the Øresund bridge and the plans to build the Fehmarnbelt Fixed Link, a tunnel between Northern Germany and the Danish province of Zealand (Femern, 2013).

This paper will focus in more depth on the labour market development of this particular cross-border cooperative region. The labour market, irrespective of calculating it on local, regional, national or even international level, is on the one hand subject to other markets, but on the other producer of effects to other economic sectors (Straoanu and Pantazi, 2011). The movement of workers is mediated by the labour market, which covers the aggregate demand and supply for manpower (Kotliar, 1998). Existing relations within the labour market are between employers, who require labour, and hired employees, who require wages. The labour market therefore exists out of the relationship between the workplace (available employment) and workforce (people aged 16 and over who are working or are available to work). The European foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (abbreviated as Eurofound, an agency of the European Union) approves this statement. In their eyes labour markets are structures through which workers and employers interact in relation to jobs, working conditions and pay (Eurofound, 2012). Many factors influence the labour market. Not only processes of collective bargaining and institutions such as trade unions and employers' organisations

stimulate the level of employment, also factors such as spending behaviour, amount of available jobs, the (ageing) population trend and seasons influence the labour market. This leads to a difficult field of research and creates certain threats to internal and external validity.

But how can we operationalize or measure the development of a labour market? A time-series design makes it possible to discuss development within a certain period of time (Babbie, 2007). Furthermore the International Labour Organization (ILO), an agency of the United Nations dealing with labour issues, has provided a research tool for labour market information where it sets out up to 18 indicators or measures that make up the labour market (Table 1) and are called KILM (Key Indicators of the Labour Market) (ILO, 2011). These indicators will be used to discuss the development of the regional labour market. The exact conceptualization of these indicators will be set out in the literature when discussing them. Despite the KILM, one other concept will be discussed as well to discuss labour market development, namely labour mobility, as this concept is related to the introduction of the bridge.

Labour Force Participation Rate	2. Employment-to- Population Ratio	3. Status in Employment
4. Employment by Sector	Employment by Occupation	6. Part-time Workers
7. Hours of Work	8. Employment in the Informal Economy	9. Unemployment
10. Youth Unemployment	11. Long-term Unemployment	12. Time-related Underemployment
13. Inactivity	14. Educational Attainment and Illiteracy	15. Average Montly Wages
16. Hourly Compensation Costs	17. Labour Productivity	18. Poverty, Income Distribution and the Working Poor

Table 1: The 18 KILM indicators according to the International Labour Organization that can be used for explaining the development of labour markets. These 18 KILM indicators can be categorized among 6 main schemes, which all have a different colour in the schedule above. These 6 schemes are: red: Labour Force Participation, Employment & Growth; yellow: The Structure of Employment; green: Unemployment; blue: Educational Attainment of the Labour Force; orange: Labour Productivity and Wages; purple: Poverty, Working Poverty and Inequality (ILO, 2011).

§ 1.2 - Research Questions

Having introduced the concepts of cross-border city co-operation, the labour market and the region of the Øresund with its bridge this paper will elaborate the following main research question:

"How did the regional labour market develop within the Øresund region between Denmark and Sweden from 1994 onwards which is during the construction and after the opening of the Øresund bridge?"

To provide more information on the time frame, the period during the construction of the bridge means roughly speaking from 1994 until 2000, but as available historic data differ among the indicators, sometimes the period from 1995 or 1993 is used. After the opening can be separated between short term (2000 until 2004) and long term (2004 until 2012).

However, as this explanatory question is quite broad, the paper will be structured in two bodies. The first body (paragraph 2 and 3) discusses a general overview of cross-border city cooperation and how it can influence the labour market. This is important as it shows the many indicators and abilities the public authority has to influence the labour market. Furthermore it provides knowledge on decision-making and the public actors in the Øresund in order to understand the development of certain policies, such as labour market policies specific to the region. Difficulties and critique to the decision-making process are discussed as well. This part also indicates the difference between direct and indirect labour market influence. This body will have the following sub-research question:

"To what extent can public actors have an influence on the regional labour market and how has this been practiced within the Øresund region?"

The second body (chapter 4) conducts the research using the 18 labour market indicators and the concept of labour mobility. It will each time discuss the trend of these indicators shortly before the bridge was opened, the short term period after the bridge was opened and the trend during the long-term period. These results can be used to provide an indication of the development of the labour market and to expose certain fields that can use improvements. The bridge is seen as symbol of co-operation between the Danish and Swedish sides of the Øresund and should increase opportunities for the labour market. Therefore its role is investigated as well. This section also contains a sub-research question:

"To what degree did the Øresund bridge connecting Denmark and Sweden has an influence on the regional labour market?"

CHAPTER 2 DIRECT AND INDIRECT INVOLVEMENT TO THE LABOUR MARKET

§ 2.1 - Understanding Direct Involvement to the Labour Market

Cross-border city co-operation can take place at the public level. National and regional governments create policies and are able to use a whole variety of methods to influence the labour market. One of these methods is aimed at increasing job seekers opportunities for employment, which are also called "active labour market policies" abbreviated with "ALMP." Public policy makers within states can be seen as an intermediary or mediator as they can play a role in three certain fields to close the gap between labour supply and demand (Benner, 2010). First they can set up institutions that develop and stimulate the workforce system. These institutions for example link the disadvantaged workers to employment opportunities. Second they can set up institutions that are educationally based and provide adult education and customized job training for employers. These institutions should close down the gap between demand and supply of labour. To add on this education in general is an important factor as it provides more qualitative labour rather than quantitative labour, whereas furthermore it is important for accumulating human capital and economic value. Third the public authority can engage in job training and placement activities. Altogether the public policies can connect people to new employment opportunities and help employers find and recruit new workers.

However, Benner's three approaches on ALMP's do not reflect the full list of abilities to decrease the overlap between demand and supply. Eurostat (2010) defines ALMP's as "labour market interventions which are public interventions in the labour market aimed at reaching its efficient functioning and correcting disequilibria." Eurostat sets out 9 different categories where the public sector can have an influence: Labour market services, training, job rotation and job sharing, employment incentives, supported employment and rehabilitation, direct job creation, start-up incentives, out-of-work income maintenance and support and lastly early retirement policies. However, they are again limited to the scope of favouring particular groups in the society instead of discussing general policies.

The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2006) sets out different policies that have an influence on the labour market. First macroeconomic policies. When set and structured properly macroeconomic policies encourage growth and sustainability such as non-inflation. Price stability and sound budget balances contribute to lower interest rates and affects labour market performance in two different ways. First stimulating investment and capital accumulation raises labour productivity and employment. Second lower interest rates increase the rate and diffusion of innovation, which is a gain for labour productivity growth and therefore the employment rate. Macroeconomic policies can be divided among fiscal policies and inflation and monetary policies. Second are policies that are related to the welfare systems. These policies not only include the policies as set out by Benner and Eurostat, but also include unemployment benefits, incentives to find a job, social protection benefits and several kinds of taxes, for instance those on labour supply. Third are the remainder policies in the field of wage-setting, labour and product-market regulations on labour demand and employment, employment protection and working-time arrangements.

Lastly there are several institutions functioning on regional, national and international level that have their influence on the labour market. Examples are the previous institutions of Eurofound and the ILO. Also national labour unions, where a group of workers together try to achieve common goals, have their impact. Typical labour union objectives are increasing the

number of employees an employer hires, improving the working conditions and earning higher wages.

§ 2.2 - The Influence of Material Constructs and Place Marketing: Indirect Involvement

Having discussed the role of direct public involvement, also decisions that may not ameliorate the regional labour market position at first glance can have an influence. As this list can be very broad and complex only material constructs and place marketing are discussed.

The role of large material constructs, such as bridges, tunnels, railways etc. can connect different people but also function as a divider. Furthermore they forge links and reconciliation, transcends its anchor points and share a unifying dimension. Lastly, as Warnaby and Medway (2008) discuss, bridges can be symbolic, for instance the old bridge of Mostar (Bosnia and Herzegovina) which was destroyed during the Bosnian civil war by Bosnian Croat artillery fire, but restored six years later and since then regarded as symbol for the healing of divisions between the Muslims and Croats.

These material constructs, especially the symbolic feature, play a role in place identity and image, which are on their turn aspects of place marketing. Place marketing activities search for a balance between identity, image and the desired reputation. The last concept refers to the branding of the place in question, how it wants to be known to the outside world. Identity can be identified as what an area really is and an image as what an area is thought to be by outsiders (Hospers, 2006). Paasi (2002) conceptualizes the concept of "region" and discusses that identity is part of the "institutionalization of regions" or "the process through which regions come into being." Four different forces or shapes influence this institutionalization process (Hospers, 2006; Paasi, 2002; Warnaby and Medway, 2008): (1) the territorial shape (the extent to which an area is distinct from other areas in spatial terms); (2) the symbolic shape (the development of areaspecific symbols); (3) the institutional shape (the area's institutions needed to maintain the territorial and symbolic shape of an area; and (4) the shape related to the socio-cultural identity of a place (the extent to which an area is rooted in the consciousness and social practices of the citizens of a territory. As Hospers (2006; 1018) states, the more visible these shapes the more distinctive an area is related to other places and therefore the more starting-points exist for the development of a distinctive place brand.

This idea of distinctive place branding can also be connected to bridges. They can be considered as functional attributes of a place and may be promoted as improving accessibility or as a tourist attraction (Warnaby and Medway, 2008). On the one hand they play a role in the representation of places due to its iconic nature (an iconic bridge is in general recognized and associated with a particular place, a mode of relationship) and its use in logos and websites for promotion and marketing purposes. On the other hand, as Heidegger (1971) explains, "building" a bridge can also create locations. This phenomenon of linking and bringing things together is especially performed in cross-border city co-operation, where a border is signified by a bridgeable topographic border (Warnaby and Medway, 2008).

