



TECHNISCHE
UNIVERSITÄT
WIEN
Vienna University of Technology

DISSERTATION

Reshaping Europe

Borders' Impact on Territorial Cohesion

ausgeführt zum Zwecke der Erlangung des akademischen Grades einer
Doktorin der technischen Wissenschaften unter der Leitung von

Hon.Prof. Dipl.-Ing. Dr.techn. Gerhard Schimak
Technische Universität Wien (AUT)
Department für Raumentwicklung, Infrastruktur- und Umweltplanung
Fachbereich: Regionalplanung und Regionalentwicklung

und

Prof. Dott. Sandro Fabbro
Università degli Studi di Udine (I)
Dipartimento di Economia Agroindustriale
Laboratorio di Urbanistica e Pianificazione territoriale

eingereicht an der Technischen Universität Wien
Fakultät für Architektur und Raumplanung von

Dipl.-Ing. Beatrix Haselsberger
E.086.630; Matr.Nr.9825802
Warmbaderstraße 72
9500 Villach

Wien, April 2010

Reshaping Europe

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ABSTRACT

The main purpose of this thesis is to contribute substantively to past, present as well as future debates about the 'Europe of the Regions' by highlighting the challenges and difficulties towards the building up of 'A Unity of Diversity'. Although the idea of building up 'A Unity of Diversity' might appear at first sight to be contradictory, this research demonstrates why and how this approach must be seriously considered for the reshaping of Europe. The thesis demonstrates that whilst there is on the one hand an urgent desire of ensuring the extensive and increasing diversity of the European Union, characterised by differing traditions, cultures and identities, there is at the same time a pressing need for territorial and social cohesion enabling all Europe's regions to come together to address the emerging issues of the 21st century more effectively.

The research reveals a number of different processes underlying problems which manifest themselves as difficulties in holding together the different nation-states of Europe, promoting European cohesion and uniting its people. The thesis focuses on the impacts of different kinds of borders (including territorial, cognitive, and organisational borders), which provides an enlightening basis both for understanding of the current situation (which has evolved out the past) but also for determining potentially effective future pathways for Europe. Inspired by both social theories on identity and collective memory as well as planning theories on European spatial planning, this thesis offers a set of original interdisciplinary and innovative frameworks for cooperation across borders. By applying these theoretical frameworks to two concrete case studies (the Austrian-Italian border area and the Austrian-Slovakian border area) focused on determining specific intercultural aspects emerging out of bottom up collaboration, the thesis makes a valuable contribution for the construction of potentially productive territorial and social cohesion in Europe.

The thesis concludes by suggesting that Europe requires a European Identity, a collective identity which facilitates the overcoming of different kinds of negative border effects and consequently supports the emergence of soft, dynamic spaces of interaction. Moreover it emphasises that one of the success criteria of this intervention is dependent upon maintaining Europe's rich cultural diversity, which has to be considered as *the* hallmark of the continent in the 21st century.

Reshaping Europe

Auswirkungen von Grenzen auf Territoriale Kohäsion

KURZFASSUNG

Das Ziel dieser Dissertation ist es, Herausforderungen und Schwierigkeiten bei dem Vorhaben die kulturelle Vielfalt Europas auf einen gemeinsamen Nenner zu bringen (*A Unity of Diversity*), aufzuzeigen. Dadurch wird ein wesentlicher Beitrag zur Diskussion über ein „Europa der Regionen“ geleistet. Die Idee „einer Einheit der Vielfalt“ (*A Unity of Diversity*) mag zwar widersprüchlich erscheinen, jedoch demonstriert diese Arbeit wie und warum dieser Ansatz für die Strukturierung eines modernen und funktionierenden Europas ernsthaft in Betracht gezogen werden sollte. Diese Forschungsarbeit zeigt auf, dass ein Verlangen nach Gewährleistung der kulturellen und traditionellen Vielfalt Europas sowie dessen unterschiedliche Identitäten, einem Bedürfnis nach territorialer Kohäsion und sozialem Zusammenhalt gegenübersteht. Territoriale Kohäsion und sozialer Zusammenhalt ermöglichen es den Regionen Europas gemeinsam den anstehenden Herausforderungen des 21. Jahrhunderts erfolgreich entgegenzutreten.

Die vorliegende Dissertation deckt eine Reihe grundlegender Probleme diverser Vorgänge auf europäischer Ebene auf, die sich als Erschwernisse für den Zusammenhalt der Staaten, der Förderung von Kohäsion in Europa sowie dem Verständnis der unterschiedlichen Volksgruppen füreinander, erweisen. Die Arbeit setzt einen Akzent auf die Auswirkungen territorialer, kognitiver und organisatorischer Grenzen und bietet somit eine fundierte Basis, um die gegenwärtige Situation (die ihrerseits einer geschichtlichen Entwicklung entstammt) verstehen zu können. Diese Akzentuierung ermöglicht es für Europa realisierbare und nachhaltige Wege zu erkennen und zu beschreiten. Theorien der Sozialwissenschaft zu „Identität“ und „kollektivem Gedächtnis“ genauso wie Planungstheorien zur „Europäischen Raumentwicklung“ führen gemeinsam zu neuen interdisziplinären Denk- und Lösungsansätzen bezüglich „grenzüberschreitender Zusammenarbeit“. Mit der Anwendung dieser innovativen Denkansätze auf zwei konkrete Fallstudien („die österreichisch-italienische Grenzregion“, „die österreichisch-slowakische Grenzregion“) deren Ziel die Erfassung und Einbindung spezifischer interkultureller Aspekte durch den „bottom-up – Ansatz“ ist, leistet die vorliegende Arbeit einen wertvollen Beitrag zur Weiterentwicklung territorialer Kohäsion und zu sozialem Zusammenhalt in Europa.

Abschließend gelangt die Dissertation zu der Erkenntnis, dass die europäischen Staaten *eine* gemeinsame „Europäische Identität“ benötigen um die negativen Auswirkungen von Grenzen zu beseitigen und somit die Entstehung von „Räumen der Begegnung und des Dialoges“ zu ermöglichen. Darüber hinaus wird aufgezeigt, dass der Aufbau einer Europäischen Identität nur dann funktionieren kann, wenn dabei größtmöglicher Wert auf den Erhalt der reichen, kulturellen Vielfalt Europas gelegt wird, die als wesentliches Merkmal des europäischen Kontinents im 21. Jahrhundert betrachtet werden muss.

to my father

&

to my boyfriend, Roman

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PREFACE

Writing a PhD is a long journey, full of ups and down, in a scientific but also a personal sense. People, who start a PhD, want to contribute actively in shaping the future. But in so doing, PhD students face a continual dilemma of trying to both fit into their 'scientific community' but also to find exciting new ideas and use their determination and optimism to produce a substantial work which can help that scientific community to evolve. Encouraged by the recognition that the future of our 'scientific world' lies in the hands of us young planning scholars of today – the professors and researchers of tomorrow! – I spend countless hours researching and writing driven by the dream of 'changing the world'.

Is not it true that everybody has an interesting story to tell? Every story is unique, reflecting a knowledge ensemble, deriving from the lessons learnt at school and university, personal experiences, cultural background and personal interests. But often we do not appreciate which of the things we know and take for granted are of wider interest and import. I remember, for example, discussing my research with an editor of the EU Compendium of Spatial Planning Systems and Policies. He noted that it was actually very difficult for him to keep himself and his readership informed about contemporary planning issues in Austria or Italy because very little has been published in English. Thanks to him I realised that even I have an interesting story to tell. I learnt that what makes my 'scientific story' unique emerges out of my 'personal story'.

Having grown up next to a national border (the Austrian-Italian border) in a medium-size city (the city of Villach in Carinthia), moving to Vienna (the capital of Austria) some ten years ago as well as being confronted by some personal difficulties has heavily influenced my points of view and moreover the way I see the world. Building on this 'personal treasure' and encouraged by my supervisor, *Gerhard Schimak*, I decided to dedicate my PhD to trans-border issues for the Austrian-Italian context. Being familiar with the Austrian (Carinthia) situation together with my strong interest, passion and knowledge concerning Italy, it became soon clear that my research would develop to focus on this specific case. However what I did not know in the beginning was how difficult this journey would become. During my 15 month research stay in Northern Italy (the city of Udine in *Friuli Venezia Giulia*), I learnt clearly that a potentially productive trans-national cooperation between Austria and Italy would never be achievable without a proper understanding of our respective neighbours.

This might sound quite logical, but here I am not referring to linguistic problems (although certainly contributing to the border), but rather to divergent historical, social and cultural rooted understandings of planning. A simple example for this is the term *urbanistica* which within Italian society refers to spatial planning in general, although the constitution uses the term *governo del territorio*. The dictionary defines *urbanistica* as 'urban planning'. In my case it took me around one month, full of face-to-face discussions with my Italian supervisor, *Sandro Fabbro*, exploring the contemporary societal, but also scientific, meanings of the term *urbanistica*. This was really unexpected for me, for getting to know the meaning of a 'single' word (although I have a quite good knowledge of the Italian language) to take that long. I consequently decided to completely restructure my PhD. I refrained from my initial idea of elaborating a 'white paper' for trans-border cooperation in the Austrian-Italian trans-border region as it appeared impossible to me to develop a

potentially productive cooperation strategy given the complete absence of understanding between Austria and our neighbours, even at the level of basic planning vocabulary. Hence, the new focus of my PhD was to delineate the fundamental requirements for this kind of cooperation, starting from first principles, often unquestionably taken for granted, but where closer examination can reveal substantial and unexpected results (as with the term *urbanistica*).

This example highlights the pressing need to reflect on essential things in a clear and transparent way, to write them down and thus create an important knowledge base for the academy as currently constituted, but also for future generations to build on. At the same time, it is important to acknowledge that as writing a PhD is a long journey – in my case a 5-year journey – some of the ideas might have passed their 'sell-by date' and need weeding out from the final work. In awareness of this, I decided to communicate some of my intermediate results through the channels of publishing in journals and magazines and presenting at planning conferences.

But I had to learn that it can be hard to have your voice heard. I will never forget the referees' reports the first time I submitted a paper to a journal. They were frustrating! I even started questioning if I would be capable of eventually writing a PhD. But of course now I know that that is just part of the cut and thrust of academic life for everyone from the 'green' PhD student to the established professor. And I like to tell myself the story of Tore Sager who won the 2007 best published prize paper in planning at the AESOP conference with a paper which was refused by the first journal he approached. So I went on writing articles and today I am proud to say that I can already look back on a great pool of articles, some of them even accepted by top-flight journals. Besides more recently I have even been invited by journals to review papers as well as by publishers to review book-proposals.

But writing good articles is learned over time, and young people need the assistance and help of experienced researchers and academics. In this regard I would like to thank *Paul Benneworth*, who on the one hand helped me learn how to write scientific papers in a very gentle and helpful way and on the other hand was always available (through my entire PhD journey) as a friend to discuss ideas as well as to motivate me to go on. Moreover I would like to thank Paul for the proof-reading of this PhD.

In addition to publishing my research findings, I found out that it is also valuable presenting them at planning conferences. But also within this arena it can be hard to have your voice heard. Remembering my first scientific planning conference, I felt more than lost among the 500 participants. However although I did not really enjoy this first conference, it was nevertheless a magical feeling to see people whose names I knew from the literature. Over time I learnt to find my way around these kinds of conferences, in which I nowadays participate frequently and regularly. A personal milestone in this process was certainly the invitation from *Andreas Faludi* to serve as discussant in his track, with which he gave me the feeling that even my opinion counts in the scientific discourse. Starting from that I have found, that also on an individual level, senior academics have been interested to engage in conversations with me. Sometimes those conversations have been scientific, providing feedback on and inspiration for my written work. On other occasions, they have mentored me, helping me to 'keep on track', reminding me of the difficult and stony roads they faced in trying

to be accepted as members of an academic community. Some of these stories beggar belief, such as someone was being offered a lectureship with the caveat that he must marry the professor's daughter! But what I have learned from all these stories is the importance of persistence in the face of barriers that inevitably arise in the difficult career we have chosen.

For me the last years have not only been decisive from an academic point of view, but also from a private and personal one. Undoubtedly important was the handling of the untimely and unexpected death of my father, a disputed legacy and the consequent estrangement from my family. More light-heartedly was winning of a trip to Thailand, which ended at the police office as the lottery turned out to be a fake. Both those events have led me to question the real meaning and purpose of life. In this regard I would like to thank my aunt, *Edelgard Wuggenig*, as well as my boyfriend *Roman Eckstein* and his family, who helped me to overcome and come through these personal strokes of fate. By doing so they provided me with a unique feeling of safety and home build on understanding and trust, within which I was able to carry out my scientific research.

Finally I would like to acknowledge the hospitality of the *Fachbereich Regionalplanung und Regionalentwicklung, Department für Raumentwicklung, Infrastruktur und Umweltplanung* of the Vienna University of Technology (Austria) as well as of the *Dipartimento di Ingegneria Civile e Architettura* of the University of Udine (Italy). In particular, I would like to thank both my supervisors, *Gerhard Schimak* and *Sandro Fabbro*, for their extraordinary support during my entire 5 year PhD journey.

1 INTRODUCTION

Speaking about a 'Europe without Borders', as is often done, implies that we have a clear idea of what a border is or at least of what a border might be. But do we really know or are we really aware of all the different facets and characteristics of borders? If so, this raises the question of why a 'Europe without Borders' has not yet become reality? It appears that border-issues are much more complex than might be imagined at first sight. In recent years, a great deal of research has been carried out within different disciplines, such as social, political or spatial science, to shed light on the complex border phenomenon. However, what appears to be missing is a comprehensive - and most importantly interdisciplinary - consideration of borders, which on the one hand mirrors their roles, functions and meanings emerging from the different disciplines, and on the other hand avoids becoming too generalised.

Chapter 2 of this research therefore places such issues as 'identity and collective memory' or 'politics and power' into a geographical context and applies their underlying concepts to territorial (and in particular national) border issues. Chapter 2 demonstrates that national borders are social constructions, heavily equipped with symbolic meanings, which favour homogenisation within a bordered territory but also exclusiveness toward the outside world. It also highlights that territorial borders should not be regarded as 'fixed' and 'sealed' once they have been set. The chapter explores the challenges for the European Union projects posed by the history of territorial border-drawing in Europe. This innovative approach, bringing together border-related research results, provides a valuable contribution towards the understanding of the roles, functions and meanings imposed on territorial borders as well as overcoming the negative effects of borders, without necessarily implying the border's abolition.

In Europe, trans-border cooperation became an increasingly important issue from the early 19th century due to the emergence of nation-states. Since that time all our familiar maps and atlases confront us with a particular (geographical-cartographic) picture of Europe: a European surface divided into distinct nation-state territories, each demarcated by a line and distinguished by separate colours. Consequently the European Union appears in form of a 'melting pot' composed of several nation-states and characterised by difference in areas such as traditions and culture. This extensive and increasing diversity raises substantive questions for realising the concept of 'territorial cohesion' as a general policy objective. As territorial borders and in particular national borders have negative consequences for directly adjoining areas, cooperation across borders and moreover territorial cohesion contributes substantively towards the reducing of disadvantages experienced by the respective border areas that constitute trans-border regions.

But cooperation across borders is neither an easy task nor an automatic process as Chapter 3 reveals. On the contrary effective forms of cooperation across borders, which are urgently required within the European Union, need to be developed carefully from the 'bottom-up', within the general framework provided from the 'top-down'. It will be demonstrated that, on the one hand, 'top-down' initiatives, such as European funding programmes, play a decisive role as well as on the other hand 'bottom-up' dynamics and expertise being indispensable to any cooperative planning approach. It appears that a successful 'cooperation across border' strategy has to be grounded in a recognition that different nation-states deal differently with similar spatial planning 'issues' in accordance with their own traditions and identities. It must not be

assumed that these differences are insignificant or easily washed away, so this thesis focuses on how this kind of knowledge might be gathered. In support of this, existing concepts concerning the building up of trans-border frameworks and network structures are introduced and where necessary new concepts are developed.

As that effective long-lasting forms of cooperation across border activities are heavily influenced from the 'bottom-up' it appears that every border area - and particularly every trans-border region - requires a case-specific consideration resulting in a case-specific solution. Consequently it could be argued that there is no universal 'remedy' existing throughout Europe. However, what trans-border regions have in common is on the one hand the root-cause from which they suffer – the national border - and on the other hand striving to fit into the framework provided from 'top-down' – most notably that of the European Union – allowing them to become eligible subjects for the respective funding arrangements. Hence learning from the success, failures but also difficulties of particular cases will be enlightening in terms of tracing the boundary conditions for the most suitable trans-border framework and network structure for a particular trans-border region.

Following the more theoretical perspective followed in Chapter 3, Chapter 4 examines two completely different trans-border regions (differing both in terms of geography as well as context). Firstly the Austrian-Italian trans-border region – the core case-study of this research – provides a means of understanding the added value of building up a shared trans-border knowledge base. Although Austria and Italy have evolved within two completely different historical contexts and belong (at least in a contemporary sense) to two different legal families (superficial differences), many similarities are revealed by a closer examination of 'the others' planning approach. Secondly the Austrian-Slovakian trans-border region assists in revealing additional aspects necessary for cooperation across borders in practice. The second (complementary) case underlines that even where the nation-states involved understand their partners' respective national planning approaches, pressures for cooperation as well as conflicts of interests pose many challenges for the building up of different forms of 'proximity' and consequently trans-border network and cooperation structures. Taking a progressive perspective on these two case studies offers a valuable insight into the challenges and difficulties of territorial cohesion in Europe.

