

# Cross-Border Regional Innovation System Integration: An Analytical Framework

Makkonen, T, Weidenfeld, A & Williams, A

Author post-print (accepted) deposited by Coventry University's Repository

**Original citation & hyperlink:**

Makkonen, T, Weidenfeld, A & Williams, A 2017, 'Cross-Border Regional Innovation System Integration: An Analytical Framework' *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, vol 108, no. 6, pp. 805-820

<https://dx.doi.org/10.1111/tesg.12223>

DOI [10.1111/tesg.12223](https://dx.doi.org/10.1111/tesg.12223)

ISSN 0040-747X

ESSN 1467-9663

Publisher: Wiley

**This is the peer reviewed version of the following article: Makkonen, T, Weidenfeld, A & Williams, A 2017, 'Cross-Border Regional Innovation System Integration: An Analytical Framework' *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, vol 108, no. 6, pp. 805-820, which has been published in final form at <https://dx.doi.org/10.1111/tesg.12223>. This article may be used for non-commercial purposes in accordance with Wiley Terms and Conditions for Self-Archiving.**

**Copyright © and Moral Rights are retained by the author(s) and/ or other copyright owners. A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge. This item cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the copyright holder(s). The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.**

**This document is the author's post-print version, incorporating any revisions agreed during the peer-review process. Some differences between the published version and this version may remain and you are advised to consult the published version if you wish to cite from it.**

# CROSS-BORDER REGIONAL INNOVATION SYSTEM INTEGRATION: AN ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

TEEMU MAKKONEN\*, ADI WEIDENFELD\*\* & ALLAN M. WILLIAMS\*\*\*

\*School of Hospitality and Tourism Management, University of Surrey; Rik Medlik Building, GU2 7XH Guildford, United Kingdom; and Department of Business and Economics, University of Southern Denmark, Alision 2, DK-6400, Sønderborg, Denmark. E-mails: teemu@sam.sdu.dk; t.makkonen@surrey.ac.uk

\*\*Department of Economics and International Development, Middlesex University, Williams Building, NW4 4BT, London, United Kingdom. E-mail: a.weidenfeld@mdx.ac.uk

\*\*\*School of Hospitality and Tourism Management, University of Surrey, Rik Medlik Building, GU2 7XH Guildford, United Kingdom. E-mail: allan.williams@surrey.ac.uk

Received: March 2015; accepted May 2016

---

## ABSTRACT

The importance of inter-regional co-operation and innovation are widely accepted in the development rhetoric of the European Union. The highlighted importance of both themes in the context of borderlands has recently led to the coining of a new concept, cross-border regional innovation system. However, little attention has been given to the empirical analysis of the concept. This paper suggests a framework for empirically validating the concept by examining the levels of integration between cross-border regions. The outcome is a proposed framework that can be operationalised by measurable indicators of cross-border co-operation in a regional innovation system setting. The framework was further tested with illustrative empirical cases that demonstrate its feasibility.

**Key words:** Cross-border region, European Union, integration, knowledge transfer, proximity, regional innovation system

---

## INTRODUCTION

Innovation and inter-regional co-operation are topical, persistent and recurrent themes in European Union (EU) policy concerns and documentation, with knowledge flows being integral to both themes. Therefore, understanding the obstacles and enablers of knowledge transfer is highly relevant for utilising the potential for learning and innovation via inter-regional co-operation, as geographical proximity *per se* does not always lead to high levels of knowledge flows. The promotion of socio-economic, and in particular the socio-cultural development of cross-border regions (CBRs) is highly significant

for achieving the cohesion and co-operation goals of the EU and its neighbours (European Commission 2012; OECD 2013). However, border regions tend to be more integrated with national centres rather than with neighbouring border regions (Prokkola 2008). Hence, the available empirical evidence, especially concerning the external borders of the EU, still highlights the importance of the nation state (Eskelinen & Kotilainen 2005).

There is considerable academic interest in cross-border networking and the integration of CBRs (Löfgren 2008; Platonov & Bergman 2012; Decoville *et al.* 2013). Recently, this has included the coining of a new innovation

systems concept, namely the Cross-Border Regional Innovation System (CBRIS) (Trippel 2010; Lundquist & Trippel 2013). However, the tendency of most firms to belong (even if sometimes, only weakly) to national or regional innovation systems in their home countries is an obstacle to developing cross-border linkages (Koschatzky 2000; Lundquist & Winther 2006). Accordingly, border regions can be bypassed in firm level cross-border co-operation, which (more) commonly occurs between firms located in the economic centres (capitals) of the respective countries (Krätke & Borst 2007). However, firms which have strong national linkages may also be effective at developing cross-border linkages. Therefore, exploration and validation of the theoretical proposition of there being relationships between CBRISs and different types of proximity will enable assessment of the long-term competitive advantage of CBRs and their ability to create common innovation systems (Lundquist & Trippel 2013). Given there has been little empirical application of the concept, the aim here is to address this research gap by summarising the existing conceptual works and developing, for the first time, a systematic analytical framework for empirically studying the levels of integration of CBRISs. Although acknowledging the limits of 'one-size-fits-all' solutions, that is, the shortcomings of quantitative cross-regional analyses in capturing the versatile nature of innovation co-operation processes, this paper identifies a set of measurable items in accordance with the dimensions of CBRIS development and proximity. In short, the paper will propose a set of indicators to enable researchers to analyse and compare different CBRISs in terms of their: (i) distance in various dimensions of proximity as well as (ii) levels of integration and intensity of cross-border knowledge transfer.

The remainder of this paper is organised as follows. First, the conceptual background of the CBRIS literature is presented. Second, the analytical framework is introduced together with reflections on the (relevant) geographical scales of analysis and illustrative empirical cases of CBRs which are indicative of its feasibility. Third, the utility of the proposed empirical validation, in the light of the

conducted feasibility check and relevant literature, is discussed in the concluding section together with suggestions for further studies.

## CROSS-BORDER REGIONAL INNOVATION SYSTEMS AND DIMENSIONS OF PROXIMITY

Originally the concept of regional innovation systems (RISs) was introduced to the literature by Cooke (1992) and since then the concept has evolved through the contributions of several authors (Braczyk *et al.* 1998; Asheim & Gertler 2005; Cooke 2008) alongside its counterparts, that is national, sectoral and technological innovation systems (Lundvall 1992; Edquist 1997; Malerba 2002). At the heart of the concept lies the importance of interactions between local firms, universities, research centres, infrastructure, knowledge transfer mechanisms, innovation and development policies and the workforce. The strengthening of the actors in an innovation system and the links between them should, therefore, lead to heightened innovation capacity in a given region. For example, in the Nordic countries the concept of innovation systems has long been incorporated in national and regional technology policies (Edquist & Lundvall 1993; Miettinen 2002), which seems to have been reasonably effective as reflected in Denmark, Finland and Sweden consistently being ranked among the most innovative countries in the world (Dutta *et al.* 2014).