As bridges and material constructs contribute to a certain image of a region, it influences how the area is known to the outside world and how outsiders perceive them. They will have an opinion on the area which can be warm and associated but also cold and even fearful. Therefore the public policy makers of cities and regions increasingly invest in positive place marketing and branding. One should think of efforts to communicate the attractiveness of an area as a place to live, relax and work (Hospers, 2006). This theory is sometimes ironically referred to as "place"

wars", the worldwide competition for businesses, tourists, sports teams and conventions all to attract people and to fulfil their needs (Kotler et al., 1993). To win this battle, places have to think as businesses. This means they should focus on specific products and specific customers for these products. They must also understand global external effects that affect their business and industries and they must be aware that they compete with other places for tourists, conventions, factories, residents, start-up firms and corporate headquarters. Concluded they should think strategically, which also includes the building of infrastructure, attractions and people skills that might have an impact on the market position at a later stage.

Both material constructs as part of the infrastructure and place marketing have positive effects on the labour market. Cross-regional and cross-national infrastructure investments have shown the relation between economic development and the increase of mobility on the one hand and reduction of access time on the other (Bernotat, 2002). They are better able in attracting new firms and subsidiaries, which increases the need for potential employers. Furthermore they make the burden for employees to search for jobs outside a certain area lower. Place marketing also lures the interest of potential firms and businesses. When looking in particular to the Øresund region, the Øresund bridge makes commuting easier and provides faster transport and network opportunities. Furthermore the construction of the bridge has created a certain image, which positively stimulates the tourism industry. This image-creating effort can for instance be found on the new television series called "the Bridge", a crime-drama series from Scandinavia set around the Øresund bridge broadcasted all over Europe, United States and Mexico.

"The Bridge always sails, we don't have to wait for the Ferries anymore"

Lars Bernhard Jorgensen, Director Wonderful Copenhagen (2000).

CHAPTER 3 THE ØRESUND CASE

§ 3.1 - The Øresund Case, Decision-making and Critique

Cross-border relations between Sweden and Denmark have existed for several centuries. Even the desire to build a bridge has existed for several decades (see paragraph 1.2). The main reason was to find a solution for stagnating economies, high unemployment and aging industrial structures. A bridge should provide better mobility and fast travel. Furthermore there was a need to enhance higher productivity and prosperity from both sides and the need to tackle comparative advantages that the two parts could better exploit when joining forces (Garlick et al., 2006).

The decision to build the Øresund Link in 1991 came from the national governments of Denmark and Sweden. The parliament of the two countries ratified the plan and the governments signed the contracts in august that year. The project of building started when the Danish ministry of transport approved the general design, alignment and environmental conditions on the Danish side of the Link. The costs were around 30,1 billion Danish Krone, whereas another 9,45 billion Swedish Krone had to be invested to connect the railway construction on the Swedish side of the border. The total costs are estimated to be fully refunded in 2035 (OECD, 2003) by means of train tickets and tolls that need to be paid in order to cross over. This huge project has led to the awareness of both national governments to create a platform where collaboration and consultation between the two local governments take place.

This was done with the introduction of the Øresund Committee. This is the official platform for regional political cooperation between the regions of Skane and Zealand. Within the committee there are 12 member organisations, 7 from the Danish side and 5 from the Swedish side (i.e. the Capital Region of Denmark, the Region Zealand, City of Copenhagen, City of Frederiksberg, Bornholm Regional Municipality, Local Government Regional Council for the Capital Region of Denmark, Local Government Regional Council for Zealand, Region Skane, City of Malmö, City of Helsingborg, Lund Municipality and the Landskrona Municipality). Each member has one vote and decisions are reached under simple majority. The Øresund Committee itself has 36 members, 18 from Denmark and 18 from Sweden, and meet twice a year. There is also an executive committee, which consists of 12 members, 6 from Denmark and 6 from Sweden, meeting four times a year. A special secretariat based in Copenhagen is responsible for implementing political decisions from the Committee (Øresund Committee, 2013).

But despite the good intentions and equal share of representatives, the functioning of the Øresund Committee is subject to criticism. The positive developments of cross-border cooperation have a seam side. The Øresund region has no single common body with explicit legal and/or administrative authority to co-ordinate and implement joint development strategies in the region. This is often referred to as "governance without government" (see for instance OECD, 2003; Trkulja, 2010; Andersson et al., 2011). In their eyes, governance without government and thus the Øresund region creates the risk of fragmentation and a lack of consistency among cross-border activities. It makes use of informal bilateral consultations on specific issues that hinder the design and implementation of a coherent strategy for the region. Therefore the Øresund should start introducing "light institutionalization" (OECD, 2003; 26) and stimulate the institutional shape of the institutionalization of regions (paragraph 2.2).

Hospers (2006) on the contrary discusses governance without government as a success factor. In his view this form produces informal set-ups, project-based meetings, it creates observation by national ministries and leads to close ties with other local actors. The OECD

(2003) agrees with his point that as the committee is less formal and bureaucratic, flexible and timely policy actions can be created. Hospers also sees "steering through structuring" and "branding while building" as strong points of the Øresund. Steering through structuring refers to the project-based and "quick wins" (Hospers, 2006; 1026). This structure is contents-led, concrete and local based on annual project plans and evaluation processes. The branding while building refers to the smart use of the place marketing, trademark, events and symbols in the Øresund. For instance the Øresund uses the slogan "Øresund: the Human capital" and uses the Øresund Link as symbol.

A general critique on cross-border co-operation is introduced by Glendon and Vigdor (2003). They are of the opinion that when cross-border regions integrate and start to share a common climate, attitude and attributes, larger parts will be affected in case of emergency. For instance, when the demand for a product on the Danish side decreases, job opportunities decrease as well and this will affect the other side of the border, in this example the Swedish side. Therefore, as Glendon and Vigdor discuss, it is better to limit harmonization.

Although significant harmonization progress has been made within the region, common agreements on labour market policies between Zealand and Skane are still subject to difficulties (OECD, 2003; Greve and Rydbjerg, 2003; Øresundsbron, 2008; Malmöstad, 2013). First national decisions have created less public intervention and less restrictive employment protection for Denmark compared to Sweden. Second Denmark has shifted to enterprise collective bargaining, where wages reflect productivity levels more than in Sweden. Third the failure to perform decisions related to taxes and social contributions that was agreed upon among the Nordic countries. The same applies for mutual skill recognition, despite efforts by the European Union to establish common standards. Difficulties in this field lie especially in the evaluation systems of employees. However, this did not affect the mobility of students and research cooperation across the border as it have been fostered the last two decades (Hospers, 2006). Fourth an issue that remains is the fiscal system, where there is a difference in the field of cross-border taxation. This has led to location preferences and certain disruption of free movement of labour and capital across the border. This is stimulated by higher Danish salaries and lower housing and living expenses in Sweden. Commuters cannot utilise tax deductions and allowances that noncommuters or those with residence in the work country are entitled to (Greve and Rydbjerg, 2003). The fifth and final issue within the Øresund is the difference across Denmark and Sweden when it comes to responsibility. Table 2 sets out these differences. It shows that counties in Denmark have more to say than those in Sweden, whereas municipalities have a stronger say in Sweden. However, despite the difficulties, common policies related to the labour market have been created as set out in the next paragraph.

Responsibilities	Denmark	Sweden
Education, investment	Municipalities and counties	Municipalities
Education, wages	Municipalities and counties	Municipalities
Social	Municipalities and counties	Municipalities
Hospitals	Counties	Counties
Water and waste	Municipalities	Municipalities
Roads	Municipalities and counties	Municipalities
Public transport	Municipalities and counties	Municipalities and counties
Economic development	Municipalities and counties	Municipalities and counties

Table 2: Responsibilities of Local Governments in Denmark and Sweden. Source derives from OECD (2003; 159)

§ 3.2 - The Committee and Labour Market Policies

To sum up the main points in the critique part labour market policies in the Øresund fall behind on confusion about welfare benefits, taxes and the fiscal system, social contributions, skill recognition and administrative practices that hinder the transfer of jobs and commuting. Although these points are an obstacle for a harmonized labour market significant efforts have been made, appertaining to direct involvement of the labour market.

One of these efforts are the Øresund Territorial Employment Pacts (OTEP) (Øresund Committee Website, 2013). The OTEP puts efforts in developing new and innovative ideas in the field of job-creation and finding new approaches to the labour market. The Øresund Committee has been appointed as responsible body for the achievement of the OTEP. The desire of OTEP is to harmonize legislation and public administration on the one hand and facilitate the free movement of workforce, goods, services and capital on the other. The Øresund's place marketing efforts in education (see next paragraph) contributes to the development of a fertile and experimental environment, which can lead to a stimulation of employment.

The OTEP builds upon three main pillars. First economic growth and job-creation. Here the objective is to make a dynamic growth centre of the Øresund in Northern Europe, where there is a special focus on stimulating trade and development in the Baltic Sea region. Second social inclusion. This pillar focusses on several aspects such as integrating young people in working life, efforts to prevent long term unemployment, increasing equal opportunities by for instance improving employability of jobseekers etc. The third and last pillar stands a bit out of the two other pillars. This pillar acknowledges the active environmental policies of Denmark and Sweden and therefore big urban concentrations in for instance Copenhagen create new environmental problems that must be tackled. This should then be done by generating new jobs in the green sectors, which should lead to a noticeable environmental profile for the whole Øresund region and ensure environmentally sustainable growth.

A couple of institutions and activities have been introduced since the developments of the OTEP. Among them are the Øresund Labour Market Council (OAR) which monitors the number of cross-border workers and enable access to cross-border employment, the Øresund Business Group (OBG) which formulates joint documents on visions and strategies for industrial development within the Øresund, the Scania Manifest, which is a South Swedish project for businesses with visions and strategies on business co-operation within the Øresund and the Øresund University which initiates the process of mutual recognition of degrees and movement among the universities within the Øresund Area. One project receives special attention, namely

the Territorial Employment Pact-Roundtable, where regular meetings with key-partners involved in the OTEP are held such as OAR but also with the OBG and Scania Manifest. Regarding the process of OTEP they discuss and exchange views and ideas on which steps to take.

The OTEP also introduces themes where it will focus on with special attention. To summarize these themes the Øresund Committee is keen to harmonize conditions for business in the field of social benefits, fiscal benefits and currencies, stimulate job training and education retraining, a flexible workforce, equal opportunities for male and female, quality of education and the development of an ombudsman. The last institution should provide simple answers on questions related to differences between the two countries.

§ 3.3 - The Øresund, Business Development and Education

Although there is a clear set of goals for improving the labour market, when new prospective employees and businesses establish themselves elsewhere and thus move out, the labour market of the region will not be improved. Therefore one must understand why certain companies establish themselves in Copenhagen or in Malmö and accordingly why people migrate towards or outside the region.