The previous chapters revealed that national borders offer considerable potential for becoming 'cohesive' elements. Consequently, cooperation across borders can play a fundamental role in the sense of facilitating the overcoming of the dividing function of national borders and consequently also facilitating the building up of soft dynamic spaces of interaction. Chapter 5 therefore raises the question of why the idea of (territorial) cohesion in Europe – in the sense of holding together the nation-states of Europe by uniting its people – is so difficult to implement in territories. The chapter argues that Europe urgently needs a European Identity, a collective identity additional to and not replacing the existing national as well as local/regional identities. The role (European) spatial planning plays within the process of constructing a collective European Identity and consequently in the building up of territorial and social cohesion in Europe is examined from this perspective. The thesis concludes that the reshaping process of Europe has to come to terms with building up 'A Unity of Diversity' by uniting its people and not just by forming coalitions.

2 WHY BORDER STUDIES MATTER IN THE EUROPEAN PLANNING CONTEXT

It is a fact that border issues are not a new phenomenon and consequently border studies are not an invention of contemporary society. On the contrary, borders, in all their different appearances, have always been – and still are – central to human life. In social theories, their ongoing relevance is often demonstrated with reference to them being needed to deal with the contending desires of every human being for 'sameness' and 'difference', for differentiating between the 'known' and the 'unknown' and between 'us' and 'them'. Following O'Dowd (2003) '*borders could be described as a ubiquitous product of the need for order, security and belonging in human life. [...] They are the inevitable outcome of the range and limits of power and coercion, social organisation or the emergence of collective identity*' (pp.14–15). In many planning theories, however, there is – in reference to national borders – much glib use made of the concepts such as a 'borderless Europe' or a 'Europe without Borders' as a response to tendencies and pressures of contemporary globalisation and Europeanisation, which support the notions of their geographical marginality. This development is unsurprising as this kind of territorial borders have negative impacts on those people resident adjacent to such a border who seek the abolition of the root cause of their unpleasant situation. However the emerging question in this regard is, *if it is really desirable or advisable to abolish territorial borders (or even to consider their abolition) when they cover such a significant role and function within every human life and consequently within every society?* Taking into consideration the argument of Van Houtum (2003) that '*a border is not merely a line in space, but a social process, contingent on continuous re-imagination and re-interpretation*' (p.39), or the argument of Waterhout et al. (2009) that '*[...] the geographical ordering [which implies bordering] of administration has its advantages and will remain necessary in order to provide [...] legal certainty to citizens*' (p.3), it appears to be more appropriate to speak about a softening of national borders, in the sense of making them more permeable for particular purposes, as well as replacing their sometimes deeply ingrained negative image by a positive one.

Generally speaking, even if a national border is abolished or softened, this action alone will not automatically enhance the living condition of those people living in this now-former border area. The example of the Austrian-Slovakian border area helps to explain this argument. This particular territory was once united within the Habsburg-Monarchy, within the Austrian Empire as well as within the Austrian-Hungarian Empire, later separated by the 'Iron Curtain' and today it is once again united within the European Union Schengen area. Talking with people on the ground soon makes it clear that although the national border cannot be considered an insurmountable barrier anymore, there remains a deeply ingrained feeling of fear and distrust in this area (on both sides of the national border) and there are some people who even seek the return of their strongly guarded national border. The lesson to be learnt is that the symbolic meaning of a border, in particular a national border, plays a decisive role for the success of the 'European Union project'. Critical here is the extent to which a national border is effective as a means of separating 'us' from 'them', whether it is a symbol of deep-rooted, irreconcilable division or an insurmountable barrier (like the 'Iron Curtain'), or alternatively, if it may be seen as a bridge or linking line enabling the building up of a dynamic soft space of interaction. It is true that national borders can evoke a wide range of complex meanings on the part of their residents, such as fear, distrust, abandonment, but they can also become places of opportunity. Borders' changing functions may have implications for their

changing meaning over time. However it must be borne in mind that this is not an automatic process. On the contrary, overcoming of historically and culturally embedded barriers which emerged due to a territorial border requires strategic well-thought-about solutions and it would be foolish to believe that these barriers can be washed away solely with the abolishment of the territorial barrier itself. It should further be acknowledged that the ambiguous and contradictory nature of borders significantly complicates this process. On the one hand, national borders often seem 'fixed' and durable. They have been taken-for-granted as shaping everyday activities, identities and reference points. Yet, on the other hand, territorial border change in general is one of the constants of contemporary life. Europe, for example, was always a continent of unsettled territorial (political) borders. At times, Europe has been fragmented into hundreds of political entities; at other times, it has been the subject of grand projects of unification (Tilly, 1990). As these processes have in most cases involved bitter conflicts, violence and wars ending in new (political) borders, it is perhaps unsurprising that national borders are often regarded exclusively negatively.

In this context the following questions emerge:

- firstly, how far the symbolic meaning of borders (barriers versus bridges) influence the way in which national borders get experienced in reality;
- secondly, what significance is there for the 'European Union project' that today's Europe is composed of more national borders than when the idea of the European Community/Union was born; and
- thirdly, what influence has the continuous change of meanings, functions and roles imposed on national borders through globalisation and Europeanisation for the 'European Union project'.

In addressing these questions the chapter initially emphasises essential definitions, as for example the unpacking of the complex concept of 'borders' in order to define with rather more precision what these lines demarcate and denote (chapter 2.1.2). Subsequently, the symbolic meanings of borders are examined in a twofold – yet strongly interrelated – way. Firstly the chapter explains how borders shape social behaviour, in terms of fostering inclusiveness (building up a unity within a bordered framework – 'sameness') and favouring exclusiveness (defence the 'unity' towards the outer world – 'difference'). Secondly, the chapter turns to analyse the function of the border itself in terms of either being a dividing line (barrier for interaction with the outer world – 'closed') or a linking line (resource for a dynamic zone of interaction – 'open') (chapter 2.2). Building on the changing nature and relevance of borders over time, the chapter then introduces two different kinds of territorial border-changes, namely geographical-cartographic shifts and changes to the meanings imposed on the functions and roles of national borders (chapter 2.3). The chapter notes that the twentieth century was witness to enormous changes in the territorial borders of Europe, through two World Wars, the creation of the European Economic Community and subsequent integration, and recent processes of globalisation and Europeanisation.

Generally speaking this chapter builds on the hypothesis that *the understanding of the complex concept of borders has to be regarded an essential precondition for overcoming negative border effects (in general) as well as for enabling potentially productive forms of cross-border cooperation*, which are urgently required within Europe.

2.1 Definitions

Studying and analysing territorial borders in Europe alongside reflecting on historical and more recent territorial border-changes requires clarification of the terms used in this context. The analysis therefore starts with the definition of the words 'Europe' and 'European Union', whose frequent misuse is often a source of confusion. Subsequently the meaning of the word 'border' is examined in relation to the terms 'boundary' and 'frontier'. Finally, further clarification is offered on the words 'nation-state' and 'nationalism'.

2.1.1 The sometimes mistaken non-synonyms: Europe – European Union

One could assume that it is redundant to make a distinction between 'Europe' and the 'European Union' in scientific research, as it should be clear that those two terms refer to two completely different entities. However, given the frequency with which we counter such terminology as 'European Integration' or slogans like 'Europe without Borders' or 'borderless Europe' points to a need to clarify precisely what these terms mean.

Generally speaking 'Europe' is defined by culture, history and geography. But it must be acknowledged that in today's political climate 'Europe' is an indistinct term – heavily used, but poorly defined. In this regard, the division between what is 'European' and what is 'not European' seems to be highly arbitrary; it is still largely based on a mental map of land situated somewhere between, and contrasted with, the discursive abstractions of the Atlantic Ocean, Africa and Asia (den Boer & van der Dussen, 1995). The question *if countries, such as Turkey or Russia, which have dual identities and are located partly between the cultures of Europe and Asia, belong to 'Europe'* provoke a high amount of dispute.

Europe has well-defined limits to the North (Barents Sea), the South (Mediterranean Sea) and the West (Atlantic Ocean) but hazy-defined limits to the East. There are two traditional approaches to defining 'Europe's eastern edge'. The first variant, which is more popular and traditional, introduces an eastern border of 'Europe' which follows the Ural Mountains down to the Caspian Sea, cutting back along the Caucasus Mountains and down through Turkey to the Mediterranean and Cyprus. But also the second variant, which builds on the former borders of the USSR, is to some extent taken-for-granted. According to this variant, significant elements of Russia and Turkey are perceived to be 'Europe'. The main difficulty in fixing the eastern border of 'Europe' might be explained by the fact that a zone of uninhabited land is not as sharp and strong divider as water. As it is not the scope here to define the eastern border of 'Europe' but to highlight the difference between 'Europe' and the 'European Union', this chapter refrains from so doing.

The 'European Union' on the other hand is defined by treaties, policies and laws. The Member States of the EU have joined forces in order to create an unified and integrated space within Europe – the 'European Union' – facilitating economic growth for the Union as a whole (see also Mamadouh, 2001; van Houtum, 2003). But, this space is often referred to by the word 'Europe', which is completely out of context when referring to the 'European Union'. Consequently speaking of a 'European Integration' process, as is often done, is potentially a misleading and deluded notion. Van Houtum (2003) for example criticises this misuse and states clearly that *'it is not 'European Integration' but 'European Union Integration'* (p.46). The example

of Poland helps clarify this: whilst no rational person would question that Poland is part of 'Europe', many people prior to 2004 disputed that Poland – due to its political and historical engagement – would be an appropriate Member State of the 'European Union'. Hence, although Poland is located in 'Europe', its bearish attitude towards 'Europe' together with its pro-America stance causing many doubts whether Poland could be accommodated within the 'European Union' ideology.

2.1.2 The often mistaken non-synonyms: border – boundary – frontier¹

The term 'border' has a very high quotidian presence and visibility; it is among the 3,000 most-spoken and the 2,000 most-written English words (Haselsberger, 2008a). However this does not mean that the people who use the word 'border' are always aware of its real meaning or its connotations.

In the majority of cases, 'border' is used to express any kind of 'limit', which is not necessarily wrong, but underplays the explanatory power of this notion. Sack (1986) argues that borders enable us to define, classify, communicate and control a territory, in the sense of assigning things to particular spaces, and to regulate cross-border movements and access into and/or out of specified areas. Hence, all kinds of territorial borders² can be described – in their most general sense – as a means of control involving the use of bounded geographical spaces, be they in the private sphere (the school playground, the workplace, the neighbourhood) or the public sphere (the nation-state territory, the electoral district, the administrative region).

Nowadays the term 'border' is often used synonymously with the terms 'boundary' and 'frontier', which in some specific cases may lead to misunderstandings, as all three terms have their own particular meanings.

The word 'border' derives from the French term *bordur* [*seam, edge, border*]. Its geopolitical dimension was later imposed in the 16th century. A 'border' confines or limits the outer edge of something; most typically it separates entities, such as nation-states or provinces, from another in the form of a clear and 'fixed' line on the map as well as in the territory.

The term 'boundary' emerged in the 17th century and can be deduced from *bound* [*a limit*] as well as from *bonnarium* [*piece of land with fixed limits*]. A boundary could appear as sharp or blurry, a natural or artificial line, marking off one thing from another. A boundary or separating line defines a real or imaginary limit or extent. The exact location of a boundary is sometimes unclear or even controversial (e.g. the boundary defining the margins of Mount Everest).

The original meaning of the term 'frontier' is deeply rooted in the French tradition of the 14th century. It was (originally) used to define 'the frontline of an army' in the sense of a 'borderland'. Nowadays 'frontier' is

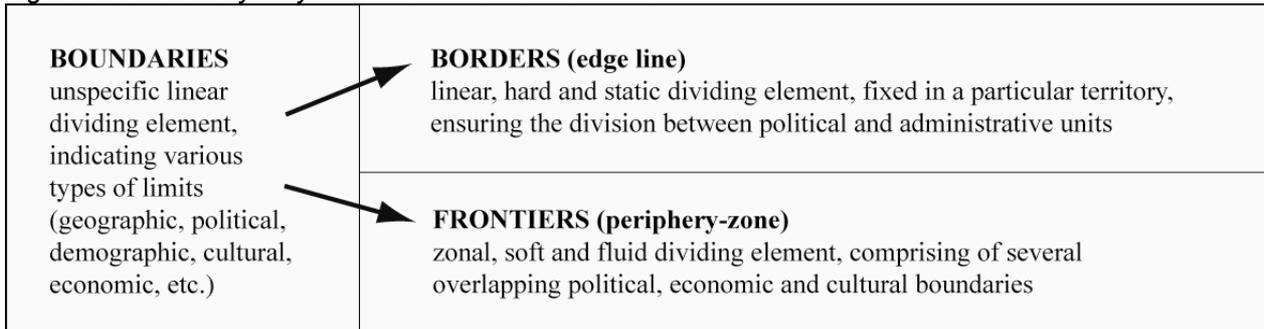
¹ Parts of this chapter have appeared elsewhere as Haselsberger, B.; Benneworth, P. (2010) Cross-border Communities or Cross-border Proximity? Perspectives from the Austrian-Slovakian Border Region. In Adams, N. et al. (Eds.) *Territorial Development, Cohesion and Spatial Planning. Building on EU Enlargement*. London: Routledge, pp.471–516.

² like international borders of nation-states, intrastate borders that frame regions, other 'sub-national' political entities, those seemingly new 'global' borders that are perceived as bounding wider formations of civilisations, economic blocs, and zones of influence and control;

understood as a settled and cultivated area/zone of a nation-state, which fronts or faces another nation-state, most typically separated by a national border.

Parker (2006) sets out how the various concepts of borders, boundaries and frontiers are interrelated: borders and frontiers are 'boundary sets' constituted from various types of boundaries (including geographic, political, social, cultural or economic). When borders and frontiers appear in their most extreme manifestation, a clear difference can be observed – the former is a hard, static and linear dividing element (e.g. national border) and the latter soft, fluid and zonal (e.g. border area).

Figure 1: The non-synonyms: borders – boundaries – frontiers



Source: Haselsberger, 2008a

Every border area is constituted by a national border which has a formative influence on the development within the border area itself. The 'Iron Curtain' for example was a closed (insurmountable) border, hindering any kind of interaction with neighbouring nation-states, with the result that border areas along the 'Iron Curtain' were – and still are in some parts – economically lagging behind. Although the 'Iron Curtain' is probably the most extreme European example, similar developments can be observed also in other frontiers throughout Europe.

Generally speaking a border area is quite often characterised by unspoilt and well-preserved nature, due to the fact that these regions are removed from the core of the nation-state's life and consequently often not recognised as attractive areas for public and private investments. This however creates the problem that these border areas often experience significant volumes of out-commuting, or at its most extreme, outmigration, reducing these areas' vitality. In this regard, trans-border cooperation should be regarded as a potential driving force for improving the living conditions of border areas throughout Europe. But, as borders are constituted by many different kinds of boundary, potentially valuable forms of trans-border cooperation have to come to terms with not only the geographical boundary (in the sense of making national borders more permeable), but also to overcome boundaries – such as political or cultural - which are very often deeply rooted in the minds of people and expressed through stereotypes, distrust and fear.

2.1.3 The not-to-be mistaken non-synonyms: nation-state – nationalism

The terms 'nation-state' and 'nationalism' are often, even characteristically, used as synonyms. However as Giddens (1987) alerts, *'although sentiments of nationalism often coincide with the actual distribution of populations within nation-states, and while those who govern modern nation-states usually seek to*

promote such sentiments wherever possible, there is by no means a clear correspondence between them' (p.116).

Nationalism might be described in its most abstract way as an inclusive and liberating force, characterised by an *'affiliation of individuals to a set of symbols and beliefs emphasising communality among the members of a political order'* (Giddens, 1987, p.116). Within the early days of nationalism the sovereignty of people as well as the right of all people to determine their own destinies, also in a territorial sense, featured heavily in proclamations. As a consequence of this development, feudal systems, colonial administrations and oppressive imperial tyrannies were brought to an end. *'But already by the mid- to late nineteenth century, imperial and colonial rulers had found ways to siphon off the force of nationalism from its democratic base.'* (Smith, 1998, p.1) Finally with the emergence of a new form of nationalism, led by intellectuals appealing to language and cultural differences, the map of Europe was transformed, *'but more significantly presaged a world of self-aware and assertive ethnic nations'* (Ibid) which in the end – with the support of fascism, racism and anti-Semitism – went so far as to provide the ground for the *'horrors of Holocaust and Hiroshima'* (Smith, 1998, p.2).

According to Smith (1998) it was not before the French Revolution that the 'nation-state' started to gain importance as a legitimate form of political organisation. As the term 'nation-state' occurred before this time, it should be emphasised that its original meaning – in the sense of a collectivity of those within the same *pays de naissance*, those born within the same historic space (Flora, 1999) – has nothing to do with its contemporary connotation. Nowadays, a 'nation-state' is understood as *'a collectivity existing within a clearly demarcated territory, which is subject to a unitary administration, reflexively monitored both by the internal nation-state apparatus and those of other nation-states.'* (Giddens, 1987, p.116)

This research will build on the Giddens's definition of a 'nation-state', and adopts the convention of referring to a territorial border demarcating a 'nation-state' as a 'national border'.

2.2 The symbolic meaning of territorial borders

All kind of borders, including national borders, carry a heavy weight of symbolism, favouring both a separating but also a bridging function. When comparing those sociologists' border studies with those made by planners, an interesting phenomenon occurs. Social studies focus mainly on the 'contents', analysing those things which take place within a bordered framework. They emphasise that borders stand for integration and exclusion, implying processes of homogenisation within the border (like the building up of a shared identity) and differentiation from the 'other', the outside (Paasi, 1998). On the other hand planning studies mainly draw attention on the 'container', the border itself, analysing the effects a territorial border has on the adjacent areas. They highlight that borders within a territory can assume the function of an insurmountable dividing line (like the 'Iron Curtain') or a tangent/linking line in the sense of a bridging element for a dynamic soft space of interaction and communication between different nation-states, provinces but also communities. Given the fact that borders not only constitute social units, but are also dependent on the nature of the reciprocity within the unit, it appears that the interrelation of these two concepts and approaches may play a significant role for the success of the 'European Union project'.