Whereas, in the context of Euroregions, Perkmann (2003) has defined CBRs as bounded regional units composed of the territories of authorities participating in cross-border co-operation, they can more broadly be defined as areas consisting of neighbouring territories belonging to different nation states with political-administrative borders as well as economic, cognitive, cultural and social borders (see Weidenfeld 2013). These similarities and dissimilarities inherent in CBRs can both form major barriers but also offer potential for innovation co-operation and interaction (Koschatzky 2000). Thus, the role of policies in CBRISs is to support the exploitation of this potential. Consequently,

the RIS theory has been applied to cross-border settings including the following key determinants of CBRIS development as: (i) business (economic structure and specialisation); (ii) knowledge infrastructure (science base); (iii) relational (nature of linkages); (iv) socio-institutional (institutional set-up); (v) governance (policy structures) and (vi) accessibility dimensions, concluding that the emergence of a CBRIS depends on all these factors and their interplay (Trippel 2010; Lundquist & Trippel 2013). Since, the arguments made by the 'proximity school' have been a major facilitator and the backdrop to the conceptualisation of the CBRIS concept, the discussion of CBRISs is (and its measurement should be) closely tied to that of different types of borders and proximity (physical and relational). At the same time, economic analysts pay particular attention to their impact on inter-regional knowledge flows, spillovers and co-operation networks (OECD 2013). Physical proximity is related to the geographical dimensions of transaction and transportation costs, whereas relational proximity is commonly used as an umbrella term consisting of a number of non-tangible dimensions including cognitive (similarity of knowledge bases), cultural (shared language, religion etc.), institutional (similarity of informal constraints and formal rules shared by actors), social (personal long standing trust based linkages) and technological (shared technological experiences) proximities (Boschma 2005; Knoben & Oerlemans 2006; Balland *et al.* 2015). Given the nature of these different notions of relational proximity, being geographically close could potentially facilitate co-operation but does not necessarily result in high levels of knowledge transfer in CBRs.

The discussion on CBRIS specifically refers to the two sub-systems characterising RISs, that is, the knowledge generation (science base) and knowledge application and exploitation sub-systems (business dimension). These are supported by socio-cultural factors and regional policies. In an optimal case, there are intensive local and cross-border interactions between, and also within, the knowledge generation and the knowledge application and exploitation subsystems. Therefore, regional knowledge infrastructure

plays a prominent role in innovation in CBRISs. Establishing mechanisms, and specialised bridging organisations, to promote the diffusion and sharing of knowledge across borders is crucial in supporting the business dimension of a CBR in its innovative activities (Trippel 2010). However, if there is too wide a gap in the innovation performance (R&D intensity, patenting and licensing behaviour, new product launches, etc.) of regions, little knowledge will flow between them (Maggioni & Uberti 2007). Moreover in relation to cognitive proximity, distance in terms of a lack of a shared knowledge base and area of expertise hinders reciprocal (cross-border) learning (Asheim 2007). In short, cognitive proximity refers to individuals or companies sharing the same knowledge base and expertise for adopting a new technology or new knowledge (Boschma 2005). It is commonly considered to be a preliminary and necessary underlying condition for the influence of other types of proximities (Mattes 2012). Therefore, for example, technological proximity – relating for instance to shared job experiences – is perceived as a sub-dimension of cognitive proximity by some scholars (Boschma 2005; Huber 2012), but as a separate dimension by others; for example, in the context of CBRISs. Following Lundquist and Trippel (2013), here they are examined separately to simplify the complex knot of relational proximities. According to Trippel (2010) and Lundquist and Trippel (2013) a further advantage can be described through the relational dimension and trans-boundary relationships (e.g. student exchanges, co-patenting, co-publications and trade relations). Similarly, shared socio-institutional conventions (common history, language, beliefs, values, jurisdiction, etc.) and good accessibility are important to the cross-border exchange of knowledge. Moreover, the establishment of a CBRIS essentially requires a sufficient degree of political autonomy for effective governance of the regions constituting a CBR, that is, the regions in question should have a direct say in cross-border relations and not be subject to dominantly top down directives from the national state.

## INTEGRATION IN CROSS-BORDER REGIONAL INNOVATION SYSTEMS

The integration processes in CBRISs have been conceptualised in terms of having different stages of internal integration ranging from weakly, to semi, to strongly integrated systems (Lundquist & Trippl 2013). Each of these three forms has different levels of different types of proximity leading to various possibilities for cross-border knowledge transfer and interactions. According to Lundquist and Trippl (2013), weakly integrated systems are characterised by institutional thinness, strong embeddedness in the nation state, low levels of cross-border economic relations, knowledge interaction and innovation linkages. In semi-integrated systems, innovation co-operation occurs only in a selected few industries, but is not a region-wide phenomenon. There might be innovative cross-border agglomerations of specific industries, but not a common CBRIS. In contrast, strongly integrated CBRISs are characterised by high mobility of workers and students, firm-level networking, and academic collaboration as well as significant flows of knowledge, skills, expertise and organisational linkages. In reality, however, individual CBRISs are likely to exhibit varying stages of integration across their different dimensions. Trippl (2010) assumes that, even globally, only a few CBRs have favourable conditions for achieving a strongly integrated CBRIS.

Integration is likely to be strong where there are similarities in the specialisation of economic structures, industrial sectors and activities between adjacent border regions as well as complementarities in knowledge expertise, skills and economic activities, which stimulate innovative collaboration and knowledge flows between regions (OECD 2013). This is closely tied to the Marshall-Jacobs debate in economic geography: in opposition to Marshall's (1961) views on the importance of industrial specialisation, Jacobs (1969) has stressed the importance of the positive impacts of diversity and variety. Subsequently, this idea was extended to cover the synergies of different but technologically related sectors, namely, technological relatedness (Frenken *et al.* 2007; Cooke 2008). More recently, it has

been clarified that 'the principle of related variety is that economic development is driven by interactions between the sectors of regional economies that are related in terms of technology or industry' (Melkas *et al.* 2016, p. 490). Sufficient difference engenders novel re-combinations of different but complementary knowledge between technologically related sectors, and has potential for regional diversification and innovation (Frenken *et al.* 2007; Boschma & Frenken 2011). Related variety is pivotal in CBRIS development. This implies that the long term development of CBRs depends on their ability to diversify into new applications and new sectors, while building on their current knowledge bases and competences (Asheim *et al.* 2011; Weidenfeld 2013). Relational proximity must be limited as too much proximity might lead to overlap and create lock-in effects and competition. In contrast, limited relational distance engenders complementarities and interactive learning (Boschma, 2005). In particular, high levels of similarity in terms of sharing a technical language are important, but as shown by Huber (2012) a certain degree of dissimilarity in terms of know-how, know-what and the way of thinking can be fruitful for R&D workers. Therefore, balanced levels of relational proximity between sectors on both side of the border, including some degree of dissimilarities and complementarities, could increase integration while maintaining cross-border knowledge transfers. Hence, related variety would constitute a propitious base for collaboration leading to a higher degree of integration within CBRISs. Additionally, reflecting the current ethos of the European Union in promoting 'smart specialisation', the CBRIS concept could be discussed under 'joint-specialisation' (Muller *et al.* 2015). Knowledge producers on one side of the border could be linked to knowledge users and applicants on the other side. Nonetheless, this also requires a certain level of common knowledge base and shared technological expertise.