One motive can be trade-related. Largely influenced by the bridge, the Øresund region can now increase its regional cross border trading more efficiently and accordingly this leads to lower prices due to increased competition (Skjott-Larsen et al., 2003). Closely related to trade motives is the infrastructure, which was often criticized in the past but has now developed considerably as shorter transport time has been made possible. Also important is the merger between Copenhagen Port and Malmö Port and the increased co-operation between Copenhagen Airport and Sturup Airport. This has improved the logistic status of the Øresund. However, trade and infrastructure also have their demotivating reasons for establishing in the Øresund. Traditionally Helsingborg has been a hub where goods are consolidated and distributed to other destinations from and to Scandinavia. When lorries have to cross the bridge, they have to make a detour of 50 kilometres. Accompanied with the high bridge tolls ferry services across Helsingor and Helsingborg have remained and are still used by transport and logistics companies in particular.

Results from a survey study (Skjott-Larsen et al., 2003; 251) indicate 5 advantages and 5 disadvantages of the current regional development in the Øresund and firms thinking of establishing in the region. The 5 advantages are: access to people with the right education and competencies, possibility of increased integration, economies of scale through mergers and centralization, well developed infrastructure and access to new markets. The 5 disadvantages are: cultural differences, bridge toll, differences in legislation, differences in business practices and political factors. The 5 advantages can be logically explained as the bridge opens opportunities for commuters and access to the other side of the border. The 5 disadvantages are more difficult to explain. As the introduction has showed, the Danish and Swedish parts of the Øresund share a similar culture. Differences in legislation, business practice and political factors will become more integrated since the themes of the OTEP have been introduced. Therefore it seems a matter of time before the 5 disadvantages dwindle.

Key industries in the Øresund region are the life sciences, clean technology, biotechnology industry, pharmaceuticals and health, information technology and communication, food industry, tourism; culture and recreation, transport, building construction and the business and financial service (ØRUS, 2012; Garlick et al., 2006). Biotechnological and medical research is positioned the third best of the OECD countries behind London and Paris. Tourism income

accounts for 25 billion DKK compared to 28 billion DKK for Denmark as a whole. Lastly, around 100.000 people are employed in the region's IT industry.

The Øresund region creates the possibility for collaboration between students, researchers and the industry which attracts new businesses. Access to knowledge is important for consultancy firms, high-tech companies and pharmaceutical companies. The Øresund houses not less than 20 universities. Among them is Lund university, one of the leading educational and research centres of Scandinavia. To this university network across the Øresund 130.000 students are enrolled, providing a facilitator for economic development within the Øresund (Hospers, 2006). The Øresund region maintains high levels of educational qualifications (paragraph 4.5; Garlick et al., 2006).

The Øresund University is a network of 14 universities on both sides of the region where research and education are integrated. Due to this network the Øresund region is among the top 5 regions in Europe in relation to the production of scientific papers. Furthermore there is the Orestad Development Plan, which should lead to a Orestad where people will work in a huge, living lab for the testing of new technologies. This new town, which should be finalized in 30 years, contains universities, residential areas, companies, restaurants, hotels, science parks and labs. The Øresund region also works on a cross-border initiative called the Øresund Science Region (European Union, 2008; ORUS 2012) that aims to bring together regional authorities, businesses and universities under the triple-helix model where universities cooperate with the surrounding society.

However, some potential threats for the development of the education sector exist as well. The practice of education differs between Denmark and Sweden. As an example Danish education uses a larger proportion of apprenticeship during a study whereas Sweden uses training in schools as a main model (OECD, 2003). Furthermore the Danish system distinguishes between proceeding/long and medium/long education. Education of doctors and lawyers fall under the proceeding/long education and education of nurses and teachers fall under medium/long education. Sweden, on the contrary, uses a mechanism where all education before the PHD is organized in programmes and single courses called basic education. Each programme is specialized. Single courses are often five weeks to one year where blocks are in general ended with an academic exam (OECD, 2003).

"The Øresund region is as dynamic as Shanghai!"

Tony Mortensen, CEO Mette Lykken Boliger (2007).

CHAPTER 4

LABOUR MARKET RESEARCH WITHIN THE ØRESUND

§ 4.1 - Introducing Regional Labour Market Investigation within the Øresund

So far this paper has discussed a literature study providing a discussion on the Øresund region, the practice of cross-border city co-operation and labour market policies. It first has explained direct labour market influence. Within the Øresund region direct involvement has been carried out by institutions such as OAR and policies such as OTEP. Second it has explained indirect involvement by means of place marketing and the symbolic Øresund bridge. Third it has discussed both positive and negative developments of decision-making, the business environment and education sector. However, whether these developments and involvements indeed did have an effect on the labour market will be discussed in this part or body of the paper. It will conduct research on whether the labour market in the Øresund has grown or developed since the opening of the Øresund Link. As the concept of labour market can be perceived as quite broad the research will limit itself to the KILM indicators (Table 1) and accordingly its schemes. It will do so by discussing the schemes and how they have developed from the period before the bridge was opened, shortly afterwards and how they have developed in the long run..

The last indicator and scheme, the poverty, working poverty and inequality scheme, will not be used to explain development in this research. This measurement namely relates to developing countries (ILO, 2011). Therefore it makes no sense to compare this indicator with the development in the developed Øresund region. Furthermore it would only little contribute to the question whether the bridge had an impact on the labour market.

However, a concept outside the KILM scheme but important for this paper is labour mobility. The last paragraph of this chapter will discuss the development of the Øresund in the field of daily commuters and labour mobility. This concept seems to be important as labour mobility can be positively influenced by the existence of the bridge. Whether this has indeed happened will be investigated.

Data collected derive mainly from Orestats and Eurostat. The first contains a database special to the Øresund region and collaborates closely with the statistiska centralbyran (central bureau for statistics) Sweden and the Statistik (statistics) Denmark, the national bodies collecting statistical data. The second contains a database for several countries in the world, but is primarily focused on European countries. Accordingly these data are set out in figures and tables where one can observe the trend of the indicator over a certain period which makes it possible to interpret the data.

Research Methodology

In this study only one experimental group is involved. A control group does not exist and also random assignment cannot be guaranteed. These experiments are called "quasi experiments" (Babbie, 2007). As he explains control groups are similar to the experimental group and are therefore called "non-equivalent control groups". These non-equivalent control groups can be observed within a time-series design. When using these designs different measurements are made over a certain period of time. Within time-series designs, there is a distinction between single time-series designs and multiple time-series designs. As this research only discusses developments within the Øresund region and does not perform a study on different cases only a single time-series design is used. When using a time-series design there are a number of

observations on the same dependent variable within a certain period (Babbie, 2007). Therefore several points will be observed on the labour market of the Øresund across time before the bridge was built, shortly afterwards and in the longer period afterwards.

§ 4.2 - Labour Force Participation Rate and Employment to Population Ratio

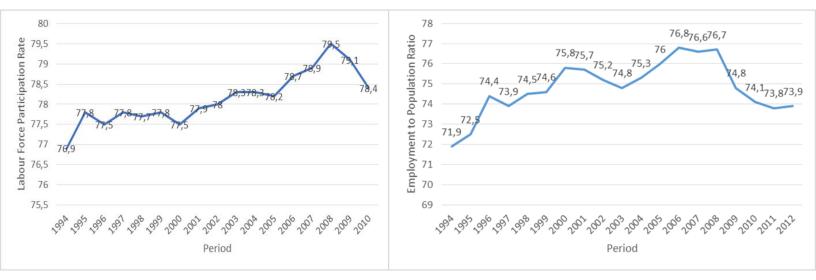


Figure 2 and Figure 3: The Labour Force Participation Rate (Left) and the Employment to Population Ratio (Right) in the Øresund region. Data derive form Orestats (2013) and the paper from Bektur-Giversen (2011).

According to the International Labour Organization (2011), the labour force participation rate is the proportion of a country's working age population that engages actively in the labour market, either by working or looking for work. In other words it provides an indication of the supply of labour available for the production of goods and of services. Labour force participation rates are set out as percentage from the labour force compared to the whole working-age population. The labour force participation rate determines the size and composition of a country's human resources. With this information employment policies can be formulated, such as the need of training and retirement and accession to economic activity (ILO, 2011).

When looking to the labour force participation rate in the Øresund (Appendix B, Appendix C and Figure 2) one can observe a trend that has increased since 1994. Figure 1 shows that the trend has remained decently stable from 1995 until 2000 before the bridge was built. Afterwards the trend tend to raise slightly from 2001 until 2005 meaning that when the Øresund bridge opened the labour force participation rate started to increase. The long term period from 2005 until 2010 shows a fast increase followed by a fast decrease of the labour force participation rate. This decrease has likely occurred as a result of the financial crisis in 2007 and 2008.

Appendix B shows an important difference between the Swedish and Danish part of the Øresund region in relation to the labour force participation rate. The younger age group in Denmark namely has a significantly higher percentage of labour force participation than the same younger age group in Sweden. On the contrary the older age group in Sweden has a significantly higher percentage of labour force participation rate that the same older age group in Denmark. According to Bektur-Giversen (2011) this is because of a difference in policies. Danish policies better aim in attracting younger labour force, whereas on the contrary Swedish

policies provide better possibilities for attracting the older labour force. Furthermore Bektur-Giversen sets out that another reason is the differences in salary. The Danish side of the Øresund has higher wages (Appendix K) and therefore attracts students from over Denmark as a whole as well as from the Swedish side of the Øresund.

However, the labour force participation rate is intertwined with the total labour force of a particular region as the labour force participation rate is a value derived from the total labour force. This means that when the labour force rises but the labour force participation rate remains the same people being inactive and unemployed increase. Contrary, when the labour force decreases but the labour force participation rate increases the amount of people being employed or engaged to the labour market increases. The total number of labour force in the Øresund is set out in Appendix C. Two significant observations can be made. First after the bridge was opened the labour force participation rate increased in contrast to the overall labour force showing a positive result in people engaged to the labour market and willing to engage. However, this did not lead to an increase in the employment rate (figure 3). The second observation is the increase in the labour force and the decrease in the labour force participation rate after 2007 which occurred due to the financial crisis.