2.2.1 Integration and exclusion through bordering

According to Bauman (1999) '*bordering is a way of leaving things out of account when planning our actions*' (p.64), which means that what is beyond the given border or the self-constructed differentiating border of comfort is often neglected. But the constitutive 'other' beyond the border is present and demanding of further consideration. It is through the awareness and perception of otherness, of different forms of being, that for example a society is able to define itself. In other words borders assist in reducing doubts, uncertainty and vulnerability within the bordered framework by stabilising the expectations concerning what lies outside. Doing so, territorial borders could provide essential preconditions for Social Identity (Connolly, 1994).

The image of a region (how an area gets recognised from outside) as well as the emotional relationship towards a region is strongly depended on Social Identity and the way it gets expressed through collective actions. The work of Nora (1984) concerning the *loci memoriae* of France exemplified that the society itself creates identity through visible and non-visible cultural patterns (*lieux de memoire*³). He considers these emblems, the application and strategic use of collective experiences and visions as basic elements for a society's identity. He argues that comprehensive time- and place-independent cultural patterns enable all to build on a collective identity, even if people with the same identity are not personally acquainted. Kunzmann (2004) underlines the added value of these cultural patterns, arguing that in an age where '*the physical structures of a place, together with consumer products, food and large cultural events converge more and more in style* [due to globalisation and Europeanisation pressures] *the cultural expression of a social group through cultural patterns remains the 'last bastion' of identity*' (p.387). However, it is also this kind of cultural expression, which favours integration and homogenisation (within a bordered territory) which builds up exclusion and closeness (to the outside world). It could be argued that the border area is the place where these kinds of tendencies becomes reality in their most extreme manifestation, with residents potentially feeling the need to defend their own culture and visions against the culture and visions of the 'others' behind the national border. The emerging problem becomes the increasing enshrinement of the barrier functions of the border in the minds of its residents.

2.2.2 The national border: A dividing or bridging line?

For a long time borders have been taken-for-granted as exclusively separating elements, based on the fact that 'societies' were defined by national borders and everything of importance appeared to happen within these borders. However, within the European Union national borders are no longer seen solely as symbols of exclusive sovereignty, as barriers between a homogeneous entity and the outside world. In this regard there is potential worthy of further consideration for a border, in the sense of a physical line on the map or in the landscape, to evolve from a separating element into a bridging element (but also vice versa). The well-known example of the 'Berlin Wall', whose geopolitical symbolic character has changed drastically in the past 40 years assists in explaining this. At one point, the 'Berlin Wall' was the symbol of the 'divide' between Western and Eastern Europe, discursively proclaimed at the outset as an icon of 'protection'.

³ A *lieu de memoire* is any significant entity, physical or non-physical, which has (the potential to) become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community (monuments, hymns, e.g.) (cf. Nora, 1984).

Today it is first and foremost a place of remembrance and imagination, symbolising the re-integrated, future-oriented city of Berlin as well as the unification of Germany (van Houtum, 2003).

The way how a national border is experienced by people has a strong impact on the quality of their lives but also on the shaping of any territorial cooperation activity. Starting from the fact that the symbolic meaning of a border can be transformed from a dividing and separating line into a bridging and linking element, two subsequent questions arise:

- *How and to which extent this is possible?* and
- *What is the role of the European Union within this process?*

2.2.3 The impact of the inside-outside dichotomy for the 'European Union project'

The emerging question in the European planning context is how to overcome the 'inside/outside' dichotomy caused by national borders, which is still deeply rooted in the mind of people. It is true that national borders have the potential to assume the backbone of an overall multi-national framework, in the sense of facilitating trans-border interaction and learning, and of developing or rediscovering forms of trust and/or social capital (O'Dowd, 2001). However, this is not an automatic process. Moreover the debates about a 'Europe without Borders' and the building up of a 'joint European structure' maintaining a rich cultural diversity must take into consideration not only the geography or the foreign policy of the territory, but also topics like history and how to deal with mental barriers (primarily by removing the consequent prejudices). Overcoming these mental barriers is a long and difficult process, which must come to terms with the recognition and the proper understanding of the 'others' and the other identity.

While the awareness of the phenomenon of identity is present in the 'sociologists' world', it is curious that so little attention is paid on it in the 'planners world', given that spatial planning is a social discipline. This section therefore builds on the hypothesis that *spatial planning and consequently any territorial cooperation activity is strongly (but often unconsciously) influenced by identities*, collective and cognitive (mental) pictures of a specific area, adapted from 'collective memories' of social groups like societies, which are only coherent in a relative sense. Identities are deeply embedded in the practises and professions of people involved in planning processes or more generally in their interests in planning.

In order to understand what identity really means, one must examine the values of a social group (like a society) and the culture of a country in a specific period. It is thus plausible to establish that identity is not so much a state as a process (Ipsen & Kost, 2007). Identities develop and deteriorate and individual and collective valuations of those identities wax and wane. Thus identity is not a question of generally valid standards but much more about the coherence of needs and attitudes of a certain time, a certain culture and of certain social groups. In this regard, within this social milieu, issues of control, power and influence, status, competition over resources and boundaries between groups inevitably emerge and are contested (Paulsen, 2003).

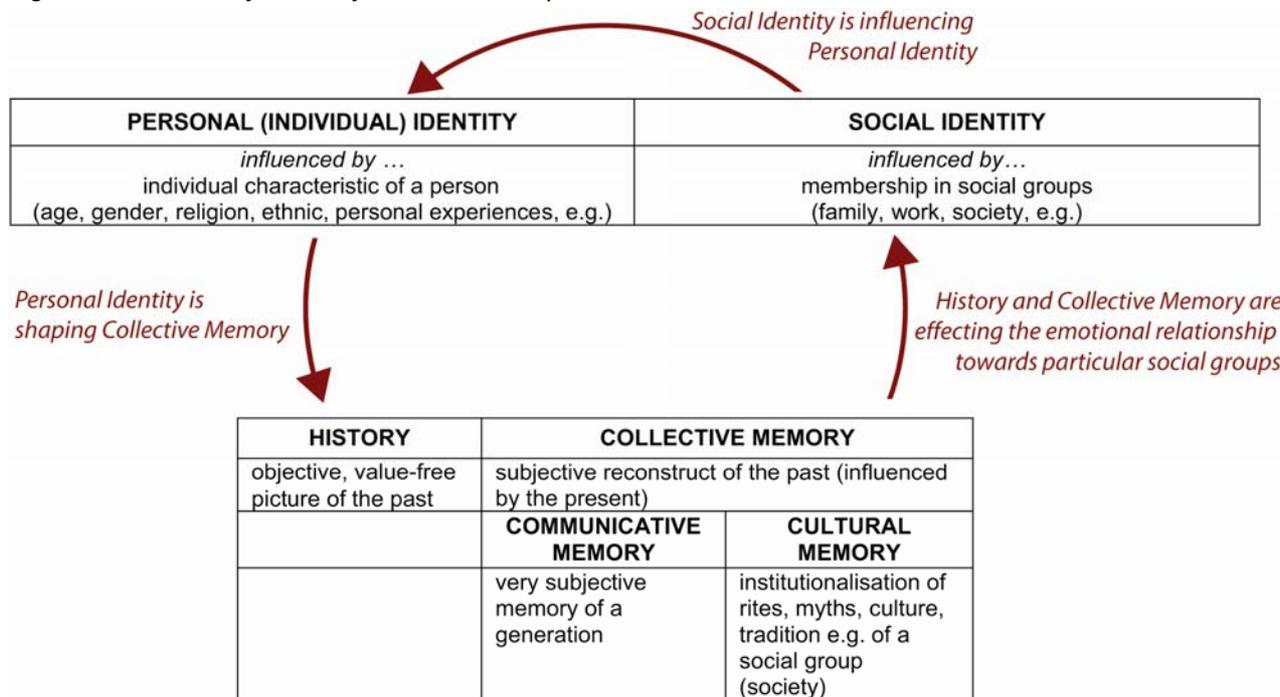
Generally speaking, identity can be divided into two different yet inter-related categories. First is Personal (individual) Identity, expressed through one's unique characteristics as an individual (including age, gender, religion, ethnic, personal experiences) whilst the second is Social Identity, which derives from

membership of salient social groups, such as family, friends, working-units, societies, e.g. (Alderfer, 1987; Cox, 1993; Paulsen, 2003).

The development of an individual's identity is partly influenced by the groups to which a person belongs to or to which attachment is perceived. Moreover belonging to one social group or society may favour the interests and opinions of in-group members (inclusiveness) over out-group members (exclusiveness). In the planning context this means that territorial cooperation activities may fail easily simply because the social affiliation to their own group (or society) is much stronger and more developed than a desire for contact with some particular out-group. Moreover as the picture of the 'others' is often built up through generic stereotypes, the added value of cooperation activities is not always easily communicated.

The emergency of groups and individuals' emotional relationship towards groups depends on both history and 'collective memory'. While history tries to draw up a neutral, objective and value-free picture of the past, 'collective memory' is a subjective reconstruction (of the past) shared, passed on and constructed by a particular social group or society, through personal (individual) experiences and traditions (Halbwachs, 1985). Hence, 'collective memory' is directly related to the present, as the perception of the past is always influenced by the present. According to Assmann (1995) the 'collective memory' can be divided into the more subjective 'communicative memory' (for example the memory of a generation, which refers to a time-horizon of around 80-100 years) and the more objective 'cultural memory' (institutionalisation of the rites and myths of a society).

Figure 2: The identity-memory interrelationship



'Communicative memory' is the most subjective form of memory, which builds on the individual point of view of a single person and remains vital as long as this person is alive and/or part of the group. A personal (subjective) example may help to explain the significant role of knowledge building by this kind of (subjective) memory. My father served actively in the Second World War. Doing so he personally

experienced the moment when the Italians changed sides: when the war began he fought shoulder-to-shoulder with the Italians as allies, yet by the end his 'war colleagues' turned out to be enemies. Luckily surviving the Second World War, what remained was his generalised picture of Italians, mainly characterised by distrust, and despite living next to the Italian border, travelling to Italy was not acceptable for him. Thus, I was from the beginning onwards influenced by this picture of the Italians, and as 'blood is thicker than water' I unquestioningly believed my father's opinions. This – of course personal and subjective – example helps explain why in some cases it may be so difficult to work together across national borders. It could be argued that in the Austrian-Italian case, where to date little potentially productive cooperation has been built up, contemporary territorial cooperation continues to be hindered by mutual uninterest and distrust by elites, rooted (partly) in the 'communicative memory' of their families. But it is precisely those elite (political, administrative, media) who should be in the position to create the preconditions for good, neighbourly relations and the removal of prejudices. But subjective influences (emerging from 'communicative memory') on social behaviour are very much in flux, far more strongly than influences from 'cultural memory'. This means that 'communicative memory' has to be considered the fastest changing source of knowledge building, with personal family experiences of the deceased being lost to communicative memory over time. In the context of the Austrian-Italian border situation, it is most likely that in the near future potentially productive forms of territorial cooperation build up on tolerance and international understanding may emerge. The lesson to be learnt here is that it is highly important to understand not only the history of a respective country but also to become familiar with the more subjective circumstances/memories of the people living in a particular country in order to find adequate solutions to overcome mental barriers.

In contrast to the 'communication memory', 'cultural memory' does not automatically change with the passing of time or through the generations. It therefore preserves the knowledge from which a society derives its identity as well as its tradition and culture and could be regarded according to Assmann (1995) as *'the culturally institutionalised heritage of a society'* (p.130). The 'cultural memory' maintains its knowledge through time independent cultural formations (texts, hymns, rites, monuments, signs, cultural emblems) and institutional communication (recitations, practices, observances). The content of such knowledge varies from culture to culture and from society to society. In contrary to the 'communicative memory', the distribution and adjustment of the 'cultural memory' is institutionally organised through expert bearers (such as scientists, academics, priests). Following Assmann (1995), knowledge-transfer within a society can become highly exclusive and can lead to a highly selective construction and distribution of knowledge, which has also been highlighted by Davoudi (2006), who argues that given the existence of often unequal power relations between experts and politics, social systems could be used strategically for example to empower politicians as well as to pursue specific policy directions.

Taking as read that the picture of a national border, in the sense of how it is experienced by people, has a deep impact on their social behaviour in terms of the inside/outside dichotomy and moreover that Social Identity is strongly dependent from the knowledge provided and distributed by the 'cultural memory', it appears that it is mainly this kind of memory which assist in transforming the dividing function of a national border into a bridging element. It could be highlighted that the negative meaning of this kind of border is strongly embedded in our hymns (e.g. *'wo man mit Blut die Grenze schrieb'* – where the border was drawn

in blood; or *'heiss umfehdet, wild umstritten [...] viel geprüftes Österreich'* – strongly fought for, fiercely contested [...] much tried Austria) or expressed through different kind of monuments? So *what is the added value of softening or opening a national border, when previously it was 'fiercely contested' and even 'drawn in blood'?* These and other related questions must be dealt with very carefully and communicated via expert channels (scientists, academics, priests, e.g.) to the people. Keeping in mind that the 'cultural memory' does not change substantially over time, the strategic change of the image of a national border is a long, but potentially productive journey to take. In this regard it should be considered that due to the strong feeling of social belong within a society it is seldom that a law alone, carried out exclusively from the top-down, might acquire a position of changing wider cultural values. On the contrary, those approaches which recognise and build on bottom-up dynamics, like the cohesion policies of the European Union, are most likely to succeed.

Changing the image of a national border in terms of highlighting and promoting its bridging and linking function implies first and foremost remedying the root causes of the inside/outside dichotomy caused by this territorial border itself. Those approaches and concepts which give attention exclusively to the 'symptoms', in the sense of solely providing solutions to overcome negative border effects, risk longer-term failure through neglecting the more complex underlying problems.

2.3 The changing nature of territorial borders

It might appear that borders are 'fixed' and durable because they crucially determine our lives, identities and geographical reach (Waterhout et al., 2009). However, borders are far more in flux than might be imagined at first sight. Therefore it is useful at this point to make a conceptual distinction, between two types of territorial border-change, as illustrated in the table below. Firstly the geographical-cartographic location of a border may change, and secondly the functions, meanings and roles of the border itself may change. These two different types of border-changes are not *a priori* inter-related; although changes in both dimensions often evolve in parallel. There are cases where the functions and meanings imposed on borders can change while the borders themselves remain fixed in geographical terms (such as the accession of Member States to the Schengen area). Conversely, EU expansion has repeatedly shifted the cartographic location of the external EU border without altering its meaning as a dividing line for a space allowing the free movement of goods and people.

Table 1: Two types of territorial border-changes

subject of change	degree of change	emergence	implementation	recognition
geographical-cartographic location	hard change: e.g. building up of new barriers in geographical terms	wars; violence; coercion; conflicts;	top-down, through political and military elites	strong influence, visible in the territory (e.g. border controls)
function, meanings and roles of fixed geographical borders	soft change: e.g. regulating the permeability of existing borders	regulations, agreements; negotiations; collaborations;	combination of top-down and bottom-up	intangible, (mostly) invisible,

Source: Haselsberger & Benneworth, 2010

The first type of territorial border-change happens only in exceptional circumstances (such as military conquest, post-war treaties or local plebiscite). Nevertheless, such geographical change is more prevalent than frequently imagined, especially considering the history of national borders in Europe in the 20th century. Even today, Europe bears the 'scars of history', its geography continually being reshaped by history or the environment, by politics or culture as well as by economic interests and national prestige and identities (Haselsberger, 2008b). Thus, Europe is home to a class of borders '*drawn for historical reasons which have [in many cases] ceased to be reasons*' (CoR, 2007, p.17). There are many physical borders which exist today in Europe which no longer correspond to the differences between the places delineated by the borders which caused the borders to be drawn. The corollary of this is that borders' meanings evolve in lumpy ways, in response to significant events rather than their meaning slowly shifting gradually over time. This can create a set of tensions which then are unleashed by political crises, and we have seen recently the emergence of newly drawn national borders throughout Europe. The 'upgrading' of formerly internal borders to the status of national borders in the wake of the collapse of the USSR or Yugoslavia, for example, is a good example of border redrawing in a century characterised by the disintegration of the great empires and the proliferation of nation-states. The creation, drawing or re-drawing of national borders in geographical terms is typically a 'top-down' exercise, a project of political and military elites.

The second type of territorial border-change, in terms of functions and meanings imposed on borders, is more intangible and invisible but also more continuous. Here 'bottom-up' influences interact with 'top-down' influences. The functions of territorial borders change over time, in terms of how they regulate the movement of people and commodities. This kind of territorial border-change is strongly affected by wider influences such as nation-state policies, globalisation or the emerging of multi-national entities such as the European Union. The key focus of the European Union integration process, for example, has been to significantly reduce the relevance of national borders (internal borders of the European Union) for European economic players, in order to create a large market in which national borders no longer stand in the way of the free movement of workers, goods, services and capital. This phenomenon, which has proved a great success, has been strengthened by the achievement of economic and monetary union, and the abolition of border controls (within the Schengen area), resulting in the twofold nature of neo-European borders. On the one hand, internal borders have become less important for the reasons given above, while on the other hand, external borders have been tightened up, given that access to the (internally largely unfenced) territory of the European Union requires stricter controls than access to exclusively nation-states. The result has been that the 'fence of the European fortification' (in the form of the EU's external borders) in its most hard form can be experienced as a real barrier for future developments and even facilitating the inside/outside dichotomy.