While there is an emerging conceptualisation of CBRISs, in terms of related variety and the different dimensions of proximity, the empirical evidence remains limited. To date only a few studies have empirically

tested or sought to validate CBRIS integration. Notably, with a specific emphasis on the biotech industry in the Øresund CBR, Hansen (2013) has emphasised the importance of the dimension of accessibility for heightened cross-border integration. However, he further underlined that improvements in accessibility do not in themselves guarantee intensified integration, if they are not supported by targeted policy measures. Additionally, the local Øresundskomiteen (i.e. the committee responsible for political collaboration in the Øresund CBR) has constructed and employed an index measuring the 'growth of integration' in the CBR since the opening of the Øresund Bridge in 2000. Unfortunately, the index (<http://www.oresundskomiteen.org/en/2013/10/the-oeresund-integration-index/>) does not cover innovation co-operation, but measures cross-border mobility (traffic, migration and commuting), trade volumes and cross-cultural mingling. Other than this study, a rather descriptive attempt to define empirically the varying levels of integration according to different dimensions of proximity in the Øresund and Centrope CBRs (Lundquist & Trippel 2009) is the only existing attempt to validate the concept of CBRIS as a whole. It uses statistics on shares of employment, number of students and R&D personnel, and is an important point of reference for the analytical framework discussed below. More recently, however, the concept has also aroused initial criticism: first, for its macro-level systems perspective that underappreciates the role that individual actors and institutions can have in facilitating cross-border co-operation; and, second, for its focus on cross-border linkages that ignores the role that national and international networks can have in steering CBRIS integration (van den Broek & Smulders 2014, 2015). Therefore, while there is considerable debate about conceptualisation of CBRIS, it is important to stress that for empirical purposes the concept of CBRIS adopted here is quite straightforwardly drawn from the publications by Trippel (2010) and Lundquist and Trippel (2009, 2013).

## DEVELOPING AN ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

The suggested framework in this paper combines the importance of different types of proximities with the stages of integration of CBRISs in order to provide an approach to the empirical treatment and validation of the concept. However, the scaling used in, for example, Lundquist and Trippel's (2009) study is fairly subjective, and there are no readily available benchmarks on every dimension which allow the determination of what is close and what is distant in terms of the various dimensions of proximity. Therefore, in order to investigate the concept of CBRIS we are faced with the question of how best to describe and measure the different dimensions presented in Table 1, that is, how to operationalise them. Keeping in mind the difficulties involved in collecting data for regions from various countries, and the fact that this is the first attempt to develop a comprehensive empirical framework for testing the feasibility of the CBRIS concept, the researchers proposed the operationalisation of measures presented in Table 1.

In relation to the scope of study presented in the proposed analytical framework (Table 1), a distinction is made between quantitative and qualitative studies (Punch 2014). Preferably, both approaches should be applied in the study of CBRIS dimensions; quantitative accounts provide the big picture and generalisations, and qualitative studies probe in greater detail what lies behind the observed numerical illustrations. Consequently, qualitative studies can be applied for building hypothesis to be tested with quantitative methods and larger sets of CBRs. However, in practice there are difficulties in operationalising some dimensions of CBRIS into measurable indices discussed below.

**Economic structures and specialisation** – The dimension of economic structures and specialisation is closely connected to cognitive and technological proximity, which relate to shared educational and job experiences. Therefore, the dimension of economic structures and specialisation is described here

Table 1. *Analytical framework.*

RIS dimension	Types of proximity	Scope	Operationalisation	Prospective databases/sources for quantitative analyses
Economic structures and specialisation	Technological cognitive	Quantitative	Sectoral statistics;	National statistical authorities;
Science base and knowledge infrastructure	Cognitive	Qualitative	Trade flows	OECD; Eurostat
Nature of linkages	Cognitive technological	Qualitative	Publications;	Web of Science; Scopus;
		Qualitative	Exchange students	Google Scholar
		Qualitative	Patents;	REGPAT; PATSTAT; CORDIS
		Qualitative (Quantitative)	R&D collaboration;	
			Licences	
Institutional set-up	Institutional (formal + informal)	Qualitative (Quantitative)	Acceptance of integration;	(National statistical authorities;
	social cultural		Trust; Common values, institutions and practices	Eurobarometer surveys;
Policy structures	Institutional (formal)	Qualitative (Quantitative)	Shared policy goals at the local and national levels	Hofstede Centre)
			Commuters	(Association of European Border Regions)
Accessibility	Physical	Quantitative	Cross-border traffic;	National statistical authorities
		Qualitative		

Source: authors' own elaboration.

through the similarities and dissimilarities between the industrial bases of, and trade flows between, the regions. The scope of the studies can be quantitative. This does not, of course, exclude qualitative studies. In qualitative studies, the focus should be on investigating, utilising interview or questionnaire data, how similarity or dissimilarity affects cross-border co-operation and its impacts. In quantitative terms the dimensions should be operationalised through the use of industrial or sectoral data on, for example, employment (accessible from Eurostat and various national databases) to determine how close or distant the opposing sides of the border are in terms of their economic structures. When the economic structures, in terms of industrial branches, are nearly identical on different sides of the border, there is a high probability of collaboration but there may be relatively little to learn from each other. In contrast, if there is very little in common between the local industries on the different sides of the border, the technical language is likely to be too dissimilar to facilitate common learning processes. Trade statistics, in turn, would enable the comparison of CBRs in terms of their economic integration. However, the mere presence of high levels of trade flows might signal the existence of (hierarchical) supply chains with little innovative collaboration. Thus, the relationship between technological proximity and knowledge transfer (and innovation) is likely to take the form of an inverted U-shape (Mowery *et al.* 1998).