The employment to population ratio or employment rate is the proportion of a region's or country's working age population that is employed. The employment to population ratio is important in that it provides information on the ability of an economy to provide employment (ILO, 2011). In general a higher employment to population ratio is perceived as positive. The difference between the labour force participation rate and the employment rate is that the first includes job seekers and people not employed but engaged actively in the labour market, whereas the latter only sets out those that are actually employed.

The employment rate, as seen in Figure 3, raises steadily in the Øresund region before the bridge was opened in 2000. However, shortly after the bridge was opened, the employment rate decreased slightly, but recovered its growing trend after 3 years starting in 2003. It is unlikely to compare this trend to the decreasing need of construction workers since the bridge was finished. Øresundsbron (2008) sets out that 5000 workers were involved with the construction of the bridge, but as seen in Appendix D, more than 820.000 males and 790.000 females were employed in the Øresund. One motivation that is more likely to explain the decrease in employment is the existence of the early 2000 financial crisis. The decrease after 2008 and 2009 can, as discussed with the labour force participation rate, as well be related to the result of a financial crisis.

To conclude the labour force participation rate shows influence of the Øresund bridge, whereas the employment to population rate shows no or little influence although it did increase from 75,8 in 2000 to 76,8 in 2006. The financial crisis also showed its influence. According to Job og Kompetencer i Øresundsregionen (2009) it will take until 2016 before employment will have the same level as in 2007. The Swedish area will even develop faster than the Danish area. Main problems, according to Job og Kompetencer i Øresundsregionen, lie not in the employment but in the population. They expect that the biggest challenge is the aging of the population and the accompanied pensions. A solution would be to stimulate commuting from Sweden as their youth population is growing faster.

§ 4.3 - The Structure of Employment

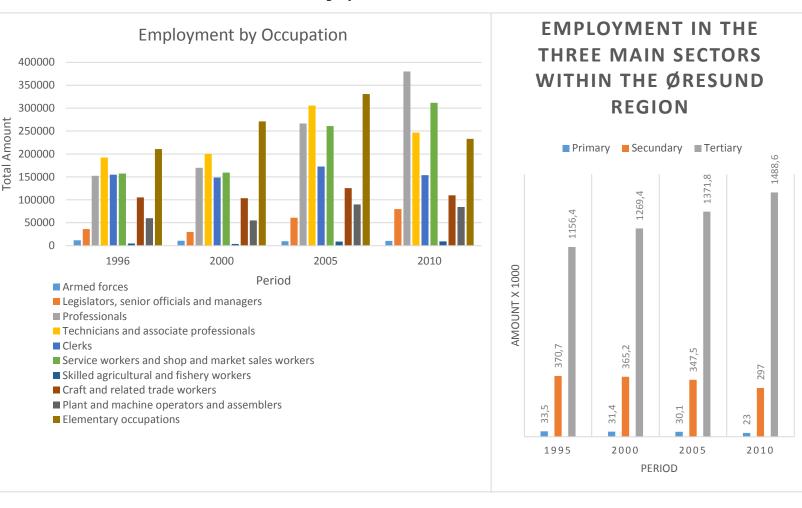


Figure 4 and Figure 5: Employment by Occupation (Left) and Employment by Sector (Right) within the Øresund. The latter includes the construction sector within the secondary sector. Unknown data is kept out. Data derive from Orestats (2013).

The structure of employment includes 6 KILM indicators: Status in employment, employment by sector, employment by occupation, part-time employment, hours of work and employment in the informal sector. The status in employment indicator provides information on the distribution of the workforce. This indicator can answer questions on what proportion of employed persons work for wages, run their own enterprise and work without payment in the family unit. According to ILO (2011) a high proportion of employed persons receiving wages signifies economic development. Contrary, when there is a high proportion of own-account workers there either can be a large agricultural sector or low growth in the formal economy. The employment by sector indicator categorizes employment in three broad groupings of economic activity: agriculture, industry and the services sectors (primary, secondary and tertiary sectors). These provides an overview and identify in which sector employment grows or stagnates. Accordingly the sectors can be divided further: Agriculture can be divided in hunting, forestry and fishing; industry in mining and quarrying, manufacturing, construction and public utilities such as electricity, gas and water; and services into wholesale and retail trade, restaurants and

hotels, transport, storage and communications, finance, insurance, real estate, business services and community, social and personal services. The employment by occupation indicator also categorizes different groups: Professionals; legislators, senior officials and managers; technicians and associate professionals; clerks; service workers and shop and market sales workers; skilled agricultural and fishery workers; craft and related trades workers; armed forces; elementary occupations and; plant and machine operators and assemblers. As with the employment by sector indicator this indicator identifies and analyses stages of development in the economy. The indicator that is often related to the number of women in the labour force is the indicator of part-time employment which discusses working hours total that is less than full time as a proportion of total employment. However, policy-makers address that more flexible working arrangements are economically less secure and stable than full-time employment (ILO, 2011). The indicator of working-hours provides an overall picture of the time that the employed devote to work activities, which is in general higher in developing countries. The last indicator sets out employment in the informal economy as a percentage of total non-agricultural employment which plays a role in employment creation, production and income generation.

Appendix D shows the amount of self-employed, family workers and employees within the region. It shows that the region inhabits less self-employed females than males, less female employees than males but more female family-workers than males. This is not a strange phenomenon globally as out of tradition the male is the main cost-earner of the family. However, as can be derived from the table, the amount of female employees and self-employed workers increase faster within the Øresund region than the same rate of males. When calculating the rational increase from 1994 until 2010 the amount of female employees has increased with 11,5% compared to 6,1% for the amount of male employees. For the self-employed workers the amount of female workers has increased with 36,5% compared to 6,3% for the male workers. This trend stands in line with the "equal opportunities" theme from OTEP, which on the one hand stimulates equal opportunities for men and women throughout the Øresund and on the other stimulates female occupation of jobs on the labour market (paragraph 3.2; Øresund Committee Website, 2013). However, the amount of family workers has decreased for both the male and female genders over the last 1,5 decade.

When looking to figure 5 one can observe the region's increase within the tertiary sector and decrease in the secondary and primary sectors the last 1,5 decade. The employment in the tertiary sector has increased with 28.7% whereas the primary and secondary sectors have experienced decreases of 45,7% and 24,8% respectively. The increase in the tertiary sector can have many reasons. As this paper has showed significant efforts have been made to create a harmonized logistic and educational centre (paragraph 3.3) which positively stimulate the tertiary sector.

This trend can also be found in the employment by occupation sector (figure 4) where the amount of service workers and shop and market sales workers, legislators, senior officials and managers and professionals have increased significantly during the last years. Contrary, skilled agricultural and fishery workers have remained a small group within the Øresund. Technicians and associate professionals together with the elementary occupations, craft and related trade workers and plant and machine operators and assemblers have experienced increases in the amount of employees until 2005, whereas afterwards it experienced a decreasing trend because of the financial crisis. What also can be observed in the figure is that employment by occupation in general between 1996 and 2000 has not changed significantly despite the elementary occupations trend. Afterwards, when the bridge was opened, some employment by occupation

sectors have started to increase its employment.

The part-time and full-time curve are set out in Appendix E. The full-time trend shows a similar result with the employment trend discussed earlier. The part-time trend has remained stable over the last 15 years and have not shown significant changes. It only has increased slightly after the bridge was opened.

Hours of work in a normal working week are less in Denmark than in Sweden; 37 hours per week to 40 hours per week (Greve and Rydbjerg, 2003; Malmöstad, 2013). Together with the transport time this has led to a serious problem. Swedish commuters to Denmark have a shorter working week due to transport time than Danish commuters to Sweden, who experience a longer working week. According to Øresundsbron (2008) shorter working weeks followed by higher wages (Appendix K) and a lower unemployment rate (Appendix F) has led to more mobility towards than from Denmark as this paper sets out in the last paragraph of this chapter.

The informal sector indicator of the ILO is often used for explaining employment in developing countries. Developed countries such as Sweden and Denmark hardly provide any data on this indicator. Furthermore data coverage is often limited to national smaller regions making comparisons across countries and within countries across time problematic (ILO, 2011). Therefore no real data exist for the Øresund region.

In short it is possible to observe a move towards the tertiary sector within the Øresund and an increase in occupational employment towards this sector. Differences in the occupational employment especially started after the introduction of the bridge. Furthermore this paragraph has shown that working hours is a problem for integrating and harmonizing the two cross-border regions. Lastly, female employment growth has increased with a larger amount compared to male employment growth.

§ 4.4 - Unemployment

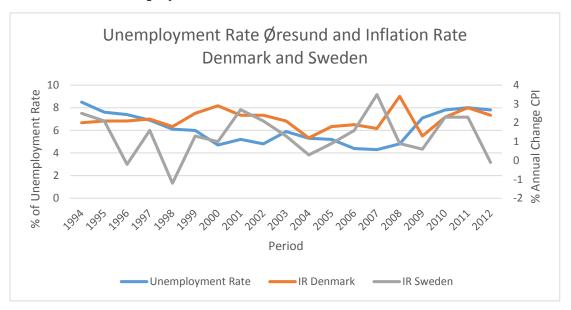


Figure 6: Unemployment Rate and Inflation Rate. The left vertical axis shows the percentage of total unemployment rate in the Øresund. This is related to the Consumer Price Index annual change rate (also called Inflation Rate, abbreviated with IR) on the right vertical axis of Denmark and Sweden as a whole. Data derive from Orestats (2013), Danmarks Statistik (2013) and Statistiska Centralbyran (2013).