2.3.1 Geographical-cartographic shifting of territorial borders in Europe

All the maps and atlases with which we are familiar, confront us with a particular (geographical-cartographic) picture of the world. An earth's surface is divided into distinct nation-state territories, each demarcated by a line and illustrated in a separate colour. '*Our world is a jigsaw of territorial states, and we take this picture for granted.*' (Biggs, 1999, p.374) However, as Biggs continues '*our historical atlases show medieval Christendom also divided into demarcated territories [...] though perhaps less neatly*' (Ibid). For the purpose of this research, the fuzzy borders of the dynastic realms are not substantively significant,

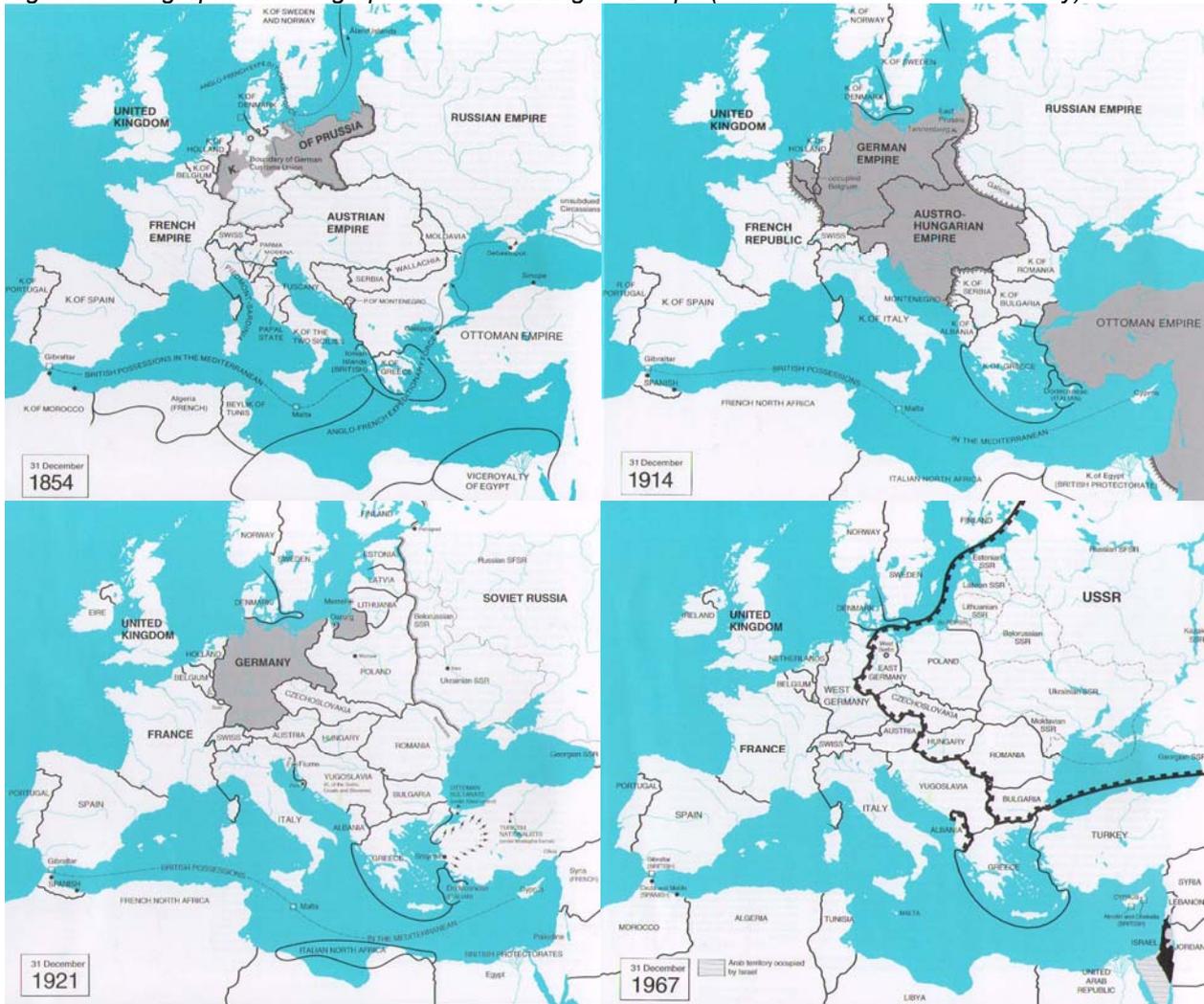
therefore the analysis of the geographical-cartographic shifting of territorial borders in Europe will start at that time the modern nation-states appeared for the first time as homogeneous spaces on the map, albeit applying the principle of equality more strictly to land than to citizens.

Although the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia is often referred to as 'the hour of birth' of the modern sovereign nation-state and later on became even associated with the so-called Westphalian state model (Krasner, 2001), it must be stated clearly that the modern nation-state – with its cartographic techniques and mapped image – was not established in Europe until the early nineteenth century (Biggs, 1999). It was by then that every nation-state throughout Europe was mapped and became reality. However, this does not mean that national borders in Europe were fixed as stable, sealed and efficient lines to separate nation-states at this time. Indeed, the opposite is true. On the one hand, Europe had been characterised by a process of consolidation (driven by the imperatives of territorial aggrandisement) of small nation-states and fiefdoms (like king- and dukedoms) into larger multi-national entities – a process which reached its zenith at the end of the nineteenth century (Caplow, 1998). On the other hand the twentieth century saw the successive break-up of the huge empires including the Ottoman, Russian, Austro-Hungarian, German, French, British and most recently of all, the Soviet empire (O'Dowd, 2003). Currently Europe is again undergoing a process of consolidation, driven by the dream of a 'Europe without Borders'. Taking into consideration the long, uneven and extremely varied process associated with European nation-state building, continuing to this day, it would be disingenuous to argue that the creation of a new 'Big Union' can be achieved in only five decades. In this regard it appears to be important to recognise that the European Union is still developing. Learning from the past by highlighting the history of national border drawing as well as the shifting of powers in Europe helps to understand and to trace out the future challenges for the European Union.

History teaches us the lesson that changes in the geographical location of national borders largely arose not from a democratic negotiation process but rather as a result of wars, invasions, dynastic settlements and the balance of power and coercion. For example the picture of Europe after the First World War was radically different to before 1914 (see Figure 3). On the one hand the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires disappeared, Russia and Germany shrunk and a lot of smaller nation-states appeared. On the other hand the Russian revolution of 1917 initiated the creation of a new aggregation, the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), a self-declared revolutionary socialist state.

Around four decades later, the Second World War produced once more significant changes in terms of international border arrangements throughout Europe (see Figure 3). On the one hand the USSR extended massively; Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Ukraine were subsumed under the regime of the Soviet Union and most of the Eastern European countries became Soviet satellite states (meaning that although formally independent, they were under heavy influence and control of the USSR). On the other hand Germany was partitioned, its national border radically redrawn and up to eight million of its nationals expelled from areas of German settlement in Poland and the *Sudetenland*. East Germany became a member of the Soviet bloc while the French, British and American zones of occupation were merged into the federal republic in West Germany (Davies, 1996, pp.1058–1059). Germany's defeat brought Poland, Czechoslovakia as well as Austria back to the map of Europe after some years absence.

Figure 3: Geographical-cartographic border shifting in Europe (from the 19th to the 20th century)



Source: McEvedy, 2002, p.21; p.55; p.67; p.99

During the period of the 'Cold War' (1945–1991) the Soviet Union and the United States of America were the two superpowers that dominated the global agenda of economic policy, foreign affairs, military operation, cultural exchange, and scientific advancements including the pioneering of space exploration. Generally speaking, the 'Cold War' framework solidified a new pattern of national borders within an overall East-West continental partition (O'Dowd, 2003). The 'Iron Curtain' became a well known and visible sign dividing Europe in two. Western Europeans could experience an eastern border which clearly defined by barbed wire and mines and consequently eastern Europeans could see this 'dead end' from the other side of the border. For many people this border was permanent and what lay beyond was of no concern or interest to them.

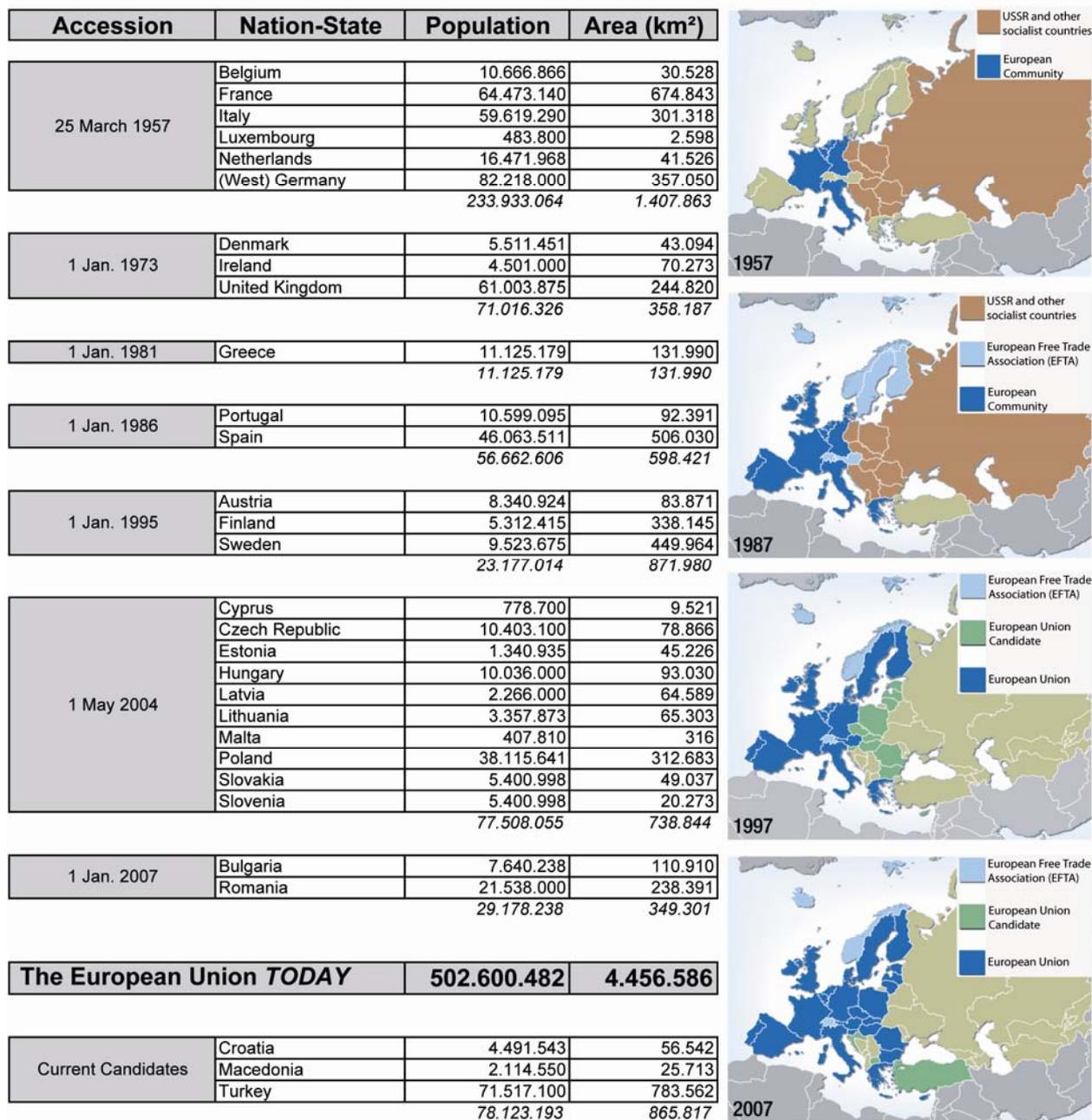
This period extending for slightly more than four decades after 1945 marked the high point of stable, sharply demarcated national borders in twentieth century Europe (in both eastern and western Europe) within which nation-states achieved an unprecedented degree of control over the economy, politics and culture of their citizens and a capacity to regulate cross-border flows (O'Dowd, 2001a). The remarkable density of the then emerging nation-state institutions and the unprecedented complexity of their relationship to citizens magnified the practical importance of belonging to one nation-state rather than to

another, thus drawing attention strongly to the territorial boundedness of nation-states. Despite their ideological differences, the 'Communist States' in the East, as well as the 'Welfare States' in the West, both underlined the increased practical significance of national borders (O'Dowd, 2003). Although protectionism was substantially moderated after 1945, nation-state intervention became much more extensively and deeply embedded in society and everyday life, not only in the burgeoning centrally-planned economies but also in western European mixed economies of countries. The result was that 'nation-state' and 'society' became almost synonymous, enclosed by the same boundaries which defined people's identities in 'nation-states' (Anderson et al., 2003). Generally speaking international border disputes became less common than previously, even in those cases where contested borders continued to have prominence like in Palestine/Israel. Anderson et al. (2003) argue that at that time it was generally assumed that the national borders *'were a fait accompli and could be considered 'settled' apart from some continuing border incidents'* (p.3).

In Western Europe the new national borders facilitated on the one hand the re-building of democratic nation-states as well as the consolidation of a new politically and economically entity, the European Union. However, despite the creation of the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1957 – a precursor to the European Union – and the European Free Trade Area (EFTA) in 1960, the barrier function of national borders enabled the creation of relatively inclusive welfare states in Western Europe. The scope and form of these welfare states varied according to the economic, political and class dynamics of each nation-state and its institutional history (O'Dowd, 2001a).

The end of the 'Cold War' in 1991 was accompanied by a rising tide of nation-state building that saw former republics and regions declaring their independence, after the physical and symbolic post-war division of Europe. Although Europe rid itself of the 'Iron Curtain', the continent remained split between a prosperous West and the struggling new democracies of Central Europe. By 1994, most of Central Europe's former Communist countries had applied to join the European Union. Today, nearly all former Central European Soviet Satellites, as well as the Baltic former Soviet states (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania) have entered the European Union. After a century which saw the collapse of empires and the fragmentation of Europe into dozens of small nation-states, a new alliance is again being forged. In terms of population, the EU is now the biggest single market in the world.

Figure 4: The emergence of the European Union in figures



Source: author's own design, maps: UNEP/GRID-Arendal (undated); data: <http://europa.eu/>

Compared to the period before 1989, contemporary Europe is characterised by many more national borders, and many more regulations on people within those borders. *‘Central and Eastern European countries are now [in 1998] framed by approximately 8.000 miles of new political lines [since 1989]. In this respect, the so-called old continent is the newest of all, with more than 60 per cent of its present [national] borders drawn during the twentieth century.’* (Foucher, 1998, p.235) These increased number and importance of borders became a reality due to the re-establishment of some national borders long suppressed under imperial reign (the fragmentation of the multi-national entities of the USSR in 1991 or the liberation of the former Soviet Satellite States in Eastern Europe in 1991 or the Baltic in 1989), or subsumed within federated structures (the fragmentation of the former Yugoslavia in 1991). It also involved initiatives to create new national borders for new nation-states dividing older nation-states (as in the case of Slovakia and the Czech Republic in 1992).

The last vestige of the former Yugoslavia - a union of Serbia and Montenegro, formed in 2002, split up in 2006. The Serbian province of Kosovo, the scene of bitter conflict in 1998-99, became independent in 2008. Even the national borders of nation-states, such as France, the UK, Italy and Germany, have not remained constant in the last century: only ten European nation-states (of which Spain is by far the largest) have the same borders today as one hundred years ago (Wallace, 1992). Thus, it would be agreeing with O'Dowd (2003) *'foolhardy to argue that the process of state erosion or formation is at an end in any part of Europe'* (p.16).

2.3.2 Globalisation and Europeanisation tendency's effecting territorial borders in Europe

The last three decades have seen rapid changes and substantial transformations in the roles, functions and meanings imposed on national borders in particular in terms of their permeability. This process was driven to a large extent by external pressures like 'economic globalisation' and Europeanisation (e.g. European Union integration or enlargement). Generally speaking, since the early 1980s territorial borders have become a more central focus for policy, resulting in an increased cross-border flow of goods, information and people, the removal of exchange controls on cross-border movements, an increase in foreign direct investment, the cultural globalisation in terms of high profile consumer products or communications networks. Yet, whilst some national borders have become softer, globalisation and Europeanisation have also resulted in precisely the opposite – a multiplication of border effects⁴, and a proliferation of new social and cultural boundaries associated with new geopolitical formations. In the EU context this differentiation is driven by the split between the European Union's internal and external borders. This is a very important observation, which highlights the fact that every development brings with it a host of conscious, but also unconscious side-effects.

But beside the weakening and strengthening of particular national borders, a general valid tendency for neo-European borders can be observed. It is no longer the case that everything of importance appears to happen inside a nation-state, or that everything outside, including the border itself, can largely be ignored. On the contrary, different types of 'communication tubes' have been set up to minimise negative border effects on a win-win basis, representing an important forward step in overcoming the inside/outside dichotomy. In the European Union context, this development was triggered by the fact that national borders were viewed as fragmenting the economic space, thereby interrupting the potential network of market areas, causing non-linear discontinuities and blockages in the cross-border flows of goods and services as well as in the mobility of capital and labour, raising accessibility costs (EC, 1988). Thus it is unsurprising that several economic and geographical studies of EU integration argued that national borders impedes free movement of information and activities, and should be seen as physical and institutional obstructions to smooth transfers which would result in higher levels of trans-national integration and welfare (see Ratti, 1993; EC, 1988). But as the background of the European Union is mainly an economic one, these kinds of studies often neglect the socially embedded meaning of the national borders (as highlighted in the previous chapters).

⁴ As a consequence of the softening process of the European Union's internal borders, its external border has been tightened up, subsuming the many border effects of all the Member States it is constituted by within one single border.

Building on the idea of establishing an 'United European place' in association with concepts such as the 'Single European Market', the 'Internal Market', 'Borderless Europe', 'Economic and Monetary Union', funding programmes have been set up to make a reality of these imaginaries of spatial unification, focussing in particular on the enhancement of trans-border harmonisation, cohesion and development (van Houtum, 2003). It is true that these funding programmes have increased the permeability and flexibility of the EU's internal borders. But, this tendency should be understood apart from diminishing the significance of every national border. On the contrary, the enduring relevance of some of these borders has to be recognised in their own right, considering also their salience for the project of European Union Integration process as a whole.