#### Science bases and knowledge infrastructure –

The cognitive dimension is about the distance between and balance of science bases, that is, being close enough to be able to cooperate, but also being far enough for effective learning through complementarities (Nooteboom *et al.* 2007). Interdisciplinary collaboration between the regions, is commonly expected to result in more novel findings, compared to intra-disciplinary research, as is also evident in the current emphasis in the EU's research funding calls (van Rijnsoever & Hessels 2011). Again, too much similarity can be an obstacle, whereas lack of similarities also hinders collaboration. The selection of an appropriate measurement of cognitive

similarities and science bases in the regional context is contentious, but a well-documented source of data to investigate this dimension can be derived from scientific publications data (Hansen 2013; Makkonen 2015) obtainable from various publication databases such as Web of Science (WoS), Scopus and Google Scholar. Accordingly, the application of a 'cognitive proximity measure' (CPM) based on similarities/dissimilarities of scientific fields in publishing, would be useful: a correlation measure ( $CPM_{ij}$ ), where  $tf_{ir}$  and  $tf_{jr}$  (term frequencies) are the number of times a classification  $r$  is assigned to the regions  $i$  and  $j$ , can be calculated to investigate the extent to which two regions ( $i$  and  $j$ ) publish in the same proportion in each research area. Identical profiles would be measured as a value of one, while completely different profiles would be measured as zero. Equation (1) takes the following form (Jaffe 1986; Peri 2005; McNamee 2013):

$$CPM_{ij} = \frac{\sum_{r(1)}^{r(n)} (tf_{ir})(tf_{jr})}{\sqrt{\sum_{r(1)}^{r(n)} (tf_{ir})^2} \sqrt{\sum_{r(1)}^{r(n)} (tf_{jr})^2}}. \quad (1)$$

The index scores can then be compared to the numbers of cross-border joint-publications or patents and other innovation measures (R&D collaboration projects, licensing, etc.) to evaluate the impacts of cognitive proximity on the integration of science bases, cross-border knowledge flows and the overall innovativeness of the CBRs. Even though Jaffe's (1986) measure discussed here is one of the most popular ways for depicting cognitive proximity (McNamee 2013), it still has weaknesses since it does not differentiate between 'close' and 'far' classifications specifically in terms of complementarities. Therefore, the Mahalanobis similarity measure could be applied to identify the distance between different scientific or technological fields based on the frequency that they are observed conjointly within individual articles or patent applications (Aldieri 2013). Here too, the relationship between cognitive proximity and knowledge transfer (and innovation) is likely to take the form of an inverted U-shape (Broekel & Boschma 2011). The issue of



science bases is also very much related to the existing knowledge infrastructure: if a CBR is thin on local research institutes, including universities, and high-tech firms, little knowledge can be expected to flow across the border in terms of co-authored publications or research collaborations.

Another measure to depict the level of integration of science bases (and knowledge infrastructure) could be derived from the numbers of exchange students (Pellenbarg & van Steen 2015) in a region that have come to study from the adjacent region. Since exchange students, and also possibly exchange teachers and research visits (Smeby & Trondal 2005), describe the process rather than the outcomes (publications) of collaboration in a CBRIS, these measures can be seen as complementary. Even though the dimension can be analysed with quantitative data at the EU-level, the employment of qualitative study settings is advisable for detailed descriptions involving interviews with, or questionnaire surveys of, researchers, policy-makers, etc. Qualitative studies would help discovering the causes behind the limited levels of cross-border co-operation and the impacts of integration into other non-quantifiable aspects of cross-border scientific co-operation in relation to the regional science bases and knowledge infrastructures.

**Nature of linkages** – Similar innovation performances are critical for successful knowledge sharing between regions (Maggioni & Uberti 2007). Hence, if a CBR is constructed from regions with differing innovation performance (strong vs. weak) little knowledge is expected to flow between them. In addition to secondary descriptive innovation measurements (e.g. the Regional Innovation Scoreboard based on data from the Community Innovation Survey), the dimension of linkages should be operationalised through technological and cognitive proximity lenses. This can be achieved by exploring the similarity or dissimilarity of patenting behaviour, whereas cross-regional knowledge flows and linkages can be analysed through data on co-patenting (Jaffe & Trajtenberg 1999; Paci & Usai 2009), in this case, on the opposing sides of the border. Here again, a

‘technological proximity index’, operationalised in line with the CPM (Equation 1) – but according to the International Patent Classification (IPC) (Jaffe 1986; Peri 2005) – would provide useful information on the similarities/dissimilarities on patenting behaviour across the border. Again, the expected outcomes are likely to resemble that of an inverted U-shape (Mowery *et al.* 1998; Nootboom *et al.* 2007). Of course, patents are not the only type of cross-border knowledge flows with potential for innovations. Thus, in addition to the well documented joint-patent data (e.g. the PATSTAT database of the European Patent Office), additional measures on R&D collaboration (e.g. the CORDIS database of the European Commission) or outsourcing and product licenses would contribute to acquiring a fuller picture of integration in terms of (innovation) linkages between bordering regions. Again, as in the case of the science base and knowledge infrastructure, the use of qualitative study material should also be encouraged. Similarly, applying methods from social network analyses could provide valuable information on the personal and organisational linkages across the border in order to contribute to a better understanding of which types of cross-border linkages matter most in economic terms (Ter Wal & Boschma 2009).

**Institutional set-up** – There are three reference points for institutional set-up: institutional proximity, understood as differences in informal and formal rules, social proximity, namely, long standing and trust-based linkages among partners co-operating across borders, and cultural proximity, for example a shared language (Lundquist & Trippel 2009). The institutional set-up is visible through the existence or non-existence of: (i) informal institutions, that is the social acceptance of CBRISs integration; (ii) formal institutions, that is the existence of common institutions and practices (projects) aimed at enhancing the integration between the border regions; (iii) social trust and (iv) cultural similarities among the inhabitants of bordering regions. In operationalising such an intangible dimension of CBRIS integration, the lack of available statistics describing the

dimension means that secondary data offer little support for extensive quantitative analyses. In a quantitative approach, when using econometric and statistical methods, institutions could be modelled by employing dummy variables or indices based on various sources (see below). However, the institutional set-up dimension would benefit from being operationalised through qualitative studies. Formal institutions can, up to a certain point, be observed through desk studies. The informal and trust aspects of institutional set-up require primary data collection, typically via questionnaire and interview data, in order to derive a picture of the acceptance of CBRIS integration, and social trust, between the inhabitants of differing sides of the border (van den Broek & Smulders 2014).

Additionally, an all-encompassing feature is the importance of cultural proximity (Bhagat *et al.* 2002). However, while a common and shared culture strongly influences the other dimensions of proximity, it is of particular relevance for the notion of institutional proximity, since it includes a set of cultural habits, values and norms (Boschma 2005). These cultural dissimilarities can be measured quantitatively and qualitatively in terms of linguistic and ethnic distance or differences in values (Lundén & Zalamans 2001; Serva & Petroni 2008; Minkov & Hofstede 2014). In short, knowledge flows more easily across borders if the adjacent populations share common cultural features. However, in practice the intangible nature of institutional, cultural and social proximities, together with the problems in operationalising the dimension into measurable items, render institutional set-up mostly outside the scope of quantitative EU-level analyses.