The third scheme which can be used to explain a region's labour market is the unemployment scheme. Indicators that can be used to explain this scheme are those of unemployment, youth unemployment, long-term unemployment, time-related underemployment and inactivity. The unemployment rate is the proportion of people who are not employed, but are available and looking for work. It is the most quoted labour market indicator that is not being utilized (ILO, 2011). Unemployment can be divided among structural and cyclical components. The first changes slowly over time whereas the latter responds rapidly to amendments in the economy and business environment. Although many policy objectives try to lower the unemployment rate, which can therefore be seen as political indicator, some policies can lead to inflationary pressures and therefore these two components can be seen as a trade-off. Youth unemployment describe the lack of jobs for young people usually aged between 15 to 24 but sometimes calculated for the 15 to 29 age group. A high amount of unemployed youth leads to damaging effects on individuals, communities, economies and society at large whereas individually they have less to spend as consumers, less to invest and no voice to stimulate change in their lives and communities. As worse as unemployed youth are those who are long-term unemployed, usually for more than one year. Time-related underemployment relates to the number of employed persons whose hours of work are insufficient in relation to an employment situation in which the individual is available and willing to engage (ILO, 2011). However, these last two indicators hardly provide any data in the Øresund and are therefore difficult to discuss. The inactivity rate, when added up with the labour force participation rate, is equal to 100%. Hence it exists out of the proportion of the working-age population not being part of the labour force. Part of those are individuals who want to work, but are currently not searching for a job.

Inactive individuals are therefore neither employed nor unemployed.

The blue trend in figure 6 represents the unemployment rate of the Øresund which shows an opposing trend to the employment rate of figure 3. Interesting is the comparison between the annual change of the CPI, which is sometimes referred to as the inflation rate, and the unemployment rate. When this rate was high, such as during 2001 and 2007 the unemployment rate rose as well a couple of months later. Contrary when the CPI rate was low or decreasing such as during 2004 the unemployment rate decreased as well. When looking to figure 6 it is unlikely to confirm that the bridge has played a significant role in influencing the unemployment rate. This is because the low rate of 2000 when the bridge opened did remain stable until 2008. However, one can argue that it was because of the bridge that this rate has remained low.

When comparing the unemployment rate with other countries from Scandinavia (Appendix F) one can observe a similar trend: All trends show a fast decrease after 1997, an increase in 2000, a decrease in 2005 and an increase again in 2008. However, the Øresund shows one main difference from this trend in that the unemployment rate was reduced from 2003 until 2005 where other Scandinavian countries experienced hardly a change or even an increase. During this period the unemployment ratio of the Øresund even became smaller than the general Danish unemployment ratio. A similar trend can be observed during 2001 and 2002, one year after the bridge opened. Comparing the Øresund unemployment rate with other countries it can be said that the region is doing an average job having a higher ratio than the Netherlands and Germany, but showing a better result than the EU27 and the United States (Appendix F).

The unemployment rate for the youth category is significant higher in comparison to the average unemployment rate within the Øresund region (Appendix H). It seems unlikely that the bridge has played a role on this as the trend has not changed after 2000, although one can discuss that it is due to the bridge that this level remained stable. This trend does not stand in line with one might expect after the introduction of the social inclusion pillar of the OTEP and the opportunities for travel to the other side of the border. The amount of inactivity (Appendix G) has remained stable over the 1994 until 2012 period experiencing both ups and downs. Also this trend does not significantly show a difference before and after the bridge was built. Even worse, the inactivity ratio seems be less before the bridge was opened than afterwards.

Concluded there is no real or only minor observation of the influence of the Øresund bridge on the unemployment trend in the Øresund. Furthermore the general unemployment rate and the even larger youth unemployment rate leave plenty room for improvement as since the financial crisis numbers have not improved to the level achieved before. However, when comparing the Øresund with other countries it demonstrates that it is doing an average job as the unemployment trends run similar.

§ 4.5 - Educational Attainment of the Labour Force



Figure 7: The amount of graduates each year from 1998 until 2010 in the Swedish and Danish side of the Øresund. Represented are Primary, Secondary and Tertiary education. Data derive from Orestats (2013).

The fourth labour market scheme reflects the level and distribution of knowledge and skills of the labour force and unemployed (ILO, 2011). Human resources represent the most valuable and productive resource as countries traditionally depend on the health, strength and basic skills of their workers to produce goods and services. In a world where organizations, machines and technology become more complex, knowledge is required to increase the accompanied economic growth and welfare improvements. The degree of literacy and educational attainment therefore is important. Literacy and numeracy are considered to be the basic minimal skills necessary for entry into the labour market (ILO, 2011).

However, it is not useful to explain the development of literacy rates within the Øresund. This is because Denmark and Sweden belong to one of the most developed countries in the world containing high literacy rates compared to developing countries. According to the Worldbank (2013) 99% of both Danish and Swedish citizens can read and write short and simple statements of their daily life. This rate is calculated only for the group older than 15 years and also applies to the numeracy rate in both Denmark and Sweden.

Figure 7 shows the amount of graduates each year. The total amount of graduates seem to have increased after 2000, which is compared to the total amount of the youth population a positive development (Appendix I). The total amount of youth population namely remained decently stable with an increase in the population aged 10-19 but a slight decrease of those aged 20-29. It seems that more students in the Øresund are applying for tertiary education, which shows an increase in graduates of 80,2% in Swedish Øresund and 45,8% in Danish Øresund

from 1998 until 2010. Primary and secondary have increased its amount of graduates as well in this period except for the upper and post-secondary group in Denmark, which saw its graduates reduce. The increase in tertiary graduates, which started during 2000, can partly be explained by the existence of the bridge. It became easier to participate in cross-border education (OECD, 2003). Overall the number of cross-border migrants with the purpose of study have increased (Garlick et al., 2006).

The future for jobs requiring higher education is promising (Job og Kompetencer i Øresundsregionen, 2009). It is expected that the share of jobs requiring secondary education drops with 12% by 2024, but the share of jobs requiring higher education, which was already high in Denmark from the period after the Bridge was opened, is even expected to increase by 2024. Apart from that it is expected that in Scania the total share of persons with higher education will grow from 42% in 2007 up to 52% in 2024. In the Danish part it is expected to extend from 33% in 2007 to 37% in 2024.

To summarize, the amount of graduates have significantly increased in the Øresund region. In particular tertiary graduates have increased in numbers which is compared to the amount of jobs requiring tertiary education a positive sign. The bridge created the possibility to enjoy education over the border and therefore increased the choice of educational possibilities and institutions.

§ 4.6 - Labour Productivity and Wages

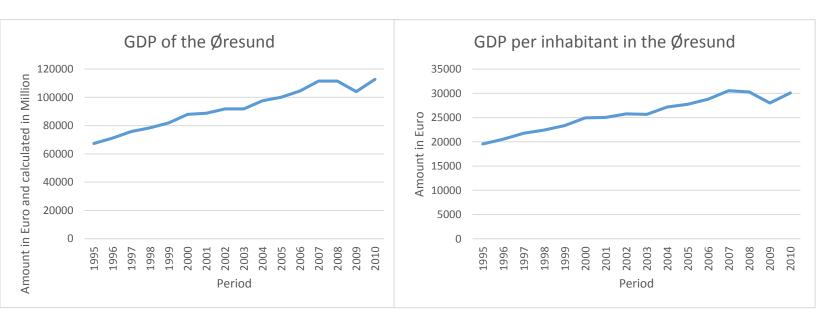


Figure 8 and Figure 9: Gross Domestic Product (Left) and Gross Domestic Product per inhabitant (Right) of the Øresund region in euros. Data derive from Orestats (2013.

The fifth and last official KILM scheme exists out of three indicators according to the ILO (2011). The average monthly wages and the average compensation costs are quite similar to each other. The difference is that wages are important from the workers point of view and

provide an indication of their purchasing power and standard of living, whereas the compensation costs provide an estimate of employers expenditure towards the employment of its workforce. In different words, one measures the income of employees, the other the costs for employers employing the employees. Labour productivity refers to the output per unit of labour input which can be persons engaged or hours worked. Economic growths in a country often go hand in hand with increased employment or more effective work by those employed (ILO, 2011) and therefore is an important measure for economic performance.

Appendix J, K and L and figure 8 and 9 show the latest developments of labour productivity and wages. Appendix K shows the increase in wages during 2002 until 2010. However, Sweden shows a fall during 2009 in earnings in euros, but this is compensated again in 2010. The figure shows that males earn more than females in the corresponding regions, although female wages increase in line with male wages. This figure also sets out that Danish males and females earn less than Danish males and females who live in the Øresund region. On the contrary, Swedish males and females in general earn more than Swedish males and females in the Øresund. Appendix L shows the costs of employers. Although this trend looks similar, one important difference can be observed. The costs for Danish employers seem to reduce during 2009 and 2010, which is contrary to the increase Appendix K during this period. This leads to the assumption that the highest earners in Denmark or the outliers (de Veaux et al., 2008), have earned more.

Figure 8 and figure 9 set out the GDP in the Øresund and the GDP per inhabitant in the Øresund. The trend shows a linear progression from 1995 until 2007, but then reduced during the financial crisis. Although the trend does not show an influence of the bridge, the GDP curve has been increasing steadily. The Øresund generates a quarter of the combined GDP of Sweden and Denmark (Øresund University Network, 2013). This information stands in line with Appendix J, which sets out the GDP of other Nordic countries. However, Øresund GDP experienced an increase from 2000 until 2007 of 26,7% compared to 31% in Denmark and 26% in Sweden. This leads to the assumption that if the Øresund bridge did have a role on the GDP in the region, it was only a limited one.

In conclusion, we have seen throughout the paper the discussion of higher wages in Denmark compared to Sweden and this statement has been approved in this paragraph. This indicator together with the indicator of working hours per week (paragraph 4.3) can still be improved regarding harmonization. The GDP is an indicator that shows no influence of the bridge. Its trend shows a linear increase except during 2008 and 2009.

§ 4.7 - Labour Mobility

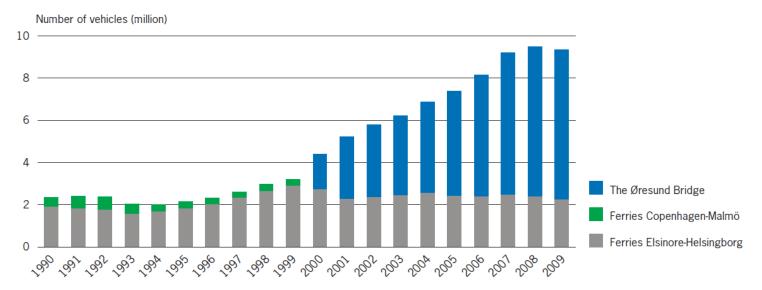


Figure 10: The number of vehicles in million per year crossing the Øresund. Data derive from Øresundsbron (2010; 7).