The European Union's external borders have been strengthened in order to defend 'Fortress Europe', thereby becoming more impervious, as access to the unfenced area of the EU requires stricter controls than access to a solely Member State (Maier, 2008). *'Inside the 'European Union club', citizens of the Member States are encouraged to network and move around freely in order to increase comfort for all, while at the same time the entrance gates of the club are strongly patrolled and guarded'* (van Houtum, 2003, p.46). Thus it appears that the price of enhancing the bridging role of internal EU borders was the strengthening of the barrier functions of the external border: the abolition of internal border controls created a perceived need for enhancing the barrier functions of the external EU border.

But there are further distinctions between internal borders of the EU which are, or are not, subject to the Schengen Agreement's suspension of passport controls; and which are, or are not, Euro-currency borders. As for the EU's external borders, there are distinctions between its external borders in general, and the external borders with nation-states which are in various stages of probationary or candidate membership of the enlarging EU. There are also 'knock-on' effects to other borders between candidate nation-states and nation-states either further back or outside that queue, for these borders will in the future become the external borders of 'Fortress Europe': demonstrating that they can be secured is a condition of acceptance into membership (Anderson et al., 2003).

The most prevalent question in regard of the changing permeability of national borders is what/who can and cannot, what/who should and should not be allowed to cross the national borders (in either direction), expressed in terms of various types of 'barrier' or 'filtering' effects. In other words there is increasing differentiation in terms of who and what is, or is not, allowed to cross these territorial borders and under what conditions. Besides being open for tourists and investors, EU borders are also open for some specified types of labour from outside the European Union, namely those that add unique qualities to the national economy, such as gifted soccer-players, scientists or managers. That such an arbitrary selection results in curious outcomes may not come as a surprise. In the Netherlands there was some discussion whether it was appropriate for Maxima Zorreguieta, the current Crown Princess, who is from Argentina, to have so quickly and silently in 2001 received a permit to stay in the Netherlands, when compared to 'non-royals'. Another illustration comes from the 2000 sub-national elections in North Rhine Westphalia in Germany, where one of the major political issues of the day was solving a shortage of computer experts. The sub-national Social Democratic Party considered attracting Indian computer experts to solve the problem, but the sub-national Christian Democratic Party won a considerable number of votes by claiming

that what was needed was more children, rather than more people from India (*'Kinder statt Inder'*, or 'Children in place of Indians'). Following this election, the issue regained political salience when some German industry groups argued that Germany needed more immigrant workers to sustain its labour ranks and compete globally. In the Netherlands, some captains of industry have claimed that 'speed-offices' are needed whereby unique labourers from abroad could bypass the normal immigrant procedures. Likewise, in some other countries of the EU with a labour deficit in certain economic sectors, some politicians have argued that asylum seekers should be granted work permits pending adjudication of their claims, thereby making the already thin and arbitrary line between 'economic' and 'political' refugees even more questionable (van Houtum, 2003, pp.53–54).

3 TERRITORIAL COOPERATION IN THEORY

Territorial borders have always been accorded a significant role within everyday life (cf. chapter 2). Hence, it is not unsurprising that they have entered the literary sphere. Interestingly, well-known fairy tales and novels, like the story of Robinson Crusoe (published in 1719), introduced the idea of how a civilised space may be structured through limits/borders providing a delineation function and providing an element of protection, have already raised the point that too many and too rigid physical borders may have negative implications on the living conditions.

'I [Robinson Crusoe] had stuck the out-side of the hedge so full of small stakes, and so near to one another, that it was rather a pale than a hedge, and there was scarce room to put a hand thro' between them, which afterwards when those stakes grew, as they all did in the next rainy season, made the enclosure strong like a wall, indeed stronger than any wall.' (Defoe, 1719, p.121) However after some time his self-made 'walls' made Robinson Crusoe feel like a prisoner on his solitary island. *'I kept my self, as I said, more retired than ever, and seldom went from my cell, [...].'* (Ibid, p.138) But, one day he realised that the 'walls' which once provided him with a feeling of security – *'I began to be very well contented with the life I led, if it might but have been secur'd from the dread of the savages.'* (Ibid, p.143) – were unsuitable as protection from the cannibals. *'I came to reflect seriously upon the real danger I had been in, for so many years in this very island; and how I had walk'd about in the greatest security, and with all possible tranquillity; even when perhaps nothing but a brow of a hill, a great tree, or the casual approach of night, had been between me and the worst kind of destruction.'* (Ibid, p.155) This moment marked the point where Robinson Crusoe made serious plans for escaping from his solitary island as well as from his self-made prison.

Returning to the reality of territorial borders in Europe, Europe was for a long time covered by dynastic realms, which in a geographical sense did not constitute a set of unities. *'Just as the dynastic realm was not unified, it was not clearly demarcated'* (Biggs, 1999, p.385) and moreover it was riddled by enclaves⁵. In addition, the monarch's effective control tended to diminish with proximity to the border. Thus as a consequence, cooperation beyond borders was not an issue at that time. In Europe, cooperation beyond borders is closely related to the building up and the existence of nation-states, which started in the early nineteenth century (Biggs, 1999). Since that point, national borders should be considered as essential delineation elements of the nation-state territories and their functions, as has been explained in the previous chapter. In general, it can be said that the more the nation-state assumed tasks and functions, the more the importance of national borders increased, as they provided tangible (physical and non-physical) limitations of to the nation-state's sphere (Maier, 2008). But territorial borders and in particular national borders have negative consequences for directly adjoining areas (Zonneveld, 2005), as seen throughout

⁵ It needs to be acknowledged that enclaves are by no means only a historical phenomenon. On the contrary, some of them are extant today (*Campione*, Italy or *Kaliningrad*, Russia), and others have been created more recently (e.g. *De Voerstreek* in Belgium). However today's most curious European enclaves/exclaves situation might be discovered along the Dutch-Belgium border in *Baarle-Hertog/Baarle-Nassau* (a city of around 10,000 inhabitants) which could even be regarded as *'Europe's most complicated border configuration'* (Gardner, et al., 2005, p.16). This city comprises on the one hand the Belgian Baarle-Hertog, which consists of 22 enclaves completely surrounded by the Dutch territory of Baarle-Nassau. On the other hand Baarle-Nassau has one Dutch enclave in Belgium and seven exclaves embodied in the Belgian enclaves. All together this city has 30 enclaves! (see also <http://english.baarledigitaal.org/factstoknow.php>)

the border areas (frontiers) and trans-border regions of the Europe Union, which currently comprise 40% of the European Union surface area and determine the living conditions of 32% of the European Union population (Janssen, 2006). These specific type or territories (border areas and trans-border regions) are often described as the main hurdles standing between the nation-state territories of the coalescing Europe Union. As far as the European Commission is concerned, it became convinced that the '*frontier [...] is the place where the success of the European [Union] integration will be proven*' (Corvers, 2001, p.372). Thus it is unsurprising that the European Commission places much effort into solving border-related problems by enabling and promoting different forms of cooperation beyond borders.

The multi-national territory of the EU can be described as a kind of 'melting pot' composed of several nation-states and characterised by differing traditions and cultures. Given this extensive and increasing diversity of the European Union, the concept of 'territorial cohesion' as a general policy objective appears to be as remote as ever. As territorial borders are still experienced as 'scars of history' in quotidian life, cooperation across borders (not necessarily only national borders, but also borders within a nation-state territory) can be used strategically to reduce the disadvantages imposed on the respective border areas and trans-border regions. In this sense the need of 'territorial cohesion' becomes increasingly visible and moreover underlines the growing interest of multi-national entities in overcoming the peripheral location of some EU Member States and in improving living conditions for the population in an enlarging EU.

For the 'core' population the idea of 'territorial cohesion' is often just an abstraction; but it is a real, everyday experience for those living in a border zone. Border populations may suffer strongly from the consequences of a national border, and desire the elimination of the root cause of their problems. The willingness of citizens and different authorities to cooperate in finding appropriate trans-border solutions does not necessarily imply any intention to abolish the sovereignty of the nation-state, as can be learnt from the success of the Regio Basiliensis⁶. One of the most remarkable achievements in the early days of this swiss-german-french trans-border organisation was their involvement during the establishment of the Association of European Border Regions (AEBR)⁷. In so doing, the Regio Basiliensis showed clearly that what is desired is to 'heal the scars inflicted by history' by giving the inhabitants on every sides of a national border the opportunity for better cooperation, which should come to terms of the creation of a Europe for all its citizens (AEBR, 1995).

EU integration policies strongly support the removal of economic, social, cultural, traffic and legal boundaries in order to build up 'a unity of diversity'. Doing so, the peripheral situation of border areas and trans-border regions may be transformed into a favourable central position within the EU (as can be experienced for example on the case of the Centrope Region, *qv*). Hence cooperation across borders can help to overcome historical barriers, redress imbalances and problems of peripherality caused by the

⁶ The Regio Basiliensis was established in 1963 and has to be regarded the first trans-border cooperation entity in Europe. More detailed information about the Regio Basiliensis are available at <http://www.regbas.ch/>

⁷ The AEBR is an associative body established in 1971 which nowadays has around 100 members, representing more than 200 border regions all across Europe. The AEBR aims to promote and represent border regions interests through, knowledge-building about the problems and opportunities of border regions; communication of their interests towards national and international bodies and institutions; support and coordination of cross-border cooperation activities; More detailed information about the AEBR are available at <http://www.aebr.net/>

barrier effect of national borders and to deal with everyday absurdities resulting from uncoordinated activities of diverse nation-state authorities (Dubois, 2004). In this regard cooperation beyond borders covers a significant bridging function and moreover appears as an essential touchstone of the 'European Union project'. Generally speaking the main objective of cooperation beyond borders should be seen in the *'overcoming of border-related barriers and divergent systems, in order to expand the spheres of contact and activity as far as possible beyond the national border, reducing its function to that of an administrative border'* (Gabbe, 1999, p.5). But, one must consider that various European trans-border regions are not only divided by national borders but also by fundamental geographical barriers (such as rivers, lakes, oceans and mountains) and face case-specific problems and social barriers, which make any cooperation approach even more difficult (AEBR, 1995).

Like any other complex phenomenon, cooperation beyond borders has its roots in several specific factors and circumstances. However, the main objective or driving force of those involved in 'cooperation beyond borders' activities can be found in the offset of structural disadvantages imposed by their location on the edge of their country and confined by the limits placed on their respective system (legal, economic, social, and even linguistic, cultural, or religious) as a result of proximity to a national border. Thus, in a booming and politically stable Europe, different key-players on either side of national borders, dependent on different systems but sharing common problems and interests (cross-border pollution, land-use planning, security issues, border workers, etc.) have sought to join forces in order to find practical, fast solutions to their requirements, without needing to go via the traditional channels of inter-nation-state relations. The aim was and still is to *'resolve a problem that is both cross-border, trans-national and/or interregional and sub-national, supra-local and/or local in nature, without turning it into an international affair in which the respective key-players would be forced to look to their capital cities in the hope that the Ministry for Foreign Affairs would take an interest in this issue'* (CoR, 2007, p.17).

In broad terms, there seem to be two distinct views concerning cooperation beyond border processes, which will be analysed in chapter 3.2. The first is, in a figurative sense, a 'top-down' perspective which deals primarily with the impact of (European) territorial policies on nation-states and consequently on their border areas (chapter 3.2.1). The second is more focused on internal cooperation between the different interests and objectives of a local territory (e.g. a border area), and may be characterised as 'bottom-up' driven (chapter 3.2.2). Haselsberger & Benneworth (2010) highlight that *'a fundamental observation concerning cross-border arrangements in Europe is, that hardly anywhere have 'bottom-up' forces achieved the attention required in terms of a fundamental source for planning regulation – they are characterised by being both voluntary and decentralised, with persistent barriers between different sides of the border'*. But it needs to be highlighted here that 'top-down' initiatives, like the European Union funding programmes, are playing a decisive role. In fact, many changes which have taken place over recent years, especially in the transfer from theoretical territorial study-areas to practical territorial cooperation-areas, are the result of bilateral engagement between nation-states or their constituent elements (Zonneveld, 2005) or, in other words, of 'bottom-up' power, which to a large extent have been supported financially from 'top-down' initiatives. Hence, building on the hypothesis that to a certain extent both 'top-down' as well as 'bottom-up' dynamics are necessary to establish flourishing border areas and trans-border regions, this chapter focuses on the fact that not only 'top-down' influences, but also bottom-up influences are highly

important to the quality and the stability of any cooperative beyond border activity as can be learnt from experiences elsewhere in Europe.

But, when dealing with the complex phenomenon of cooperation beyond borders it is not merely enough to only examine external and internal influences (emerging from 'top-down' and 'bottom-up') but also to answer the crucial question of what is required to implement trans-border cooperation on the ground (chapter 3.3). This provides a means to firstly analyse existing framework-structures under the aspect of what degree/level of formality is required for trans-border cooperation (chapter 3.3.1) and secondly to deduce the most suitable trans-border network-structure for bringing a trans-border region to fruition in the longer term (chapter 3.3.2).

The experimental approach of applying concepts of (trans-border) learning groupings ('communities of practice', 'networks of practice and 'epistemic communities') to a trans-border planning context will assist in exploring the dynamics of the emergence of the trans-border scale within contemporary European spatial planning. This undertaking has been made as it appears that, generally speaking, European spatial planning has emerged in a way that has (mostly) ignored the complexities associated with national borders, tending to take a monochromatic view of them as either 'closed' (external borders of the EU) or 'open' (internal borders of the EU), often rooted on a singular view of either a 'space of places', or a 'space of flows'⁸. But this denies the much more complex, shaded reality of national borders, and indeed the reality of trans-border network structures emerging from real interactions between partners who may occupy more or less coterminous juridical, organisational, cultural and cognitive planning spaces.

However, before entering the complex sphere of 'cooperation beyond borders', some clarifications of the terminology used in this context is necessary to avoid misunderstandings.

3.1 Definitions: From trans-frontier to territorial cooperation

Over time, different definitions of the term 'cooperation' have emerged, such as '*bridging institutions*', building connections between different 'worlds', '*bypass organisations*', which help to deal with blockages in communication between and within organisations, or '*innovation agencies*', which help develop new solutions to these problems (Selle, 1996). The importance of cooperation beyond borders is that cooperation involves more than negotiations in structured decision-making processes. Much more important is the identification, activation, information, communication, qualification and coordination of mutual activities (Kestermann, 1997) following a certain strategy. According to Healey (2005) a strategy '*offers a direction and provides some parameters within which specific actions can be set. It creates ideas about how future opportunities may be grasped and threats avoided. Strategies, in this conception, are emergent social products in complex governance contexts, with the power to frame discourses and shape action through the persuasive power of these framing discourses.*' (p.1) Thus, the result of cooperation processes is much more than the bringing together and the recognition of mutual principles, it has to come to terms with the generation of visions and not only with the creation of a consensus (Zonneveld, 2005).

⁸ '*The essence of this conceptualisation is a dialectical tension between the historically rooted local spatial organisation of human experience (the space of places) versus the global flow of goods, things, people and electronic impulses (the space of flows).*' (Jenson & Richardson, 2004, p.217 after Castells, 1996)

In the literature as well as in the daily conversations a confusing set of terms may be encountered in relation to cooperation activities and processes across borders, such as cross-border, trans-frontier, trans-national, interregional, inter-territorial or territorial cooperation. They are often used interchangeably despite conveying different meanings. Generally speaking these terms have been developed and promoted by the two main European organisations (the Council of Europe and the European Community/Union) within their legal and financial (funding) instruments.

In 1980 the Council of Europe introduced the term 'trans-frontier cooperation' in its 'European Outline Convention on Trans-frontier Cooperation between Territorial Communities or Authorities'⁹. Article 2 of this Convention defines trans-frontier cooperation as *'[...] any concerted action designed to reinforce and foster neighbourly relations between territorial communities or authorities within the jurisdiction of two or more Contracting Parties and the conclusion of any agreement and arrangement necessary for this purpose. Trans-frontier cooperation shall take place in the framework of territorial communities' or authorities' powers as defined in domestic law'*. Since then, the Council of Europe has used the definition of trans-frontier cooperation for activities which focus on the direct neighbourhood relationship of (at least) two border areas (frontiers) separated by a national border.

In contrast, the European Community/Union identifies this type of neighbourhood cooperation as 'cross-border cooperation'¹⁰ and moreover acknowledges it as the most crucial element for overcoming the barrier effects of national borders as well as for achieving economic, social and territorial cohesion in Europe. Therefore cross-border cooperation was from the beginning the highest-supported – in financial terms – form of Community Initiative through the various INTERREG activities (INTERREG, INTERREG IIA, INTERREG IIIA).

In extending the scope of cooperation activities beyond the narrow neighbourhood dimension, the Council of Europe introduced in 1998 the concept of 'inter-territorial cooperation' in its Protocol No 2 to the European Outline Convention from 1980¹¹. Article 1 of this Protocol defines inter-territorial cooperation as *'[...] any concerted action designed to establish relations between territorial communities or authorities of two or more Contracting Parties, other than relations of trans-frontier cooperation of neighbouring authorities, including the conclusion of cooperation agreements with territorial communities or authorities of other States.'*

In parallel the European Community identified in 1996 the idea of 'trans-national cooperation' in the frame of INTERREG IIC. According to Zonneveld (2005) trans-national cooperation is defined as the *'[...] cooperation between Member States (and between regions within individual Member States) extending over the territory of several countries'* (p.138). *'Trans-national cooperation seeks to promote wider scale cooperation across national frontiers and as such it is not limited to contiguous border areas.'* (EC, 2001, p.7) The aim is to overcome the fragmentation of space caused by national borders, supporting a broadly-based strategic approach to the development of areas with common characteristics, such as the Baltic Sea

⁹ CETS No 106, opened for signature in Madrid on 21 May 1980.

¹⁰ Article 265 of the Treaty establishing the European Community amended by the Treaty of Amsterdam.