**Policy structures** – The dimension of policy structures is related to the formal dimension of institutional proximity. The factors which hinder integration are low levels of interest from the respective nation states, and an overly strong top-down direction of local actors in their corresponding regional and national innovation systems (Lundquist & Trippel 2009). Therefore, the policy structures dimension could be studied through shared (innovation, science and regional) policy goals at the national and local levels. That is,

do both sides of the border consider cross-border collaboration, joint-innovation and R&D co-operation in similar ways, and do the existing policy documents recognise the importance of cross-border collaboration for innovation. The operationalisation of policy goals into measurable indicators presents considerable challenges, and requires a qualitative approach. This would involve studying the documentation of existing policies and strategies complemented with interview or questionnaire data on the opinions of local and national policy-makers. Therefore, statistical EU-level studies with measurable data on shared policy goals at the national and local levels would require extensive amounts of data collection and subjective operationalisation. A possibility exists, however, of constructing indices for tentative and illustrative analyses (see below) or using dummy variables for econometric analyses, but in practice detailed investigations of the dimension of policy structures are likely to lie outside the scope of further quantitative studies of CBRIS integration.

**Accessibility** – This dimension refers to physical proximity, which facilitates cross-border knowledge transfer (Lundquist & Trippel 2009). However, the absolute distance between regions is not as important as the actual time and costs of transactions – which to some extent can be captured by travel time calculators and the methods of transport geography (Salonen 2014). Therefore, the accessibility dimension should additionally be described through the ease and volume of cross-border traffic. Inside the Schengen Area, due to the freedom of movement provisions, measuring the ease of cross-border traffic is less acute compared to other parts of the world. However, in some circumstances, for example when examining case regions on the external EU-borders, the issue is highly relevant. In addition, the volumes of cross-border traffic can be employed to describe the intensity of cross-border flows in terms of tourism and commuting (Decoville *et al.* 2013; Weidenfeld 2013; Durand & Nelles 2014), which are both highly significant for knowledge transfer and CBRIS integration.

**Geographical scale** – The geographical scale to which the CBRIS framework refers poses an interesting question: does every region have a RIS, and every CBR a CBRIS? Moreover, it also re-introduces the problematic of delineating an innovation system (Isaksen 2001; Carlsson *et al.* 2002; Doloreux & Parto 2005). In addition to official EU-level classifications, such as NUTS and LAU regions, cross-border twin cities, for example, might offer interesting cases since the development of cross-border linkages is more concrete and mundane in twin cities than is evident at larger geographical scales (Eskelinen & Kotilainen 2005; Joenniemi & Sergunin 2011). Thus, twin cities are a fitting example of CBRs in the way that Perkmann (2003) has described them: indeed, they commonly are bounded regional units of authorities participating in cross-border co-operation. National policies also affect the reasoning here: in many countries, the regions have limited legislative and regulative power, whereas cities have a more direct influence, for example in the right to levy taxes. Therefore, even though large regions have greater possibilities (in terms of population, resources, etc.) for interaction, they commonly lack regulatory powers (Sotarauta & Kautonen 2007), which support the use of smaller regional scales, such as twin cities, in CBRIS analysis. Thus, the appropriate size of a region to be considered as an effective CBRIS remains an open question. Consequently, it is likely that the appropriate geographical scale is country and CBR-specific, that is, it depends on the local peculiarities and flows of people, trade and knowledge, as well as on national and regional regulatory power divisions (see Weidenfeld 2013). In addition, rather than depicting CBRs with little or no cross-border interaction as weakly integrated systems, globally it might be more apt to designate some CBRs as lacking even the most basic characteristics (interaction, knowledge flows, significant cross-border traffic, etc.) of CBRISs, and therefore having no system at all. Quite simply, there is a need to recognise that, due to the nature of CBRs, the dynamics of innovation systems in cross-border regional settings may be absent.

**Empirical application** – In order to demonstrate the feasibility of our proposed analytical framework, we conducted a pilot study utilising Danish CBRs including the Danish-Swedish CBR of Øresund and the Danish-German CBRs of Fehmarnbelt and Sønderjylland-Schleswig. The fact that one side of the cases are all from the same country helps to control for potential cultural specificities. Of these, Øresund is a well-known example of cross-border integration (Nauwelaers *et al.* 2013), whereas earlier literature has designated Sønderjylland-Schleswig and Fehmarnbelt as less integrated (Klatt & Hermann 2011; Makkonen 2015). For empirical purposes, we applied the principles stated above and delineated the CBRs as follows: (i) Øresund includes the Danish Capital Region (excl. Bornholm) and the Swedish Scania Region; (ii) Fehmarnbelt includes the Danish municipalities of Lolland and Guldborgsund and the German district of Ostholstein and (iii) Sønderjylland-Schleswig includes the Danish Municipalities of Åbenrå, Haderslev, Sønderborg and Tønder, and the German districts of Flensburg (urban), Nordfriesland and Schleswig-Flensburg (Figure 1).

Our measurement of the dimensions follows the methods outlined in Table 1. For example, in the case of the nature of linkages we extracted the patent data from the REGPAT database for each of our case study regions. The number of patents per patent class (IPC – main sections) on adjacent sides of the border correspond to  $tf_{i,r}$  and  $tf_{j,r}$  (term frequencies) in Equation 1. This procedure was similarly applied to the dimensions of economic structures and specialisation, and science base and knowledge infrastructure, where the required term frequencies correspond, respectively, to the industrial sectors of employees (broad NACE codes – gathered from national statistical authorities) and the reported scientific fields of academic publications (in WoS database).

For institutional set-up, an index – comprised of the share of (ethno-linguistic) Swedes/Germans living on the Danish side of the border (see Schulze & Wolf 2009) and Hofstede's cultural dimensions on a national level (from Denmark Statistics and Hofstede Centre) – was constructed. The limitations of

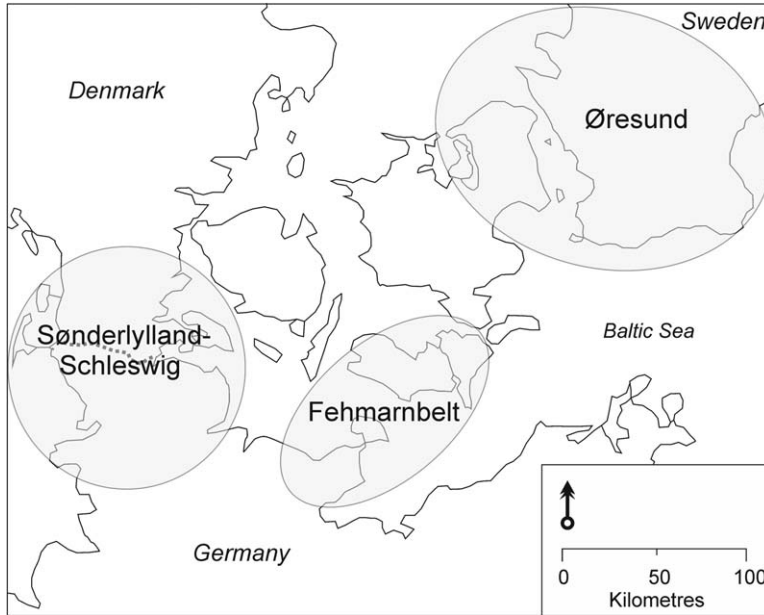


Figure 1. Øresund, Fehmarnbelt and Sønderylland-Schleswig.

the latter in depicting regional variations (Minkov & Hofstede 2014) is acknowledged. For policy structures we relied on a rudimentary index score taking into account shared policy goals relating to formal institutions. That is, whether there is a (common) organisation promoting cross-border integration, how long this organisation has been active and whether the work done by the organisation has been acknowledged with the 'Sail of Papenburg Cross-Border Award' granted by the European Association of Border Regions. For accessibility, we relied on estimated numbers of daily commuters across the border in each CBR (Buch *et al.* 2009; Matthiessen 2010; Nauwelaers *et al.* 2013) normalised according to their total population. The proximity measures and index scores are illustrated in Figure 2. The higher the scores (on a scale from 0 to 1) the more proximate/integrated the adjacent sides of the border are (in relation to the other case CBRs) in each dimension. It must be stressed that while the other indices use established data sources, the institutional set-up and policy structures measures are more challenging, but even the explanatory measures proposed

here indicate the potential for developing more sophisticated indices.