People can have different reasons to move from one place to another. Regions with a surplus of workers and regions with shortages of labour become equal when labour mobilizes. Furthermore, labour tend to concentrate at places where it is more productive and more income can be generated (ILO, 2011). Labour mobility can be separated by three main motives (Klau and Mittelstadt, 1985). First mobility in the form of regional mobility. Here socio-economic factors such as subsided housing, depressed house prices in surplus labour regions, family ties, pension arrangements, immigration rules and job opportunities on the black market determine the push-factors for mobility. Second there is occupational mobility. Here different motives such as higher-skill jobs, disincentives to move out of low-skill jobs, training and re-training facilities and labour counselling services are the underlying drivers for mobility. Third and last inter-firm mobility. Here mobility is based on lay-off rules, redundancy payments, reservation wage, requirement to offer permanent labour contracts, non-portable pension claims, etc. However, when the term labour mobility is discussed in a wider sense, it not only relates to movements of a particular labour force, but also to changes from the active to the non-active part of the workingage population and vice versa. The OECD (2003) report even moves one step further and states that improving labour mobility and accordingly geographical mobility is crucial for integration as it will facilitate networking and exchange of experience as well as enhancing productivity and the transfer of technology.

The amount of commuters have increased in the Øresund from 1997 until 2008 (Appendix M). However, the absolute amount of Danish commuters did not increase as fast as the amount of Swedish commuters. But rationally during the 1997-2000 period the amount of daily commuters increased from Denmark to Sweden with 69,3% compared to 41,3% from Sweden to Denmark. From 2000 until 2003 daily commuters from Denmark to Sweden increased with 90,7% compared to 88,8% from Sweden to Denmark. This increase, as the OECD (2003) report states, can primarily be explained by the bridge's opening. It has shown a direct moving pattern in the region. Although patterns look positive, daily commuters have decreased from

2008 onwards. Furthermore, the Øresund Labour Market Council sets its doubts for the future as in a recent survey only 70000 people of those being employed admitted they are more willing to apply for a job on the other side of the border (Øresund Committee, 2013; OECD, 2003). The main reasons they provided were higher costs and transportation time, whereas a lack of knowledge as well as a lack of appropriate rules and regulations played a role as well.

But people migrate also internally for a longer period of stay. Appendix N shows the registered cross-border migrants from the Danish part of the Øresund to the Swedish part and conversely. The Danish amount of migrants have increased each year after the opening of the bridge, which according to the OECD (2003) can solely be related to the opening of the bridge as these Danish migrants are looking for a cheaper place to live, but continue to work in Denmark, which is in accordance with Appendix M. From the Swedish part to Denmark migrations have only started to increase after 2002. However, according to Øresundsbron (2010) the majority (approximately 75%) of this group are Danes who migrate back to Denmark as they have grown older and can afford a more expensive living.

Figure 10 does confirm an increase in cross-border traffic and vehicles over the past years. These are not only commuters and migrants, but also transport from the European mainland to other countries in Scandinavia and vice versa (Øresundsbron, 2010). This figure also confirms the earlier mentioned statement that ferry transport did not decrease after the introduction of the bridge (paragraph 3.3). Appendix O shows the purpose of travel over the Øresund bridge. Although leisure, short-breaks and holidays are comparable to each other, its purpose of travel has reduced from 2001 until 2009 compared to commuting and business purposes. Prognosis shows that it will reduce further in 2015 when being compared to commuting and business purposes, showing the importance of the bridge for economic activity.

To summarize this paper has showed that the bridge did have no influence on some indicators (unemployment, GDP etc.), but that this does not account for labour mobility. Transport from and to the other side of the Øresund has increased together with the amount of daily commuters. Hence the purpose of travel over the bridge focusses on commuting and business.

"...the Development Opportunities opened up by the giant Øresund bridge are too good for any Government to neglect... both Countries want to see the Øresund region develop as the Gateway to the Baltic and Scandinavia."

Laurence Peter, BBC News (2006).

§ 4.8 - Results

This study of labour market and labour mobility indicators for the Øresund specific region has shown mixed results. The study showed significant improvements and influence of the Øresund bridge in one field, but showed no improvements or no influence in other fields.

Indicators that show an increase after the Øresund bridge opened were labour mobility, some of the occupations in the employment by occupation indicator, the labour force participation rate, amount of graduates and the amount of part-time employees. The bridge has increased the opportunities for daily travel from one side to the other, increasing labour mobility. Intertwined is the development of the tertiary sector. The Øresunds Region is becoming a logistical and educational centre (paragraph 3.3), hence there is an increase of service workers and professionals over the last decade. It is likely that this switch is positively influenced by place marketing and place identity (paragraph 2.2), although proof has not yet been provided. Furthermore the bridge made it possible for Swedish and Danish children to follow education on the other side of the border as well as for students attending college. This can be seen in the amount of graduates that has increased after the bridge was opened. The last indicator that has shown an increase since the opening is the labour force participation rate, the indicator where people become engaged with the labour market. But since the employment rate decreased after the bridge was opened, this means that more people made an effort to search for a job. Lastly the amount of part-time workers increased from nearly 350.000 to 450.000 employees since the opening of the bridge. Therefore it seems that the opening of the bridge opened opportunities for part-time workers.

Indicators that show only a slight decrease are the GDP rate, all indicators in the unemployment scheme and the employment rate. The GDP rate has increased during last years in the Øresund, but shows no influence of the introduction of the bridge. The unemployment rate reached a low rate in 2000 which lasted till 2008, where the same applies for the youth unemployment rate. However, one can discuss that due to the bridge the unemployment rate remained low, but since the employment to population ratio did not increase as well, this statement cannot be confirmed. Lastly there are also two indicators where nothing can be said about the influence of the bridge, namely the costs of employment and earnings for employees. Sampled data exist from only after 2002, showing an increasing trend, but one can only guess how this trend looked before 2002.

Threats to this study

Having conducted the study one should be aware of the possible threats to validity. Single time-series designs and case studies are subject to a lower external validity in general (Gerring, 2004). When discussing internal threats, historic events might have an effect on the observations before treatment first. Second maturation effects might occur if there is no impact of the treatment (in this case the bridge) but the effect is explained because of a normal developmental process. Third instrumentation might be a problem as all measurement methods should be measured the same way. However, the main data used in this research are gathered from organizations dedicated to statistical data and therefore can be trusted. Fourth the selection method can be a threat when there are major changes among the population, especially when using an interrupted series design when changes occur before and after treatment. Fifth experimental mortality might occur when subjects drop out and affect the result. This can occur within this situation when a significant proportion of the labour market drops out, although it seems very unlikely as the population under study is more than one million citizens. Finally, when discussing external threats, an interrupted time series without control or comparison group is more difficult to generalize to other cases, in our case other cross-border city co-operations. Summarized causality is difficult to demonstrate and prove, but overall this study has demonstrated the effect of a bridge, which idea is developed by cross-border city co-operation, on the regional labour market.

CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION

§ 5.1 - Conclusion

This conclusion summarizes the main results of the thesis by providing an answer on the research question and two sub questions asked in the introduction. The following research question was composed: "How did the regional labour market develop within the Øresund region between Denmark and Sweden from 1994 onwards which is during the construction and after the opening of the Øresund bridge?" The following sub-questions were composed: "To what extent can public actors have an influence on the regional labour market and how has this been practiced within the Øresund region?" and "To what degree did the Øresund bridge connecting Denmark and Sweden has an influence on the regional labour market?"

Malmö and Copenhagen share a common history, traditions and relations. Its cross-border city co-operation was confirmed by the construction of the symbolic Øresund bridge. Since then the Øresund has lured interest from outside for a couple of reasons. First its increased networking and logistics possibilities has increased the establishment of the tertiary sector and possibilities for transport. Second its contribution for a Øresund Science Region has lured interest from new businesses. Third increased integration made it possible to perform business in both the Swedish and Danish side of the Øresund. Inside the region the bridge has led to an increase of cross-border migrants and commuters.

In paragraph 2.2 the paper has discussed that four indicators are necessary to institutionalize a region: territorial shape, symbolic shape, institutional shape and the shape related to the socio-cultural identity of a place. The Øresund region succeeds in all four of them. It has not only created a distinct area from others in terms of their logistics, but also in terms of distinctive key-industries such as biotechnology, pharmaceuticals and communication and information technology. Its efforts in integrating and increasing the education sector even adds on that point. The Øresund also contains its symbolic shape in the form of the Bridge, a symbol for cross-border city co-operation, integration and connection. Its contribution in the institutional shape to maintain the territorial and symbolic shape of the area has also been created. One should think of the Øresund Committee which can be further divided among institutions such as the OAR (Øresund Labour Market Council). Lastly the cities of Malmö and Copenhagen became more connected, boosting the socio-cultural identity of the Øresund. Since commuting and mobility increased, consciousness and social practices have increased for the other side of the border. Place marketing and positively influencing the image have an impact as well. Television programs such as "the Bridge" influence the feelings of the residents.

The paper has also shown critique on the functioning of the Øresund region. Among the most important ones were the taxes and fiscal system which disrupt the free movement of labour and capital, social contributions such as pensions and unemployment benefits, skill recognitions especially in the evaluation systems of employees, harmonized labour market policies and administrative practices that hinder the transfer of jobs and commuting. The governance without government principle can be seen as either positive, when informal and project-based meetings lead to flexible and timely policies, and negative, when lack of consistency and risk of fragmentation influence cross-border activities and therefore no coherent strategy can be implemented.

This paper has explained that public actors have many tools to influence the labour

market and provide solutions on the critique on the functioning of the Øresund region. They can create macro-economic policies, policies related to welfare systems and remainder policies that stimulate labour (paragraph 2.1). In the Øresund this is mainly performed by the Øresund Committee, which have created the OTEP. OTEP includes one important pillar dealing with the labour market of the Øresund namely the social inclusion pillar which should increase employment and opportunities. Also organizations as the OAR and OBG, projects as Scania Manifest and the Territorial Employment Pact-Roundtable contribute positively to the Øresund labour market and integration of the region. This also applies to the Øresund Committee, which incorporates 12 member organisations over all municipalities and regions of the Øresund. Lastly OTEP includes themes which should harmonize several aspects of the labour market. Therefore it seems only a matter of time before agreements are reached for harmonized labour market policies, benefits and taxes.