¹¹ CETS No 169, opened for signature in Strasbourg on 5 May 1998.

region. Furthermore in 2000 the term 'interregional cooperation' was introduced by the European Union in relation to the INTERREG IIIC programme defining a cooperation activity focused on large-scale information exchange and sharing of experiences by means of networks. In contrast to trans-national cooperation, 'interregional cooperation promotes common projects between regions that are not necessarily geographically contiguous. Any region within the EU can potentially cooperate with any other on a range of subjects.' (EC, 2001, p.8)

In 2006 the European Union introduced the notion of (European) 'territorial cooperation'¹² – a neologism in European legal vocabulary – encompassing cross-border, trans-national and/or interregional cooperation, in other words the facets covered by the three strands (A, B and C) of the INTERREG III programme. The term territorial cooperation is closely linked to the extended cohesion objective of the European Union ('economic, social and territorial cohesion') which has been incorporated in the 'Reform Treaties for the European Union', signed in Lisbon on 13 December 2007 (Maier, 2008).

Table 2: Definitions for cooperation across borders (Council of Europe; European Community/Union)

Council of Europe	European Community/Union	European Union (since 2006)
trans-frontier cooperation	cross-border cooperation	territorial cooperation
inter-territorial cooperation	trans-national cooperation	
	inter-regional cooperation	

To avoid misunderstanding, in this research the term 'territorial cooperation' (summarising the different facets of cooperation across borders) and the neutral term 'trans-border' cooperation is used as a sort of generalised term when referring to cooperation across borders. Where a particular aspect of territorial cooperation is discussed, the classification of the European Community/Union will apply (cross-border, trans-national and inter-regional).

3.2 Influences on territorial cooperation

The European Union should be regarded as a key factor in enabling territorial cooperation activities in practice, notably through the diminishing importance of national borders (inside the European Union), the growing regional representation at the supra-national scale (EU) as well as the INTERREG Initiative (and other related funding programmes). Due to this the European Union is sometimes even considered as *the* driving force behind the emergence and proliferation of territorial cooperation across Europe.

Throughout the evolution of European spatial policy and research (which includes territorial cooperation), there has been a struggle between national and sub-national ('bottom-up') and supra-national ('top-down') dynamics. Hence, one of the basic challenges of European spatial planning and research (and consequently territorial cooperation) lies in the interrelationship between the two different expertises and perceptions emerging from these two different dynamics. Böhme & Schön (2006) define this challenge in the following way. 'Everybody has a mental picture of the spatial situation and development of her or his

¹² Council Regulation (EC) No 1083/2006 of 11 July 2006 laying down general provisions on the European Regional Development Fund, the European Social Fund and the Cohesion Fund and repealing Regulation (EC) No 1260/1999, OJ L 210, 31 July 2006.

city and region and may be moreover able to place that in a national context. Equally, national policy-makers have good knowledge of the spatial development of their country. [These pictures are seldom coherent with pictures made up by the EU.] A region with a medium-range economic development in a national comparison may still fall into the group of prosperous regions in a European comparison. Equally so, an area considered highly urbanised in a national context might turn out to be rather rural in a wider European picture and vice versa.' (p.68) The lesson here is that spatial planning at the European scale (as it is practiced at the moment) can neither fully represent the demand of spatial planning at the national scale, nor at the scales below (Fabbro & Haselsberger, 2009). It can only reflect the development tendencies for national spatial planning, which are admittedly influenced by spatial planning attempts at the European scale. Because of its high abstraction, caused by the need for international consensus, these demands have to be modified and further elaborated within national artefacts (like the spatial planning system), in terms of providing adequate concepts and instruments for influencing planning at the sub-national scales. Therefore, following Böhme & Schön (2006) it appears to be essential that spatial planning at the European scale should reflect global (European) views as well as correctly incorporating and interpreting national and sub-national contexts emerging from the 'bottom-up'.

This highly necessary process derives additional urgency from the fact that it is impossible to talk about a homogenous EU-27 planning family, due to the existing differences in planning cultures and approaches throughout Europe. EU planning has become what Pallagst (undated) referred to as a melting pot of diverse approaches and understandings. But it can also be argued that within this 'melting pot' there has been a general convergence towards more collaborative and communicative forms of planning (Adams, 2008). Thus there is a realistic chance and possibility for building up flourishing border areas and trans-border regions and consequently for developing genuine territorial cooperation within the EU, shaped by 'top-down' policies and 'top-down' directives, allowing 'bottom-up' characteristics to exist and 'bottom-up' visions to emerge.

3.2.1 The impact of 'top-down' pressures

The European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP), alongside other European documents and directives, in combination with European funding programmes, has occupied an important position in the Europeanisation process. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that this raft of documents are also leading to a degree of convergence/harmonisation of spatial planning in Europe from a 'top-down' perspective (Fabbro & Haselsberger, 2009), as experienced very clearly in the several former socialist states. These nation-states aspired to join the EU in order to improve their economic opportunities and to reduce dependence on Russia after the collapse of the Soviet Union. However as Adams (2008) argues *'they perceived independence offered by EU membership in a post-Soviet world and the promise of EU funding ensured that the influence of the EU on the restructuring process has been significant'* (p.34).

The influence of the European Union on old and new Member States and consequently territorial cooperation activities is explained by a two tier approach. Firstly the influence of binding and non-binding European documents, most notably the ESDP, are used to explaining how the idea of the European spatial planning approach is influencing and guiding the thinking of planners and researchers throughout Europe.

Secondly the financial support of the European Community, most notably the INTERREG initiative, illustrates how the principles of the European spatial planning approach are put into reality.

3.2.1.1 The European spatial planning approach¹³

The absence of formal competencies in the European Treaties notwithstanding, European spatial planning has become a reality and the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP) its '*proudest achievement so far*' (Faludi & Waterhout, 2002). The ESDP, approved in 1999 in Potsdam by the then 15 Member States of the European Union, after several years of preparation (CEC, 1999; Faludi, 2004a, 2004b), became an important policy document for spatial development in Europe, despite all criticism¹⁴ and shortcomings¹⁵, and has so far been the pinnacle of European spatial planning (Adams, 2008). Since the European Community has no formal competence in territorial policies, the European Commission played only a proactive role in the ESDP development process (Janin Rivolin & Faludi, 2005).

The aim of the ESDP was to provide a policy framework, together with policy objectives and concepts, for the future development of the territory of the European Union. The ESDP has since become central to what has been called a hegemonic European territorial governance discourse (Böhme, 2002) and has resulted in several follow-up activities such as the founding of the European Spatial Planning Observation Network (ESPON)¹⁶ and the development of the Territorial Agenda of the EU. These follow-up activities were already foreseen, to some extent at least, in the original ESDP document.

However, whilst it may not have been an explicit intention to stimulate a process of harmonisation and despite the 'top-down' approach that was adopted, it could be argued that this has ultimately been one of the documents' main achievements through the establishment of various substantial principles in the minds of planners throughout Europe (Shaw & Sykes, 2004). It could be argued that the direct impact of the application of the ESDP on the implementation of policies in the Member States has been rather weak. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that the document has had a significant impact in terms of orientating territorial policies and practices at various levels (Faludi, 2004a). In many ways the ESDP can be considered as the first pan-European spatial planning document and has become an influential multi-lingual textbook¹⁷ for planners across the European territory (Tewdwr-Jones, 2003; Kunzmann, 2006).

Opinions are currently converging on the point of whether or not the ESDP should be renewed or at least up-dated, if only because of the enlargement of the EU to 25 members as of 1 May 2004. This update is

¹³ Parts of this chapter have appeared as Fabbro, Sandro and Haselsberger, Beatrix (2009) 'Spatial Planning Harmonisation as a Condition for Trans-National Cooperation', *European Planning Studies*, Vol.17(9), pp.1335–1356.

¹⁴ Kunzmann (2006) for example considers the end-product of the ESDP as a rather technocratic document, a paper tiger, but nevertheless highlights strongly the process of the ESDP as noteworthy achievement for Europe.

¹⁵ Although the ESDP contains a chapter focusing on the accession countries, it was essentially an EU-15 document and one that was undoubtedly North-west Europe dominated in terms of approach (Adams, 2007).

¹⁶ The ESPON is an applied-research programme, which has been set up to support policy development and to build a European scientific community in the field of European territorial development. The main aim was to develop an observatory able to undertake continuous spatial monitoring and to increase the general body of knowledge about territorial structures, trends, perspectives and policy impacts in an enlarging European Union. It has filled a big gap by making available comparable data, indicators and analyses across Europe (cf. <http://www.espon.eu>).

¹⁷ The ESDP is one of the most circulated documents on spatial planning in Europe. It is available in all languages of the Member States of the European Union, except those of the new members in Central and Eastern Europe.

required not only because of the EU enlargement, but also as the ESDP currently appears as a primarily North-West European perspective¹⁸. The attitudes of southern European Member States towards European spatial planning have never been fully clarified. Therefore the southern perspectives represent according to Janin Rivolin & Faludi (2005) *'the hidden face of European spatial planning'*, which need better articulation to give European spatial planning the visibility it deserves as a strategic tool of integration and as a basic driver of planning innovation. For these reasons it seems that, alongside other, any account of European spatial planning must also consider the southern dimension.

The Territorial Agenda of the European Union (CEMAT, 2007), launched in 2007, has become the political framework for future efforts in European spatial planning, although it can be argued that it makes no significant progress compared to the ESDP and as Kunzmann (forthcoming) argues, it has failed to bring together the 27 Member States under a single umbrella structure. Nevertheless, both the ESDP and the Territorial Agenda are two meaningful examples of the many European documents that can be regarded as tools that make a significant contribution to the Europeanisation process. However, these documents are not a substitute for territorial cooperation efforts aiming to elaborate visions and strategies at sub-European spatial scales.

3.2.1.2 The Community Funding Initiative INTERREG

There is no scope in this section to provide a comprehensive overview of the Community Funding Initiative INTERREG, which would go far beyond the scope of this study. However, this chapter seeks to provide an insight into the main principles and ideas of this funding initiative. In addition, the sometimes 'hidden' 'top-down' impacts on territorial cooperation in practice get discussed critically.

In 1990 the European Union launched the Community Funding Initiative INTERREG in order to explicitly support regions along national borders within the EU to overcome specific development problems resulting from their relative isolation within nation-state economies. Doing so, for the first time the EC officially recognised the relatively disadvantaged situation of border areas throughout the European Community and proposed a two-pronged mechanism of (financial) support for such areas. INTERREG provided support for economic development in less developed border areas¹⁹ and, given the limiting factors to such development engendered by national borders, set such development within a cross-border focus²⁰.

The INTERREG Initiative was continued from 1994 to 1999 as INTERREG II. The programme's second incarnation went so far as to explicitly define the main priority objectives for the award of Community

¹⁸ The foundations of the ESDP were laid at Nantes (F) in 1989, the first official draft was approved at Noordwijk (NL) and its final version was approved at Potsdam (GE). This is no coincidence. France, the Netherlands and Germany are the Member States that, more than any others, have sustained, promoted and shaped the whole ESDP process to the point where the ESDP is usually said to represent a distinctly nord-west European perspective on spatial planning (Janin Rivolin & Faludi, 2005).

¹⁹ The declared aim was *'to assist internal border areas of the Community in overcoming the spatial development problems arising from their relative isolation within national economies and within the Community as a whole in the interests of the local population and in a manner compatible with the protection of the environment'* (Stead & Waterhout, 2007, p.5).

²⁰ The declared aim was *'to promote the creation and development of networks of cooperation across internal borders and, where relevant, the linking of these networks to wider Community networks, in the context of the completion of the internal market of 1992'* (Stead & Waterhout, 2007, p.5).

funding towards the support for the establishment of 'shared institutional or administrative structures'²¹. INTERREG II was organised in three strands, namely cross-border cooperation (strand A); trans-national energy networks (strand B) and starting from 1996 trans-national cooperation in the sphere of area development to tackle flooding and drought problems and to develop spatial planning for large groupings of geographical areas (strand C). While on the one hand going beyond the strict cross-border (neighbourhood) dimension²² it appears, that on the other hand the cooperation criteria remained the same for both dimensions (for small neighbourhood cooperation as well as for larger geographical areas). The EC announced that '*priority will be given to proposals made in cooperation with regional and local authorities which include the creation or development of shared institutional or administrative structures, where possible within existing cooperation frameworks, [...]*', which, from an institutional point of view, corresponds with the ambition also stated for cross-border action.

The INTERREG III Initiative covered the period between 2000 and 2006 (it started less than a year after the publication of the ESDP). The main objective was '*to strengthen economic and social cohesion throughout the European Union (EU), by fostering the balanced development of the continent through cross-border, trans-national and interregional cooperation*'²³.

Special emphasis was placed on integrating remote regions and those that share national borders with the new Member States. INTERREG III had three strands:

- (i) Strand A was concerned with cross-border cooperation between adjacent regions. This strand aimed to develop cross-border social and economic centres through common development strategies.
- (ii) Strand B was the follow-up to INTERREG IIC and was concerned with trans-national cooperation (less territorial and more sectoral) and aimed to promote better integration within the Union through the formation of large groups of European regions by supporting actions involving national, regional and local authorities. For many, the INTERREG IIIB trans-national areas are the first attempt to put into practice the wish to develop 'Global Integration Zones' outside the core areas of Europe, but most importantly they also aimed for the first time to stimulate a 'bottom-up' approach to the development of links between regions (Zonneveld, 2005). The main priorities of most IIIB programmes are coherent with the ESDP policy guidelines²⁴. This is unsurprising as the European Commission specified that strand B proposals should take account of the ESDP.
- (iii) Strand C focused on interregional cooperation and aimed to improve the effectiveness of regional development policies and instruments for regional development and cohesion through large-scale information exchange and sharing of experience mainly by means of networks.

²¹ '*When awarding border aid under the present initiative, the Commission shall give priority to proposals [...] which include the creation or development of shared institutional or administrative structures designed to broaden and deepen cooperation between public institutions, private organisations and voluntary bodies.*' (OJ C 180, 01 July 1994, p.61)

²² The Communication expressly refers to the 'joint development of other trans-national groupings going beyond simple cross-border cooperation'.

²³ cf. http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/interreg3/index_en.htm

²⁴ The three ESDP policy guidelines are: 1) development of a balanced and polycentric urban system and a new urban-rural relationship; 2) securing parity of access to infrastructure and knowledge; 3) sustainable development, prudent management and protection of nature and cultural heritage;

In the current programming period (2007–2013), the INTERREG Initiative has been 'mainstreamed' as the European Territorial Cooperation (ETC) objective of the Structural Funds. However, as INTERREG has become an established (recognisable) initiative, it is still referred to as INTERREG IV (Stead & Waterhoud, 2008). In terms of objectives, the mainstreaming of INTERREG has been translated into the aim to '*promote stronger integration of the territory of the Union in all its dimensions*' (CoE, 2006, p.10). This objective is broader, but at the same time more generally formulated than the objective of the previous INTERREG III programme. The ETC objective is financed by the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) and supports cross-border cooperation (replacing INTERREG IIIA); trans-national cooperation (replacing INTERREG IIIB) and interregional cooperation (replacing INTERREG IIIC).

It is certainly true that due to the INTERREG Initiative the situation of several border areas and trans-border regions throughout Europe has become significantly better. But on the other hand, for some regions, the need to access EU funding programmes and the importance of absorbing EU funds has clearly been an influential factor in terms of the adoption of certain elements of the EU-15 approaches. Adams (2008) uses the example of the Baltic States to explain this phenomenon. He argues that in many of the new Member States²⁵, the early years after independence were '*characterised by the chaotic tendencies typical in transition countries*' (p.34) with planning, general speaking, being associated heavily with the central planning approach of the old Soviet system. As Adams (2008) has pointed out, negative connotations of planning, going hand-in-hand with neglect from policy makers and the public, is nothing new and took place in several places throughout Europe, as for example in Austria after World War 2. But in contrast to the Baltic States, Austria had around five decades to establish its own planning system prior to accession to the European Union in 1995 which made available access to EU funding. Within the Baltic States (which became independent in 1989 and joined the EU in 2004) the growing influence of the EU on planning was enormous. It soon became apparent that embracing planning was one of the preconditions of accessing EU funding and as Mercier (2005) argues, this appears to have been a key driving force in the apparent willingness of recent entrants to allow a Western planning model to be imposed upon them (see also Adams, 2008). Jaakson (2000) criticises this development by saying that '*western planning thought has become legitimised and is presented to the East as a culturally and socially superior model, based on the presumption that because the newly independent States are moving towards market economies, Western planning models are appropriate*' (p.565). Also Pallagst (2006) questions the wisdom of imposing western values and systems on countries without a proper understanding of the local, socially rooted context. She argues that whilst cooperation between planners within the context of EU enlargement will contribute to the creation of a joint spatial planning language (so that strategies and perspectives can be elaborated in joint actions), new Member States have been more or less forced to accept approaches originating in the EU-15. Following Adams (2008) and Pallagst (2006) it is most likely that recent entrants will be less inclined to unquestioningly accept the values and systems of the former EU-15 as they seek to address their own priorities in their own way. This however raises the question of *what happens after EU funded projects end?*

²⁵ In the article from Adams (2008) 'new Member States' refer to those countries which joined the EU from 2004 onwards.

Generally speaking one of the key-objectives of the funding system should be the establishment of potentially productive cooperation forms, which in the most ideal way continue to exist and flourish when the supported project has come to an end. However, what can be learnt from planning practice is that in most cases immediately after the end of the project the 'communication-tubes' between the cooperating partners also comes to an end. Only in those cases where the cooperation activity has incorporated the 'bottom-up' powers successfully, it appears to be most likely that the effort put into the overcoming of barriers is effective also in the long-term. Hence it could be argued that top-down initiatives are by no means a substitute for 'bottom-up' efforts aiming to elaborate visions and strategies at (sub)national spatial scales.

3.2.2 The often underestimated bottom-up effects

What hinders the process of spatial planning at a supra-national scale is, generally speaking, the persistence of different planning traditions/identities within a supra-national territory, such as the European Union. A bottom-up planning process needs therefore to begin by recognising that different nation-states deal differently with similar spatial planning 'issues' (CEC, 1997) in accordance with their own traditions and identities (Nadin & Stead, 2008) and not assume that these are insignificant or easily washed away.