Figure 2 can be viewed in two ways. First, the figure shows how empirical data can be used to describe CBRIS integration. However, further consistent measures that would address CBRIS integration in greater detail need to be developed. Second, the figure indicates the initial feasibility of our proposed framework: Øresund scores relatively high on all measured dimensions of cross-border integration, when compared to the less integrated Sønderylland-Schleswig and Fehmarnbelt. Moreover, there are relatively large local minorities and high potential for integration in Sønderylland-Schleswig, whereas Fehmarnbelt is a cross-border region at the initial stages of integration (Klatt & Hermann 2011). Further statistical analyses are needed to determine whether the CBRIS dimensions are equally important for cross-border integration or do some of them 'weight' more than the others, and to test the hypothesised U-shaped relations between proximities and innovation, and could be the scope of future studies. However, this brief feasibility analysis does demonstrate that the framework can differentiate

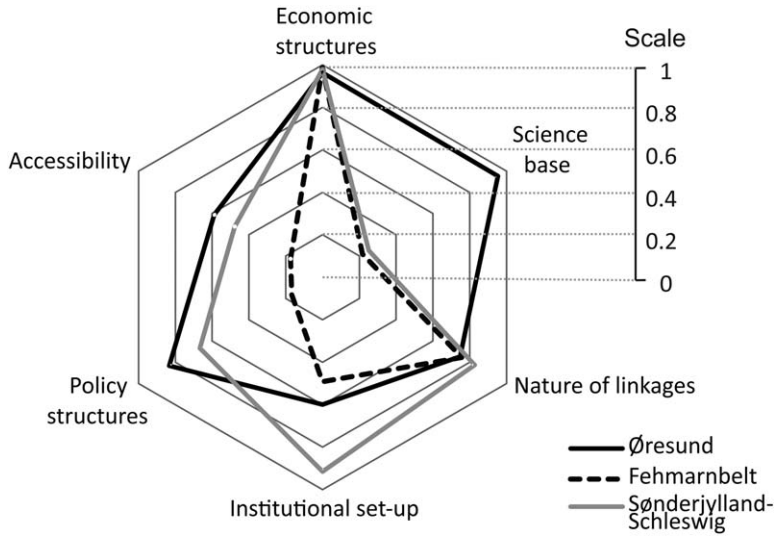


Figure 2. Proximity measures and index scores for the different dimensions of CBRIS integration in the selected regions.

different types of CBRIS *vis-à-vis* their stages of integration.

## CONCLUSIONS AND DIRECTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The possibilities of researching CBRIS integration have been discussed here in terms of the combination of varying dimensions of proximity. An analytical framework, with suggestions on measurable items and the scope of research, was proposed as a basis for further studies to validate the theoretical underpinnings discussed in the earlier literature on CBRIS integration (Tripl 2010; Lundquist & Tripl 2013). In line with this, the problematic of delineating a suitable geographical scale for analysing CBRISs was discussed in the light of earlier critical reflections on the concept of RIS. In short, it is probable that world-wide many CBRs lack the preconditions for successful cross-border collaboration that are a precondition for developing into strongly integrated CBRISs. This, however, does not mean that the concept of CBRIS lacks utility when considering and analysing the economic development and future prospects of CBRs, especially in the European context. On the contrary, the

concept of CBRIS is advanced here as an interesting and important direction for further studies into borderlands and cross-border co-operation. The illustrative analysis of the empirical cases provide tentative but promising support for the feasibility of the framework for validating the conceptual remarks on CBRIS. The analysis indicates, that proximities do matter for CBRIS integration: more integrated regions score higher on the measured dimensions that are based on varying types of proximities. It also suggests that, once operationalised as in our examples, the concept of CBRIS can be useful for empirical cross-regional comparisons of border regions by revealing their levels of integration. However, it has to be kept in mind that, due to data availability issues, the suggested indicators (patents, publications, etc.) depict innovation in a rather narrow 'science, technology and innovation' mode. A broader view, including also the 'doing, using and interacting' mode of innovation (Jensen *et al.* 2007), would require other indicators that are more challenging in comparable cross-border contexts.

Therefore, since the framework presented here remains one of the first attempts to describe a feasible approach for future studies, further developments of the framework

and empirical studies to validate it are required in order to draw more definite conclusions about the integration processes in CBRISs. Such research should encompass analysis utilising quantitative data to depict the impacts of different observable measures and dimensions (related to cognitive and technological proximities) on the ease, volume and impacts of knowledge flows in cross-border settings. As it stands, the relative availability of statistics on internal EU-borders offers a possibility for further statistical studies, using quantitative data, to test and model the impacts of different types of linkages and knowledge flows on the integration processes of CBRISs. However, in keeping with the ethos of the EU (European Commission 2012), the external EU-borders should not be excluded from these analyses, which signifies the need for more comprehensive data collection between the neighbouring regions of the EU.

Further statistical studies should take advantage of the existing databases to combine a comprehensive dataset for analyses on a quantitative EU-level. In line with this, further elaborations of the more intangible aspects of CBRIS integration through the use of questionnaires and interviews directed at city officials, regional development agencies, local companies, etc. will contribute to drawing a more precise picture, for example, in terms of the impacts of formal and informal institutions and social acceptance of integration (i.e. institutional and social proximities). This is highlighted here as an important avenue for further studies. On a qualitative scale, this should include the operationalisation of questionnaire items with survey data as well as a study approach that employs interviews to provide a better understanding of the processes that lie beneath the quantitative aspects of the integration of CBRIS.

To conclude, the conceptual literature on CBRISs has, thus far, only explored several related issues of innovation systems, proximity and integration without much emphasis on depicting these various strands of the literature in a way that could guide potential attempts to analyse the concept empirically. Therefore, this paper has been the first systematic effort to derive an analytical framework to pave way for

further empirical studies to focus more precisely on which dimensions of CBRIS development and types of proximity matter the most for CBRIS integration: what is the optimum amount of similarity to be considered as ideal for cross-border innovation co-operation and how to assign threshold values or pinpoint the differences between the various stages of CBRIS integration?