Positive developments can be observed in the labour market development of the Øresund over the past two decades. An increase in the tertiary sector, in particular services and professionals, have contributed to an increased knowledge centre. Transport between the two sides have increased as well together with the amount of daily commuters. To sum up, an increase in the GDP ratio, amount of graduates, the increase of the labour force participation rate and, although accompanied with shocks in its trend, the employment to population ratio, the Øresund have done a good job since 1994. But these developments have a seam side.

The financial crisis has provided significant changes during the last last years, spread over all the indicators. Since the financial crisis has ended it is the question if the labour market can recover its increasing trend, but signs over 2011 and 2012 seem promising. Furthermore, as set out in paragraph 4.2, expectations show that the employment to population ratio will recover in 2016to level achieved in 2007. A problem of more concern is the aging of the population, in particular those of Denmark. Unemployment is one of the indicators where improvements are also welcome. Especially in the field of youth unemployment, which is even higher than the total unemployment rate. However, since employment is expected to recover in 2016, unemployment is expected to decrease and since aging of the population is seen as another problem, opportunities for youth on the workforce are expected to increase, especially those being high educated (paragraph 4.5).

The Øresund bridge did and will play a role as well. Although it did not influence the GDP rate and the unemployment scheme, it did influence labour mobility, some occupations in the employment by occupation indicator, the labour force participation rate, the amount of graduates and the amount of part-time employees. These indicators on their turn have an influence on economic activity which positively stimulates the GDP rate. Concluded it can therefore be stated that the bridge did have a positive influence on the labour market. It has contributed to a highly educated region and logistic centre where the tertiary sector dominates over the secondary and primary sector. The amount of vehicles over the bridge are still increasing (paragraph 4.7) and purposes for travel are increasing for the business and commuting areas.

The paper of the Economist as showed in the beginning of this paper (paragraph 1.1) was correct in that the Øresund project was a success, accumulating economic benefits. Integration is improving but as contrary to the statement in the paper, cross-border traffic has increased as well. It is therefore of no surprise that other Nordic countries in general become more interested in cross-border ties.

§ 5.2 - Recommendations

This paper has provided a somewhat positive view of the Øresund region. The results of the conducted research agrees with this statement. As Sweden and Denmark are both among the most developed countries in the world and trends are looking positive one might discuss whether recommendations are still needed. However, this paper has suggested recommendations for the labour market in the following fields:

- High bridge tolls together with the existence of the traditional Helsingborg hub did not decrease ferry transport and provide a demotivation for commuters and businesses. Therefore bridge tolls should become cheaper.
- Shorter working weeks (paragraph 4.3) and higher wages (paragraph 4.6) in Denmark have provided an unequal distribution of commuters from and to Denmark in comparison to Sweden (paragraph 4.7). As these fields are not (yet) part of the second pillar under the OTEP and its themes, common agreements are not nearby. Therefore more attention should be focussed on these fields during one of the Committee meetings.
- Although a special Ombudsman for the Øresund region has been created, people still indicate that they have a lack of knowledge about the set of rules and regulations for the other side of the border. Therefore the role and recognition of the Ombudsman should be improved. Furthermore, as seen in paragraph 3.1, a new body containing explicit legal and administrative authority to co-ordinate and implement strategies could be implemented as well, but this will contradict the governance without government principle.
- As mentioned in the critique part (paragraph 3.1) a couple of issues remain a burden for common agreements. Employment protection, taxes, social contributions, skill recognition, common currencies and responsibility are some fields where problems remain. However, the OTEP themes are working on some of these fields, but full agreements have not yet been reached. Hence the conclusion stated that it is only a matter of time until these agreements are reached, but it does not guarantee that solutions will be made. Therefore more regular meetings within the Committee could be planned to reach decisions faster or a new body should be introduced, as stated in the previous recommendation.
- The financial crisis has provided decreases in some KILM indicators. Efforts should be made to overcome the crisis and lead numbers back to before the crisis started. As seen in paragraph 4.2 employment rates are expected to recover in 2016 and therefore are not a big concern. The aging and distribution of the population is a different story. When commuting is stimulated the younger age group of Sweden, which develops faster than in Denmark, could fill up the gap.

- The unemployment rate (paragraph 4.4) remains an indicator where close monitoring is needed. Although the rate is lower than the EU average and the United States, it still can be improved, especially after the financial crisis. More improvement is needed for youth unemployment, which is significantly higher than the normal unemployment rate.
- This paper has shown a focus of the Øresund region towards the tertiary sector (paragraph 4.3 and paragraph 4.5), where often higher educational degrees are needed. Although the amount of tertiary graduates are increasing, the need for tertiary graduates is increasing as well. Furthermore focusing on the tertiary sector decreases the need for manufacturing (secondary) and agricultural (primary) jobs, which might lead to an increase in unemployment. Therefore monitoring is needed to minimize the gap between labour supply and labour demand.

§ 5.3 - Future Research

As discussed in the "threats to this study" part in paragraph 4.8 there are still a couple of threats to validity that could be solved. The most important and apparent one in interrupted time series designs is external validity. There are a couple of methods to solve this validity, but two seem to be most likely. First comparing the Øresund to trends in other developed countries. This has been performed in this study for the unemployment and GDP ratio but actually needs to be done for every indicator. This way it is easier to discuss whether the development trend is a distinct observation that only can be observed in the Øresund or it is comparable to other trends in other developed countries. The second possibility is comparing the labour market development in the Øresund with a similar region, for instance the Talsinki (Brune, 2006). This region located south of Finland and north of Estonia is also separated by a waterway, but has not constructed a bridge connecting the two countries, making ferry transport the only possibility. Comparing two regions where one functions as a control group limits external validity significantly (Gerring, 2004).

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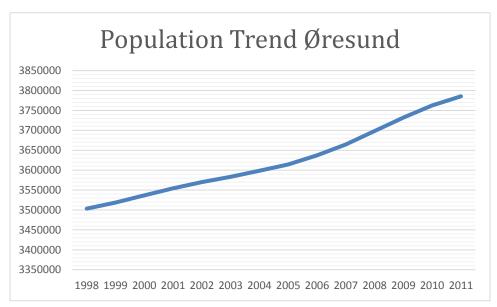
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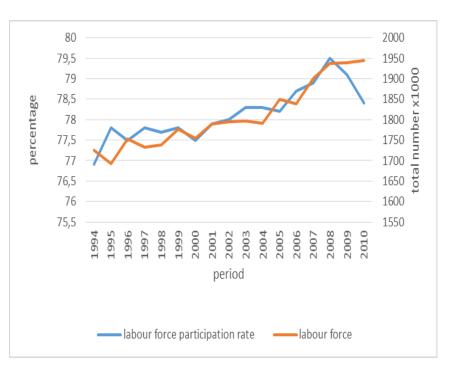
APPENDIX



Appendix A: Population trend in the Øresund. Data derive from Orestats (2013).

$\overline{}$	Age				30-49 years			50-64 years		
I 🔪		0.5 0			090			090		
l >	.	Øresund	097	1199	Øresund	097	1199	Øresund	097	1199
1	\	Region	Øresund	Øresund	Region	Øresund	Øresund	Region	Øresund	Øresund
Year		DK+SE	Region DK	Region SE	DK+SE	Region DK	Region SE	DK+SE	Region DK	Region SE
	1994	73.6	77.04	65.61	89.48	89.24	90.03	67.76	63.88	75.8
1	1995	74.53	80.12	61.87	88.78	88.91	88.48	70.1	66.75	77.21
1	1996	73.77	79.54	60.7	89.17	89.16	89.19	69.66	66.01	77.4
1	1997	74.84	81.98	59.55	89.23	89.63	88.37	69.36	66.08	76.23
1	1998	73.47	80.61	58.3	88.81	89.55	87.19	70.35	68.04	75.21
1	1999	73.93	81.61	58.51	88.82	89.64	87.02	70.78	68.51	75.71
1	2000	73.15	79.56	60.37	87.96	88.42	86.95	71.53	69.41	76.16
1	2001	73.07	78.35	62.3	88.26	88.63	87.48	72.22	70.06	76.8
1	2002	73.21	78.97	61.93	88.21	88.83	86.86	72.44	70.14	77.29
1	2003	72.84	78.32	61.84	88.52	89.41	86.6	73.4	71.51	77.33
1	2004	72.39	78.73	60.51	89.28	90.24	87.14	73.33	71.12	77.86
1	2005	72.76	78.32	62.31	89.49	89.59	89.26	72.22	69.92	76.99
1	2006	74.25	79.33	65.19	89.93	90.46	88.78	71.91	69.87	76.11
1	2007	74.52	79.44	65.71	90.59	90.73	90.25	71.66	69.72	75.79
I	2008	76.01	80.6	67.81	91.66	91.74	91.48	70.71	67.8	76.93
I	2009	74.19	79.52	64.65	91.53	91.77	90.97	71.65	69.06	76.99
	2010	71.42	76.49	62.05	91.43	91.33	91.65	72.32	69.63	77.8

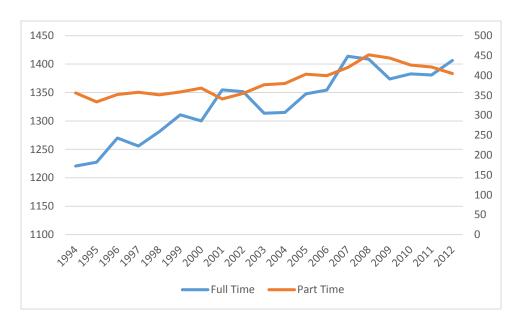
Appendix B: The Labour Force Participation Rate in the Øresund by time, age and region (Bektur-Giversen, 2011; 16).