According to Nadin & Stead (2008, p.35) comparative analysis of spatial planning systems in Western Europe, such as the *EU Compendium of Spatial Planning Systems and Policies* (1997) has led to a clustering of spatial planning systems into abstract ideal types or legal families (*traditions*²⁶ or *styles*²⁷) (CEC, 1997; Newman & Thornley, 1996), which have been applied to the real practices in nation-states and sub-national territories. Although these typologies of spatial planning systems are used to generalise about the diverse planning systems operating in Europe, they are highly relevant for explaining fundamental differences among planning systems and allow the comparison and explanation of approaches to real problems on the ground. Nadin & Stead (2008) emphasise the validity of this approach by arguing that *'the legal style and the administrative structure of territorial government provide very strong frameworks for the operation of planning systems'* (p.38), but they also alert that *'there are clearly limitations in the use of ideal types or models to classify planning systems [as] any model will be a considerable abstraction of the true variety that the nation-states and regions exhibit'* (p.44). Also Zweigert et al. (1998) note the dangers in reducing the complexity of variation between countries to only a few 'families' and Davoudi (undated) notes that *'if we move away from 'ideal types' to reality we will observe as many European models of society [and planning approaches] as there are European countries'* (p.3) and perhaps even more, if we consider also the different historically-embedded meanings within a nation-state itself (as can be experienced for example on the case of Italy)²⁸.

²⁶ The EU Compendium identifies in 1997 'ideal types' of planning traditions. The word 'tradition' was used to emphasise the way that forms of planning are deeply embedded in the complex historical conditions of particular places (CEC, 1997).

²⁷ The ESPON Project 2.3.2 report identifies in 2006 'ideal types' of planning styles. The report argues that tradition is not the most adequate term for the Central and Eastern European countries, which joined the EU in 2004.

²⁸ Within Italy at least four different historically rooted models of society (geographically distributed) can be recognised. The 'Nord-Western' model of society, which is characterised by a metropolitan and industrial structure (triangle Torino-Milano-Genova), favouring a more pro-active form of planning, open to private actions; The 'Nord-Eastern' model of society, which is characterised by small and medium sized firms and cities, favouring also a pro-active planning but in a different way than in the Nord-West (a more distributive (or diffusive) form of planning); the 'Central' model of society,

Certain levels of harmonisation (in particular among different planning systems) are urgently required within the EU to manage territorial development processes (across borders) more effectively (ESPON et al., 2006b). The knowledge provided by the classification of ideal types appears to be very helpful in this regard, but only as far as it assists in the building up of an initial knowledge base in the sense of a generalised picture focusing on the major differences of the topic under research (such as the spatial planning system, model of society). Although those spatial planning systems or models of society, which are summarised within the same ideal type, are considered to be largely cognate, this should not be taken for granted. Planning systems for example differ considerably throughout Europe; they are not always entirely transparent, sometimes even barely comprehensible and most important of all they are constantly changing (constructed and re-constructed through interaction and learning). Even the Compendium notes that variation is the hallmark of planning systems and that it is difficult to classify them (CEC, 1997). However, it is not merely enough to recognise this differentiation or to cluster them into ideal types, but to analyse their historically and socially rooted meaning, in order to avoid placing Member States collision course as far as trans-border relations are concerned.

3.2.2.1 The country-specific planning approach (spatial planning system)

European policies as well as European Directives and EU integration appear to be leading to a measure of convergence of spatial planning systems irrespective of their historically and socially embedded meanings, or in other words by neglecting underlying planning traditions and identities (Nadin & Stead, 2008). It has already been discussed that this kind of development is unhelpful, in particular when perceptions of territorial borders are transformed or hardened. Hence it appears that the challenge of territorial cooperation is to become familiar with country-specific planning approaches of all those countries involved in the cooperative action. It is this knowledge which contributes decisively to the success of the whole cooperation process.

Therefore this section seeks to define very precisely what a spatial planning system is, and which roles and meanings it can assume within in a country-specific planning context. This analysis assists in determining those functions and components of the spatial planning system which are strongly shaped and influenced by historically and socially embedded dynamics emerging from the bottom-up. In addition the unpacking of the complexity of spatial planning systems will reveal typical coordination problems within a single system, which are further exacerbated in a trans-border planning context.

The meaning of spatial planning in everyday life as well as its differing practice in nation-states is to some extent a reflection of each society's fundamental values (Nadin & Stead, 2008). Nevertheless it can be argued that the basic principles of spatial planning are the same everywhere.

characterised by a deeper attention to the conservation of landscape qualities through planning; The 'Southern' model of society, which is characterised by more rural and less developed structures, having difficulties in the implementation of planning legislation.

The principles of regional/spatial planning are defined in the European Regional/Spatial Planning Charter (the Torremolinos Charter) (CoE, 1983) in the following way:

'Regional/spatial planning gives geographical expression to the economic, social, cultural and ecological policies of society. It is at the same time a scientific discipline, an administrative technique and a policy developed as an interdisciplinary and comprehensive approach directed towards a balanced regional development and the physical organisation of space according to an overall strategy.' (CoE, 1983, p.13)

This general statement was further elaborated in the EU Compendium of Spatial Planning Systems and Policies (CEC, 1997), in the following sense:

'Spatial planning refers to the methods used largely by the public sector to influence the future distribution of activities in space. It is undertaken with the aim of producing a more rational organisation of activities in space, including the linkages between them; and to balancing development with the need to protect the environment and to achieve social and economic objectives. Spatial planning embraces measures to coordinate the spatial impacts of other sector policies, to achieve a more even distribution of economic development between regions than would otherwise be created by market forces, and to regulate the conversion of land and property uses.' (CEC, 1997, p.24)

These basic principles of spatial planning are outlined, formulated in more or less detail, within every spatial planning system. The different ways these principles have been broken down to their (sub)national context resulted in the fact that planning systems differ substantially throughout Europe. However, before analysing the different forms which a spatial planning system might adopt, it is firstly necessary to define what precisely a spatial planning system is.

According to Mazza (2003) spatial planning systems can be described a country-specific collection of institutional arrangements and legal, administrative and technical procedures, creating the frame of references for regulations towards the practical approach of planning within a clearly defined national and/or sub-national context. Spatial planning systems, in the sense of technical and political structures, seek to help implementing planning objectives, to coordinate different land-uses, to enable mobility and to serve as a guideline for investments of public and private bodies within the territory. Thus they define government action to regulate development and land uses in pursuit of agreed objectives. The idea of physical land use planning is generally what national, sub-national and local governments have in mind when they talk of spatial planning. Moreover spatial planning systems can be described as cross-sectoral spatial policy coordination, as they may provide a territorially based strategy to act as a framework for the formulation and implementation of sectoral policies.

Main functions and components of spatial planning systems²⁹

In general, spatial planning systems can be defined – analytically and normatively – in terms of:

- Functions and relative components of the planning system;
- Role of each single function and relative component in the whole planning system;
- Interrelationships between the different functions and relative components in the whole planning system.

According to Mazza (2003), each planning system has to satisfy at least the following four essential functions:

- the *strategic function* (having a low compulsory value), which deals with the construction of (spatial) frameworks as well as with the definition and implementation of specific objectives. It is articulated in spatial visions and strategic implementation actions;
- the *regulative function* (having a high compulsory value), which deals with land use regulations in order to satisfy property rights and specific building objectives. This function is based on recognisable characteristics of existing land-uses and introduces procedures for plan-making and implementation;
- the *design function*, which deals with the elaboration of hypothetical future land use transformations. It is mainly concerned with programs and projects and it is strictly related to the strategic function;
- the *informative function*, which deals with the production and circulation of information. It normally requires databases, statistics, indicators, Geographical Information Systems.

The strategic, the regulative and the design functions are specific functions in the sense that they respond to autonomous roles in the planning process. The informative function, in contrast, is a general function, in the sense that it provides a basic resource (information) for the former ones with the aim of improving interaction, guaranteeing the transparency of the planning process in facilitating consensus-building (Janin Rivolin, 2008).

As spatial development is never a matter solely based on intuition (Faludi, 1998), knowledge, the most important output of the informative function, is obviously a fundamental component of any planning process or function within a planning system. Knowledge can assume different roles according to different types of planning (Nadin & Stead, 2007) for which it was gathered or used:

- *instrumental knowledge* is the type of knowledge, that supports the strategic and the design function in planning because the emphasis is placed on the need for 'knowledge for action' (Davoudi, 2006). This type of knowledge must be timely, intelligible, easily available and communicable on (political) demand. So, particularly in existing neo-liberal and market-based societies, it is mainly used by policy-makers to support their own political agendas. In regard to the political competition between different parties and programmes, this kind of knowledge is often adjusted through the demands placed on it by its ultimate (political) users.

²⁹ The content of this subchapter has been elaborated by Prof. Sandro Fabbro (University of Udine, Italy) and Beatrix Haselsberger (Vienna University of Technology, Austria), in the frame of the article 'Spatial Planning Harmonisation as a Condition for Trans-National Cooperation. The Case of the Alpine-Adriatic Area' (published 2009 in: *European Planning Studies*, Vol.17(9), pp.1335–1356, London: Routledge). It is introduced here as a fundamental source, which will be followed up in the course of this research.

- institutional knowledge is the type of knowledge that characterises the 'enlightenment view', where the emphasis is on 'providing a deeper understanding of the conditions within which different interventions might be effective' and in 'clarifying the context and informing the wider public debate' ((Davoudi, 2006, p.16). This knowledge is mainly aimed at giving guarantees to the different actors to support a common understanding of the main territorial issues as well as assurances of fair processes of state intervention in individual rights.
- contextual knowledge is the type of knowledge invoked by the planning approaches which emphasise discursive and collaborative processes³⁰ (Healey, 1997; Forester, 1999; Innes & Booher, 2003). 'Contextual knowledge' is a socially constructed resource that helps processes of self-identification, recognition of the range of values attached to specific places, promotion of social and multicultural communication and so on.

The distinctions between these three types of knowledge are, to some extent, related to the different functions of the planning systems (see Table 3):

- when the planning system is predominantly based on the strategic and the design function, (definition of objectives, policies, projects and programmes), knowledge for action tends to prevail: in this sense knowledge is 'instrumental' for policy action;
- when the planning system is prevalently based on the definition of *a priori* rules that must be observed to regulate territorial rights, risks and values in land use (the regulative function) and some institutional requirements must be assured (soundness, transparency, independence, etc.), 'institutional knowledge' has to prevail;
- when the planning system is prevalently 'collaborative' (the aggregation of interests must emerge from public dialogue), it is 'contextual knowledge' that prevails.

³⁰ What Healey (1997) and other authors (see also Innes & Booher, 2003a) have defined as collaborative planning draws on a series of theoretical suggestions deriving in particular from Giddens (1984) and Habermas (1983). All these theories, as a common denominator, put an emphasis on participatory forms of democracy and on 'the development of open dialogue encouraging the emergence of shared solutions' (Campbell and Marshall, 2002, p.179). Thus the 'collaborative' planning approach draws attention to the recognition of how difficult and yet necessary it is to share spaces in our complex, culturally fragmented and differentiated societies (Healey, 1997). It pursues first and foremost the aim of producing 'relational goods', such as 'social capital', 'institutional capacities' or, in other terms, the ability to tackle complex problems with autonomous and cooperative ways of deciding and acting.

Table 3: Planning systems and the role of knowledge

Planning systems and their main functions	Horizontal functions		
	Information	Knowledge	Coordination
<i>Collaborative</i>	Different points of view; different interests	Contextual knowledge	Coordination between interests
<i>Strategic</i>	Identification of objectives	Instrumental knowledge	Coordination between objectives
<i>Design</i>	Ideas for programmes and projects	Instrumental knowledge	Coordination between actions
<i>Regulative</i>	Recognition of existing territorial rights, values and risks	Institutional knowledge	Coordination between institutional levels

Source: Fabbro & Haselsberger, 2009

In practice it can be argued that planning systems are often the result of interactions between different types of functions and instruments, such as strategic projects and policies, regulative plans, project plans, urban and architectural projects, and evaluation instruments. But the successful operation of the whole system depends on the role of each function and component and on its relationship within the whole planning system (Mazza, 1998). When different planning approaches are combined with a certain equilibrium and coherence, it is possible to refer to them as 'plural' or 'mixed' planning systems. In any case, it is important to avoid incoherencies and contradictions between the different types of planning as well as between the different types of knowledge. To this end, as only specific institutions are capable of developing each type of knowledge, a clear division between them needs to be maintained: 'instrumental knowledge', for example, must feed into political processes where 'evidence' can be filtered and interpreted by the political agenda; while 'institutional knowledge' must remain credible for all subjects and to maintain a certain distance from policy making, it therefore needs to be set up by independent bodies (such as universities or specific independent authorities); 'contextual knowledge', on the other hand, needs proper sites (different from either political arenas or universities) to grow up and to be shared (such as public forums).

Last but not least, it is worth mentioning that a typical problem of most planning systems (as well as spatial planning as a discipline), lies in coordination:

- between the different functions on different planning scales;
- between strategic plans and local implementation;
- between strategic integrative plans and sector-specific plans (which apply for example to the transportation and mobility sector).

From the point of view of coordination issues, trans-border cooperation appears even more problematic as it merges coordination problems arising within each single spatial planning system with the difficulties rising from horizontal engagement between different political-institutional and legislative systems (Peña, 2005).

3.2.2.2 The country-specific planning terminology

The fact that spatial planning approaches and traditions vary strongly throughout Europe underlines the importance of establishing a harmonised planning terminology, which must be considered an important and fundamental precondition towards the building up of a shared trans-border knowledge base as well as towards more substantive trans-border planning outcomes. In this regard it has to be acknowledged that the development of a harmonised planning terminology which expresses mutual understanding and reciprocal confrontation is further complicated due to Europe's multilingualism. As Mazza (2004) has noted, even the frequently used term 'spatial planning' cannot be translated easily into any other language nor does it have a generally valid definition which could be adopted ubiquitously. The meaning of the terms *Raumplanung* (Austria, Germany), *Urbanistica* (Italy), *Urbanistično načrtovanje* (Slovenia), *Urbanisme et Aménagement du Territoire* (France, Belgium, Luxembourg), *Town and Country Planning* (United Kingdom), *Ruimtelijke Ordening* (the Netherlands), and *Land Use Planning* (Ireland) have all evolved in their own particular legal, socio-economic, political and cultural contexts. Strictly speaking, these terms are not internationally transferable to other countries, except in their most general sense (Haselsberger, 2009). This applies even in countries sharing a language; *Raumplanung*, for instance, has different meanings in Austria and in Germany.

Consequently many terms describing aspects of spatial planning, have country- or region-specific meanings which are lost when transposed to another setting. The problem is exacerbated in transferring between different languages; in crossing national/language borders, even similar sounding words (due to their shared 'Latin' or 'Greek' origin) from different languages can encompass very different concepts and meanings. This results in the fact that the consistent use of terminology when different nation-states collaborate on spatial planning issues becomes a very difficult and challenging task. Most important in this context is that those who engage in joint working across national borders recognise these differences and seek to understand the meaning of terminology and concepts in 'the other' country. Getting to know 'the other' planning approach implies – as a first step – determining the planning scales operating within 'the other' but also within 'one's own' planning system.

The following classification, introduced by Fabbro & Haselsberger (2009) and further elaborated by Haselsberger (2008b; 2009) may assist with this exercise:

- The 'national' scale equates to the Member State level of the European Union, which may be in charge of the application and the control of the national constitution.
- The 'sub-national' scale refers to specific territorial authorities, which are in charge of planning legislation and implementation.
- The 'supra-local' scale corresponds to a grouping of at least two communities (also in a trans-border context).
- The 'local' scale can be considered the smallest territorial entity of each spatial planning system and refers in particular to the planning activities of a single local municipality.

Table 4: The Austrian-Italian-Slovenian planning scales glossary

Nationality	Austria (Österreich)		Italy (Italia)		Slovenia (Slovenija)	
Language	German		Italian		Slovenian	
Gender	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
National Scale	<i>Bund</i>		<i>Stato</i>		<i>Država</i>	
Sub-National Scale	<i>Land</i>	<i>Länder</i>	Regione	Regioni		
Supra-Local Scale(s)	Region <i>Bezirk</i>	Regionen <i>Bezirke</i>	<i>Provincia</i> <i>Città metropolitana</i> <i>associazione sovracomunale</i>	<i>Province</i> <i>Città metropolitane</i> <i>associazioni sovracomunali</i>	Regija	Regije
Local Scale	<i>Gemeinde</i>	<i>Gemeinden</i>	<i>Comune</i>	<i>Comuni</i>	<i>Občina</i>	<i>Občine</i>

Source: dimensions after Haselsberger, 2008b; 2009

However, more detailed local knowledge tells us that Table 4 is somewhat misleading, in the sense that only the national (at least partly) and local planning scales are directly comparable and moreover have corresponding English translations (see also Fabbro & Haselsberger, 2009; Haselsberger, 2009).

In difference to the broad consensus on the local and national planning scale, the intermediate English classification 'region' cannot be transferred easily into any other planning culture, therefore it has been avoided in the planning-scales classification, instead substituting the two intermediate definitions 'sub-national' and 'supra-local'. Nevertheless it is worth drawing attention to the 'region' phenomenon as on the one hand it assists in understanding associated country-specific connotations, as well as on the other hand because of the fact that the last half century has seen a rise across Europe (mainly triggered by the European Union) of a new, intermediate, level of government and politics, habitually referred to as 'the region' (Keating, 2004).