#### Acknowledgements

We are thankful for the anonymous reviewers for their constructive comments on improving the paper. This work was supported by the Marie Curie Actions (Intra-European Fellowship for career development) within the Seventh Framework Programme (FP7) of the EU under Grant PIEF-GA-2013-624930.

#### REFERENCES

- ALDIERI, L. (2013), Knowledge Technological Proximity: Evidence from US and European Patents. *Economics of Innovation and New Technology* 22, pp. 807–819.
- ASHEIM, B. (2007), Differentiated Knowledge Bases and Varieties of Regional Innovation System. *Innovation* 20, pp. 223–241.
- ASHEIM, B. & M. GERTLER (2005), The Geography of Innovation. In: J. FAGERBERG, D. MOWERY & R. NELSON, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Innovation*, pp. 291–317. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- ASHEIM, B., H. LAWTON SMITH & C. OUGHTON (2011), Regional Innovation Systems: Theory, Empirics and Policy. *Regional Studies* 45, pp. 875–891.
- BALLAND, P-A., R. BOSCHMA & K. FRENKEN (2015), Proximity and Innovation: From Statics to Dynamics. *Regional Studies* 49, pp. 907–920.
- BHAGAT, R., B. KEDIA, P. HARVESTON & H. TRIANDIS (2002), Cultural Variations in the Cross-Border Transfer of Organizational Knowledge: An Integrative Framework. *Academy of Management Review* 27, pp. 204–221.
- BOSCHMA, R. (2005), Proximity and Innovation: A Critical Assessment. *Regional Studies* 39, pp. 61–74.
- BOSCHMA, R. & K. FRENKEN (2011), The Emerging Empirics of Evolutionary Economic Geography. *Journal of Economic Geography* 11, pp. 295–307.

- BRACZYK, H.-J., P. COOKE & M. HEIDENREICH, eds., (1998), *Regional Innovation Systems*. London: UCL Press.
- BROEKEL, T. & R. BOSCHMA (2011), Knowledge Networks in the Dutch Aviation Industry: The Proximity Paradox. *Journal of Economic Geography* 12, pp. 409–433.
- BUCH, T., T. SCHMIDT & A. NIEBUHR (2009), Cross-border Commuting in the Danish-German Border Region: Integration, Institutions and Cross-border Interaction. *Journal of Borderlands Studies* 24, pp. 38–54.
- CARLSSON, B., S. JACOBSSON, M. HOLMÉN & A. RICKNE (2002), Innovation Systems: Analytical and Methodological Issues. *Research Policy* 31, pp. 233–245.
- COOKE, P. (1992), Regional Innovation Systems: Competitive Regulation in the New Europe. *Geoforum* 23, pp. 365–382.
- COOKE, P. (2008), Regional Innovation Systems, Clean Technology and Jacobian Cluster-Platform Policies. *Regional Science, Policy and Practice* 1, pp. 23–45.
- DECOVILLE, A., F. DURAND, C. SOHN & O. WALTHER (2013), Comparing Cross-border Metropolitan Integration in Europe: Towards a Functional Typology. *Journal of Borderlands Studies* 28, pp. 221–237.
- DOLOREUX, D. & S. PARTO (2005), Regional Innovation Systems: Current Discourse and Unresolved Issues. *Technology in Society* 27, pp. 133–153.
- DURAND, F. & J. NELLES (2014), Binding Cross-Border Regions: An Analysis of Cross-Border Governance in Lille-Kortrijk-Tournai Eurometropolis. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 105, pp. 573–590.
- DUTTA, S., B. LANVIN & S. WUNSCH-VINCENT, eds., (2014), *The Global Innovation Index 2014*. Geneva: WIPO.
- EDQUIST, C., ed., (1997), *Systems of Innovation*. London: Pinter.
- EDQUIST, C. & B.-Å. LUNDBALL (1993), Comparing the Danish and Swedish Systems of Innovation. In: R. NELSON, ed., *National Innovation Systems*, pp. 133–153. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- ESKELINEN, H. & J. KOTILAINEN (2005), A Vision of a Twin City: Exploring the Only Case of Adjacent Settlements at the Finnish-Russian Border. *Journal of Borderlands Studies* 20, pp. 31–46.
- EUROPEAN COMMISSION (2012), *Delivering on a New Neighbourhood Policy*. Brussels: European Commission.
- FRENKEN, K., F. VAN OORT & T. VERBURG (2007), Related Variety, Unrelated Variety and Regional Economic Growth. *Regional Studies* 41, pp. 685–697.
- HANSEN, T. (2013), Bridging Regional Innovation: Cross-border Collaboration in the Öresund Region. *Geografisk Tidsskrift* 113, pp. 25–38.
- HUBER, F. (2012), On the Role and Interrelationship of Spatial, Social and Cognitive Proximity: Personal Knowledge Relationships of R&D Workers in the Cambridge Information Technology Cluster. *Regional Studies* 46, pp. 1169–1182.
- ISAKSEN, A. (2001), Building Regional Innovation Systems: Is Endogenous Industrial Development Possible in the Global Economy? *Canadian Journal of Regional Science* 14, pp. 101–120.
- JACOBS, J. (1969), *The Economy of Cities*. New York: Vintage.
- JAFFE, A. (1986), Technological Opportunity and Spillovers of R&D: Evidence from Firm's Patents, Profits, and Market Value. *American Economic Review* 76, pp. 984–1001.
- JAFFE, A. & M. TRAJTENBERG (1999), International Knowledge Flows: Evidence from Patent Citations. *Economics of Innovation and New Technology* 8, pp. 105–136.
- JENSEN, M., B. JOHNSON, E. LORENZ & B.-Å. LUNDBALL (2007), Forms of Knowledge and Modes of Innovation. *Research Policy* 36, pp. 680–693.
- JOENNIEMI, P. & A. SERGUNIN (2011), When Two Aspire to Become One: City-twinning in Northern Europe. *Journal of Borderland Studies* 26, pp. 231–242.
- KLATT, M. & H. HERRMANN (2011), Half Empty or Half Full? Over 30 Years of Regional Cross-Border Co-operation within the EU: Experiences at the Dutch-German and Danish-German Border. *Journal of Borderlands Studies* 26, pp. 65–87.
- KNOBEN, J. & L. OERLEMANS (2006), Proximity and Inter-organizational Collaboration: A Literature Review. *International Journal of Management Reviews* 8, pp. 71–89.
- KOSCHATZKY, K. (2000), A River Is a River: Cross-border Networking between Baden and Alsace. *European Planning Studies* 8, pp. 429–449.
- KRÄTKE, S. & R. BORST (2007), EU Eastern Enlargement and the Configuration of German-Polish Inter-firm Linkages. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 98, pp. 621–640.
- LÖFGREN, O. (2008), Regionauts: The Transformation of Cross-border Regions in Scandinavia.