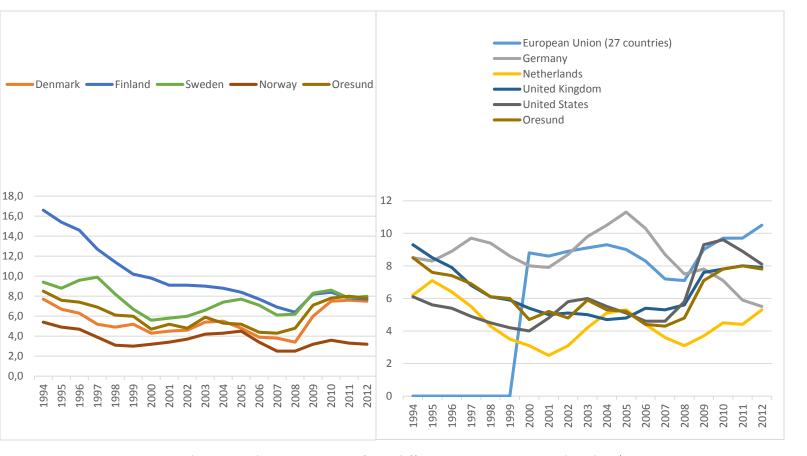
Appendix C: Labour Force Participation Rate as calculation from the table. Furtermore the total labour force is set out on the right vertical axis (Orestats, 2013).

Period	Self-Employed		Family Worker	Employee		
	male	female	male	female	male	female
1994	83850	30798	387	6104	763997	724829
1995	84023	30923	379	5434	777637	730522
1996	84028	30791	397	5109	782283	736101
1997	82995	30826	401	4539	791980	743350
1998	84078	31513	369	4135	809896	763791
1999	84581	31943	349	3724	814730	774058
2000	85487	32557	345	3345	824437	787111
2001	86410	33432	328	3048	825360	798791
2002	81564	31910	333	2729	819136	794497
2003	79154	31154	322	2494	809506	789219
2004	81657	33922	326	2356	816291	793155
2005	81969	34422	330	2233	827379	804455
2006	82977	35321	318	2066	849003	825204
2007	83076	36188	293	1951	862301	837733
2008	88705	40700	285	1873	840114	821690
2009	88389	40923	284	1715	805303	806066
2010	89104	42025	265	1611	810403	808202

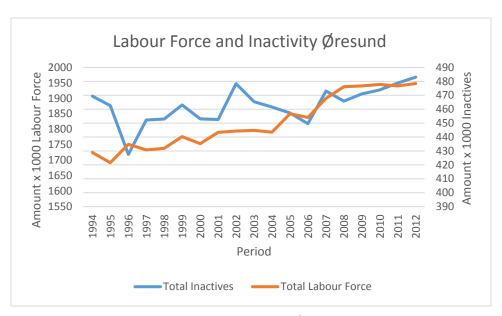
Appendix D: Status in Employment (Orestats, 2013).



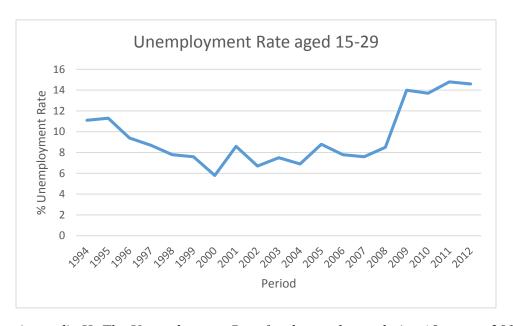
Appendix E: Part-time Employment (vertical right axis) and Full-time Employment (vertical left axis) in the Øresund. Amounts are x1000 (Orestats, 2013).



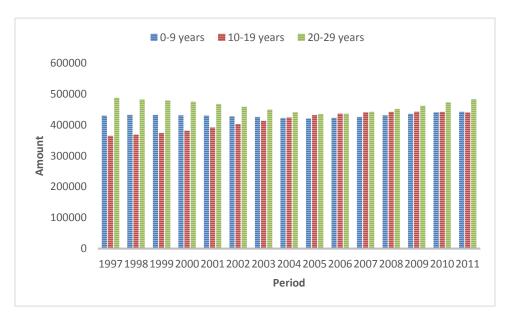
Appendix F: The Unemployment Ratio's from different nations compared to the Øresund region. The EU 27 has no data available till 1999, which can be observed by the trend on the 0,0% line from the 1994 till 1999 period. Data derive from Orestats (2013) and Eurostat (2013).



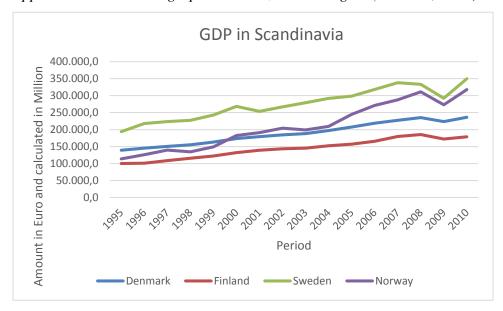
Appendix G: The Inactivity Rate within the Øresund. This is set out along the total Labour Force (Orestats, 2013).



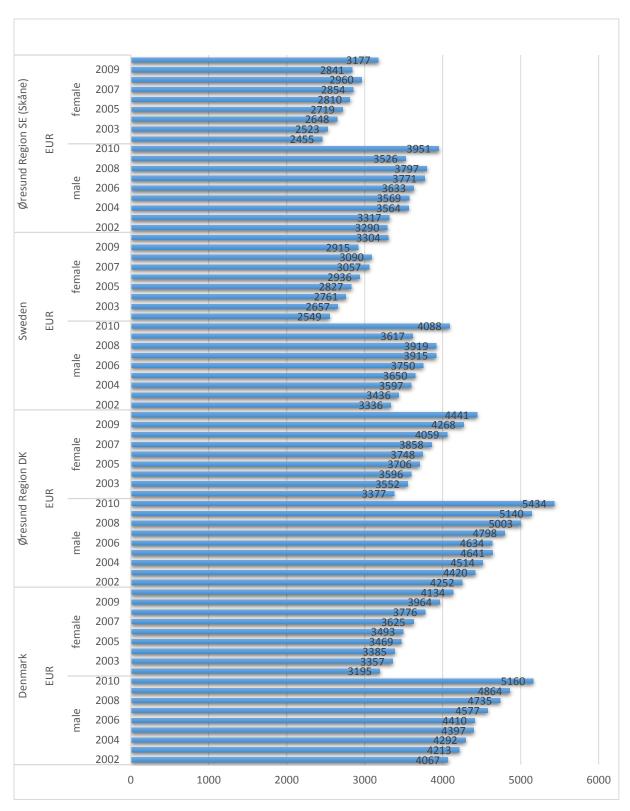
Appendix H: The Unemployment Rate for the youth population (Orestats, 2013).



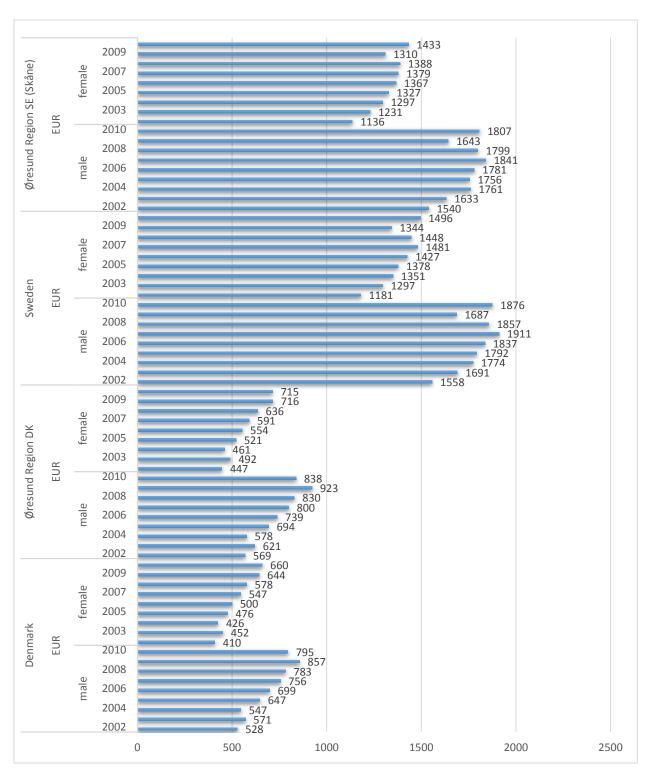
Appendix I: Youth demographics in the Øresund region (Orestats, 2013).



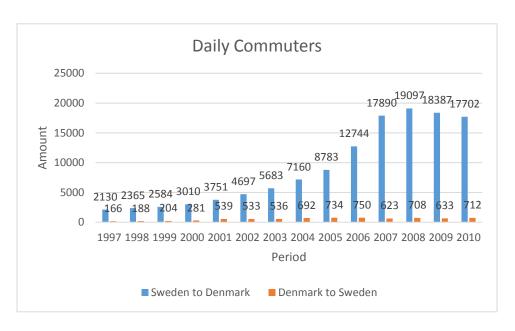
Appendix J: Gross Domestic Product of countries in Scandinavia (Eurostat, 2013).



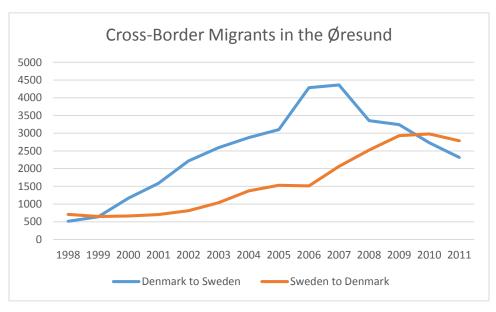
Appendix K: Average earnings in euros per month sorted by region (Denmark, Sweden, Danish part of Øresund and Swedish part of Øresund) gender (male and female) and period (data available only from 2002 till 2010 in Øresund). Data derive from Orestats (2013).



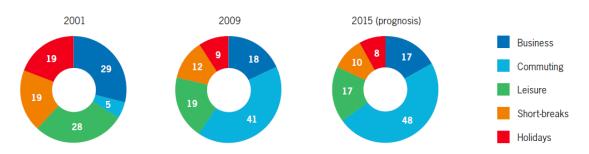
Appendix L: Same style table as the earnings table as can be seen on the previous page, but now it sets out the costs of employers in the same period ordered among the same units (Orestats, 2013).



Appendix M: An overview of the development of daily commuters from Sweden to Denmark and conversely (Orestats, 2013).



Appendix N: The number of migrants from the Danish part of the Øresund to the Swedish part and from the Swedish part of the Øresund to the Danish part. Data derive from Orestats (2013).



Appendix O: The main purpose of travel over the Øresund bridge (Øresundsbron, 2010; 10).