- European Urban and Regional Studies* 15, pp. 195–209.
- LUNDÉN, T. & D. ZALAMANS (2001), Local Co-operation, Ethnic Diversity and State Territoriality: The Case of Haparanda and Tornio on the Sweden-Finland Border. *GeoJournal* 54, pp. 33–42.
- LUNDQUIST, K-J. & M. TRIPPL (2009), *Towards Cross-border Innovation Spaces*. Vienna: Wirtschaftsuniversität Wien.
- LUNDQUIST, K-J. & M. TRIPPL (2013), Distance, Proximity and Types of Cross-border Innovation Systems: A Conceptual Analysis. *Regional Studies* 47, pp. 450–460.
- LUNDQUIST, K-J. & L. WINTHER (2006), The Inter-space between Denmark and Sweden: The Industrial Dynamics of the Öresund Cross-border Region. *Geografisk Tidsskrift* 106, pp. 115–129.
- LUNDVALL, B-Å., ed., (1992), *National Systems of Innovation*. London: Pinter.
- MAGGIONI, M. & E. UBERTI (2007), Inter-regional Knowledge Flows in Europe. In: K. FRENKEN, ed., *Applied Evolutionary Economics and Economic Geography*, pp. 230–255. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- MAKKONEN, T. (2015), Scientific Collaboration in the Danish-German Border Region of Southern Jutland-Schleswig. *Geografisk Tidsskrift* 115, pp. 27–38.
- MALERBA, F. (2002), Sectoral Systems of Innovation and Production. *Research Policy* 31, pp. 247–264.
- MARSHALL, A. (1961), *Principles of Economics*, 9th edn. London: Macmillan.
- MATTES, J. (2012), Dimensions of Proximity and Knowledge Bases: Innovation between Spatial and Non-spatial Factors. *Regional Studies* 46, pp. 1085–1099.
- MATTHIESSEN, C. (2010), *A Fixed Fehmarn Belt Connection*. Copenhagen: Femern A/S.
- MCMAMEE, R. (2013), Can't See the Forest for the Leaves: Similarity and Distance Measures for Hierarchical Taxonomies with a Patent Classification Example. *Research Policy* 42, pp. 855–873.
- MELKAS, H., T. UOTILA & T. TURA (2016), Policies of Related Variety in Practice: The Case Innovation Session Method. *European Planning Studies* 24, pp. 489–510.
- MIETTINEN, R. (2002), *National Innovation System – Scientific Concept or Political Rhetoric?* Helsinki: Edita.
- MINKOV, M. & G. HOFSTEDE (2014), Clustering of 316 European Regions on Measures of Values: Do Europe's Countries Have National Cultures? *Cross-Cultural Research* 48, pp. 144–176.
- MOWERY, D., J. OXLEY & B. SILVERMAN (1998), Technological Overlap and Interfirm Co-operation: Implications for the Resource-based View of the Firm. *Research Policy* 27, pp. 507–523.
- MULLER, E., A. ZENKER, M. HUFNAGL, J-A. HÉRAUD & E. SCHNABL (2015), *Cross-border Integration of Regional Innovation Systems and Smart Specialisation Strategies*. evoReg Research Note 29.
- NAUWELAERS, C., K. MAGUIRE & G. AJMONE MARSAN (2013), *The Case of Øresund*. OECD Regional Development Working Paper 2013/21.
- NOOTEBOOM, B., W. VAN HAVERBEKE, G. DUYSTERS, V. GILSING & A. VAN DEN OORD (2007), Optimal Cognitive Distance and Absorptive Capacity. *Research Policy* 36, pp. 1016–1034.
- OECD (2013), *Regions and Innovation – Collaborating across Borders*. Paris: OECD.
- PACI, R. & S. USAI (2009), Knowledge Flows across European Regions. *Annals of Regional Science* 43, pp. 669–690.
- PELLENBARG, P. & P. VAN STEEN (2015), The Presence and Spatial Distribution of International Knowledge Workers and Students in the Netherlands. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 106, pp. 499–502.
- PERI, G. (2005), Determinants of Knowledge Flows and Their Effect on Innovation. *Review of Economics and Statistics* 87, pp. 308–322.
- PERKMANN, M. (2003), Cross-Border Regions in Europe: Significance and Drivers of Regional Cross-border Co-operation. *European Urban and Regional Studies* 10, pp. 153–171.
- PLATONOV, V. & J-P. BERGMAN (2011), Cross-border Co-operative Networks in the Perspective of Innovation Dynamics. *International Journal of Knowledge-Based Organizations* 1, pp. 1–19.
- PROKKOLA, E-V. (2008), Resources and Barriers in Tourism Development: Cross-border Co-operation, Regionalization and Destination Building at the Finnish-Swedish Border. *Fennia* 186, pp. 31–46.
- PUNCH, K. (2014), *Introduction to Social Research*. London: Sage.
- SALONEN, M. (2014), *Analysing Spatial Accessibility Patterns with Travel Time and Distance Measures*. Helsinki: University of Helsinki.
- SCHULZE, M-S. & N. WOLF (2009), On the Origins of Border Effects: Insights from the Habsburg Empire. *Journal of Economic Geography* 9, pp. 117–136.
- SERVA, M. & P. PETRONI (2008), Indo-European Languages Tree by Levenshtein Distance. *Letters Journal Exploring the Frontiers of Physics* 81, 68005.



- SMEBY, J.-C. & J. TRONDAL (2005), Globalisation or Europeanisation? International Contact among University Staff. *Higher Education* 49, pp. 449–466.
- SOTARAUTA, M. & M. KAUTONEN (2007), Co-evolution of the Finnish National and Local Innovation and Science Arenas: Towards a Dynamic Understanding of Multi-level Governance. *Regional Studies* 41, pp. 1085–1098.
- TER WAL, A. & R. BOSCHMA (2009), Applying Social Network Analysis in Economic Geography: Framing Some Key Analytic Issues. *Annals of Regional Science* 43, pp. 739–756.
- TRIPPL, M. (2010), Developing Cross-border Regional Innovation Systems: Key Factors and Challenges. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 101, pp. 150–160.
- VAN DEN BROEK, J. & H. SMULDERS (2014), Institutional Gaps in Cross-border Regional Innovation Systems. In: R. RUTTEN, P. BENNEWORTH, D. IRAWATI & F. BOEKEMA, eds., *The Social Dynamics of Innovation Networks*, pp. 157–176. Abingdon: Routledge.
- VAN DEN BROEK, J. & H. SMULDERS (2015), Institutional Hindrances in Cross-border Regional Innovation Systems. *Regional Studies, Regional Science* 2, pp. 115–121.
- VAN RIJNSOEVER, F. & L. HESSELS (2011), Factors Associated with Disciplinary and Interdisciplinary Research Collaboration. *Research Policy* 40, pp. 463–472.
- WEIDENFELD, A. (2013), Tourism and Cross-border Regional Innovation Systems. *Annals of Tourism Research* 42, pp. 191–213.