Yet although the 'region' phenomenon appears to be well known and documented, there is less agreement on precisely what is a region (Keating, 1998, 2004; Wannop, 1997; Applegate, 1999). The underlying problem is that the word 'region' possesses a wide range of meanings emerging from the historical tradition of European nation-states. What appears to be clear, however, is that the term refers to a particular space, mostly recognised as a level below the nation-state but above the locality or local scale (Keating, 1998). But even this definition leaves a lot of possibilities as Keating later notes. 'A region may have a historic resonance or provide a focus for the identity of its inhabitants. It may represent a landscape, and architecture or a style of cooking. There is often a cultural element, perhaps represented by a distinct language or dialect. Beyond this, a region may sustain a distinct civil society, a range of social institutions. It can be an economic unit, based either on a single type of production or an integrated production system. It may be, and increasingly is, a unit of government and administration. Finally, all these meanings may or may not coincide, to a greater or lesser degree.' (Keating, 2004, p.xi)

The difficulty of defining a region is further complicated due to the many categorisations provided by the European Union, amongst others introducing the idea that a region is not necessarily only a part of a particular nation-state, but may also transcend national borders. 'One EU categorisation defines regions in terms of industrial similarities. A quite different EU categorisation recognises supra-national regions

including Alpine Europe and the Maritime Periphery. Yet another EU categorisation fits all countries into a three-level European NUTS classification.' (Wannop, 1997, p.164) Hence, even within the European Union, there is little certainty and less consensus about such fundamental issues as what is meant by the term 'region' (cf. Applegate, 1999).

As a region appears to be a '*complex phenomenon which cannot be reduced to the notion of a 'scale' in the territorial hierarchy*' (Keating, 1998, p.28), the problem of finding a universal definition should not be overestimated. On the contrary it is worth highlighting the role played by regions, in all their different guises for the dynamic of the European Union as a whole. The phrase 'Europe of the Regions', first coined by Denis de Rougemont, and all the concepts going along with it, underline the importance of this – although not well defined – territorial entity for the European Union (Applegate, 1999).

What however appears to be essential for the success of any trans-national cooperation approach is, as has been already highlighted in this research, the proper understanding of 'the others', which includes the figuring out of the role 'regions' play in the different nation-states under request but also the figuring out of the intermediate planning scale which corresponds most properly with the definition provided by the European Union for the 'regional planning scale'. The complexity of this task is demonstrated in the following Austrian-Italian-Slovenian case. Before doing so, it should be explained how the English term 'region' corresponds to the Italian term *Regione*, the German term *Region* and the Slovenian term *Regija*.

The Italian *Regione* has a rather strong institutional role in the Italian planning hierarchy, holding also competences for planning legislation and implementation. Conversely, the Austrian *Region*, comprised of several communities collaborating around a specific topic, represents a rather weak planning authority with no direct competences for planning. For instance, the tourist *Region* Villach-Faaker See comprises a number of communities which have joined forces in order to promote this specific area as effectively as possible, offering a great variety of tourist facilities. However what is interesting here is that the Austrian *Region* has a long historical tradition in the Austrian planning context. In Slovenia, theoretically (according to the most recent planning legislation from 2007) a *Regija* may be established from as few as two communities, but the limited legal and practical importance of the authority has meant that no *Regija* have thus far been established, and so it can be regarded as a latent planning authority type. Hence, every trans-border context requires a specific building up of mutual understanding, as this Austrian-Italian-Slovenian example shows.

In reference to spatial planning the EU defines 'regions' in the following sense: they are either regarded as autonomous authorities, able to issue specific Spatial Planning Laws and specific planning instruments (particularly in federal and 'regionalist' Member States) or, as coherent entities able to pursue important planning objectives between the national policy level and the local land use regulations (CEC, 1997). It appears that these definitions refer to the sub-national planning scales in Austria and Italy as well as to the national planning scale in Slovenia (see Table 4). The sub-national planning scales - *Land* (Austria) and *Regione* (Italy) - hold significant legislative planning power in the respective countries, including competences for planning legislation (Planning Laws) and implementation (planning instruments) and hence could be regarded as the most important planning authorities within their respective planning

hierarchies. In contrast, this planning scale does not exist in the Slovenian context, where the national planning scale (*Država*) has to be considered as corresponding in terms of competences and powers. While the respective sub-national Planning Laws in Austria and Italy, as well as the National Planning Law in Slovenia, define the framework conditions for all lower planning scales, in none of the three cases do the supra-local planning scales have specific competences, powers or common definitions (Fabbro & Haselsberger, 2009).

In Austria the federal structure rests upon the *Länder* units, which are (since 1922) also constitutionally vested with a considerable degree of autonomy. But the *Land* also played a decisive role earlier in the history of Austria. For example the *Kronländer* of the Austrian Empire were characterised by a high degree of autonomy as early as the nineteenth century, although at that time governed by the liege lords (such as kings or dukes). Some of the today's *Länder* are direct descendants from the past; others are aggregations of recognisable past 'regional' entities. This underlines that the Austrian *Länder* can not deny the existence of important 'regional' variations that accumulated over past centuries. Similarly, the emergence of Austria (as we know it today) and the growth of an Austrian national identity after the Second World War could not remove instantaneously the accumulated weight of 'regional' loyalties and socialisation processes. A similar development took place also in Germany, where the regional particularism of pre-unification Germany survived well into the twentieth century. *'Loyalties to regions remained high, and Berlin, despite its ebullience and exceptionally rapid growth, never enjoyed the dominating central strength of some other west European capitals. Political power may have been concentrated in the Prussian capital, but administrative power was retained by the constituent states of the federation, while economic and cultural influence was widely dispersed.'* (Urwin, 1982, p.181) What, however is radically different from the past in Germany as well as in Austria is the party system – in both its structural outlines and ideological attitudes (Urwin, 1982). Building on the history of Austria and in particular on the deeply embedded meaning of the term '*Land*' within the Austrian society, it was impossible for Austria to introduce the term 'region' for this territorial entity as suggested by the European Union. Conversely it allows the hypothesis that *if the term 'Land' had not reached such an important role throughout the history it is most likely that this territorial entity nowadays would be referred to as 'region' as happened for example in Italy, where it was not before the late nineteen fifties that the 'Regione' was recognised as a territorial entity and consequently as the intermediate (between local and national) planning scale.*

The important lesson in this context is that the term 'region' can be understood differently and be approached from many different angles across Europe, as illustrated with the example of Austria, where the German term 'Region' (often translated as 'region') does not at all correspond to the EU definition of 'region'. Due to the fact that the English translations are not always appropriate to describe a specific planning culture, the terms used in the following case-study (chapter 4.1) have been kept in the original languages.

3.2.2.3 The role of country-specific knowledge for trans-border visioning

In those specific trans-national contexts where cooperation strategies risk failure due to cultural, linguistic and semantic barriers, a 'strategic' use of the different forms of knowledge appears to be of particular importance. Therefore, in addition to the mainly theoretical knowledge classification model based on

different planning systems in Table 3 above, a more practical knowledge-classification model, based on real experiences (such as, those made in the context of the INTERREG Initiatives) also has value. This new classification, based on levels of operational feasibility and planning purposes has been elaborated by Fabbro & Haselsberger (2009, p.1350) in the following way:

First level knowledge enables the sharing of the same meanings for the same objects and, consequently, favours a process towards the harmonisation between different semantic contexts. The INTERREG project ISA-Map (2003-2006) attempted to harmonise sub-national and/or national data resources for future trans-national, cross-border planning activities between Carinthia (Austria), *Friuli Venezia Giulia* (Italy) and Slovenia. Its concept was the understanding that effective and strategic sub-national planning can only take place with the availability of shared spatial information. ISA-Map produced for the area under consideration, this kind of *first level knowledge* in the form of data bases and maps through Geographical Information Systems (GIS). But due to local and cultural diversities between the different countries, much essential work has still to be done to make meanings and territorial object classifications comparable.

Second level knowledge is more interpretive and evaluative in comparison to the first. To enable trans-border cooperation, a common approach to territorial evaluation and interpretation of phenomena is essential. This implies going beyond the simple understanding of the objects, and instead attributing to them common profiles, measures or values to them through appropriate indicators. Effective deployment of *second level knowledge* could make trans-border interaction on common planning issues more concrete. The INTERREG project Borderlink (2004-2005) was an Italian-Slovenian attempt to define models and settlement typologies for a sustainable environment in the Italian-Slovenian cross-border territory. The main objective of the project was the harmonisation of feasible strategies for the management of the territory and of building regulations. The INTERREG project Map Sharing (2006-2007) was another Italian-Slovenian attempt to identify an adequate methodology for cross-border planning issues. This project has tried to combine cartographic databases and future cross-border plans and evaluations. The innovation from a technical-scientific point of view is the construction, as part of the Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA), of a 'Charter of the Territory' where all cartographic databases can converge to set up an instrument for compatibility evaluations.

Third level knowledge makes direct reference to the identification of common strategic objectives starting from the respective socio-economic situations as well as from the respective development programmes. This level of knowledge has, for example, been developed in the context of the INTERREG III projects Conspace and Transplan. The INTERREG project Conspace (Common Strategy Network for Spatial Development and Implementation) (2003-2006) was an important attempt to demonstrate how existing spatial structures can be improved and regional disparities reduced in a heterogeneous region. By integrating the spatial planning efforts of ten European sub-national entities, this perspective reflected the principles and objectives of the European Spatial Development Perspective and verified how to integrate the EU approach not only into national spatial planning policies, but also making it the foundation for trans-national cooperation and to convert the principles and approach into joint planning and strategic action. The INTERREG project Transplan (2006-2007) on the other hand, aimed at deepening spatial planning

harmonisation processes between Italian and Slovenian communities, with the objective of filtering out contact points for a future cross-border spatial planning perspective.

Fabbro & Haselsberger (2009, p.1350) point out that the differentiation between these three interrelated levels of knowledge seems highly relevant in the sense that it assists the progressive accumulation of reciprocal trust and capacity of working together, the so-called 'territorial capital' as mentioned in ESPON et al., (2006b). *Second level knowledge* aims to guarantee a transparent evaluation of the coherence and compatibility of trans-border development programmes and projects with shared territorial risks and values (elaborated through the indicator system of *first* and *second level knowledge*), while *third level knowledge* is primarily oriented to feeding into trans-border decision-making processes (Faludi & Waterhout, 2006).

The gathering together of the different kinds of knowledge as precondition for the establishment of a shared knowledge base (and consequently a shared spatial vision) appears to be an important and fundamental work, especially in the early stages. Effective instruments, such as specific expert-workshops seem to be helpful to pursue this basic work. Although it might not be an easy task to build up a shared trans-border knowledge base, its added value for any territorial cooperation activity should not be underestimated, in terms of potential towards:

- establishing assurances of fair interaction between the different partners;
- reducing uncertainties and engendering reciprocal trust;
- setting preconditions for larger common evaluations and for trans-national visioning.

According to Zonneveld (2005, pp.146–147) trans-national visions can fulfil a variety of different functions within this, namely:

1. building up of networks of planners;
2. collecting together and presenting knowledge and information on the trans-national area;
3. defining principles expected to play a part in policy formulation;
4. building up general applications reflecting the policy content over the whole territory;
5. bringing the identity of a trans-national area to fruition;
6. using the content of trans-national visions for the evaluation of project proposals or for the setting up of new operational programmes;
7. provision of an image of the desired spatial structure.

The model introduced by Zonneveld has strong relationships to some parts of the knowledge classification model introduced by Fabbro & Haselsberger and which could be assumed as a precondition for spatial visioning. For example all *levels of knowledge* refer to, in Zonneveld's terms: '*collecting together and presenting knowledge and information on a specific trans-national area*'. Moreover the different levels of knowledge develop into a strong and wide base for common trust and confidence that constitute a fundamental resource for spatial visioning processes as well as for any trans-border cooperation activity.

Conversely it must be acknowledged that the building up of a shared knowledge base, favouring trans-border visioning as well as enabling potentially productive forms of cooperation to emerge, should be structurally organised, something explained in the following chapter.

3.3 Requirements for territorial cooperation

In an ideal situation, territorial cooperation would take place regardless of existing political, legal and social systems and beyond ideological barriers, seeking to overcome obstacles caused by territorial borders, to which nation-states and supra-national systems do not pay enough attention or provide adequate solutions. This however is a utopia. Reality confronts us with a completely different picture, which becomes even more complex considering that external pressures such as globalisation and Europeanisation (see chapter 2.3.2) also increasingly affect the content of cooperative activities.

Nevertheless what remains clear is that a trans-border conflict could be replaced by trans-border cooperation. However, the locus from a 'back-to-back' existence towards a 'co-existence' stimulated by territorial cooperation processes must be addressed carefully and requires a clear and transparent structural organisation. The establishment of suitable forms of cooperation between individuals, groups, and social and political bodies across borders is very difficult, and due to the heterogeneity of planning cultures, planning traditions and consequently spatial planning systems (see chapter 3.2.2) within Europe turns out to be a case-specific exercise. Alongside the difficulty in understanding the (sub)national spatial planning systems (which are characterised by a lack of transparency, constant change and sometimes even barely comprehensible) involved in a particular cooperation activity, trans-border cooperation is further hindered by the fact that in most cases it is merely the most extreme border-zones (only a small part of the nation-state territory) which suffer from the negative effects caused by a territorial border. This means that territorial cooperation is often restricted by the lack of competences of the affected areas' governance structures in parallel with a lack of interest of the nation-states which do have the appropriate competences to enable territorial cooperation processes.

The successful establishment of trans-border cooperation in practice depends on two basic aspects/requirements, viz. identifying the most suitable:

- trans-border framework structure (formal or informal), within which territorial cooperation takes place (or in more figurative terms *the container, which in the majority of cases will be provided from 'top-down'*) (chapter 3.3.1) as well as the
- trans-border network structure, within which the issues and objective for a particular cooperative activity emerge and adequate solutions are elaborated (or in more figurative terms *the contents generated from 'bottom-up'*) (chapter 3.3.2).

3.3.1 Trans-border framework structures

Territorial cooperation poses many structural problems from a legal perspective. When it comes to public law, legal systems – at least in Europe – have a two tier-structure, neither of which is able to incorporate the requirements of non-sovereign sub-national players (regional or local authorities) in a satisfactory way.

National legal systems are fully separate (in terms of public law) from one another, and are interconnected through another type of legal system, public international law, which is based on the equal sovereignty of its original subjects, i.e. the nation-states. When it comes to public national law, authorising a sub-national authority to act beyond national borders means:

- *either 'losing control and accepting that cross-border activities will be subject to the territorial sovereignty of the neighbouring State [or]*
- *trying to extend the scope of a State's own public law to the territory of the neighbouring State, disregarding its territorial sovereignty (which, if done unilaterally, is prohibited by public international law)' (CoR, 2007, p.18).*

For a nation-state, accepting that any sub-national authority can become active within relations governed by public international law would either mean leaving them to their own devices – and thus recognising their sovereignty, which would not be without consequences for the nation-state unity – or admitting that they are acting legally on behalf of the nation-state, with the consequence of risking international commitments towards other nation-states (international liability of the nation-state) for actions over which the nation-state authorities had no control. Thus, neither of these solutions appears to be acceptable for nation-states. Generally speaking, providing sub-national authorities with the competences to independently build up trans-border cooperation runs the risk for the nation-state of 'losing all control' over its authorities.

Due to the fact that the concept of an administrative body in charge of a sub-national trans-border area is legally difficult to implement in practice, and moreover that '*cross-border relations between local or regional authorities located in different European States could not be governed by national law, public international law or private international law*' (CoR, 2007, p.19), different ad hoc legal solutions have become reality. The first cross-border regions were based on agreements with varying degrees of formality mostly reliant upon good will ('gentlemen's agreements'). In 1980, at the initiative of the Council of Europe, a set of European countries adopted the 'Madrid Outline Convention', as a first step towards territorial cooperation structures based on public law. The Convention was supplemented by an initial protocol in 1995 with an operational focus on trans-frontier cooperation and in 1998 by a second protocol on cooperation between non-adjacent areas. The 'Madrid Outline Convention' has so far been ratified by 33 nation-states (CoE, 2006). It provides a legal framework for completing bilateral and multinational agreements for territorial cooperation based on public law. The first multi-national agreement was signed by Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden in 1977, followed by the 1986 Benelux Convention between Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands on trans-frontier cooperation (CoE, 2006, p.23). All the other agreements, however, date from the 1990s or 2000s, such as the German-Dutch *treaty of Anholt* (1991) or the German-French-Swiss-Luxembourg *agreement of Karlsruhe* (1996). Notable within these arrangements is the fact that the decisions put forward by such agencies are only binding for the public authorities within the specific cross-border area concerned.

In July 2004 the European Parliament introduced the first proposal for a Regulation concerning the creation of cooperative groupings in the Community territory, with a legal personality, called (at that time) European Grouping of Cross-border Cooperation (EGCC). This proposal was part of the Structural Funds legislative package for the programming period 2007-2013. The restriction on 'exclusively' cross-border cooperation was soon abandoned and the scope of the instrument was enlarged to all types of territorial cooperation. Thus, the instrument was renamed into European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation (EGTC). The Regulation (EC) No. 1082/2006 was finally approved on 5th July 2006 and published in the

European Communities' *Official Journal* on 31st July 2006. All 25 (and 27 since 01.01.2007). By 1st August 2011, the Commission will forward to the European Parliament and the European Council a report on the application of the EGTC Regulation along with proposals for amendments, where appropriate.

Table 5: The EGTC in summary

WHO	Nation-state, regional/local authorities, public/private bodies, their associations
WHAT	Cooperation structure with legal personality
WHY	Territorial Cooperation (cross-border, trans-national, interregional)
WHERE	EU 27, at least two Member States, Third Countries, if legislated or agreed
HOW	EU Regulation and national frameworks, Conventions, Statutes
WHEN	National frameworks by 31 July 2007, EGTC set up as from 1 August 2007

Source: Spinaci, 2007

The establishment of EGTCs falls into a context where several regional and/or local authorities have already promoted framework initiatives for territorial cooperation. The Committee of the Regions identifies four main typologies of possible application structures:

- A first group of strategic structures are Euroregions (or similar bodies). Although they may differ in legal form (such as either public law personality or private law personality) or organisation, they share many common characteristics. The most important are that they are permanent, have a separate identity from their members, and usually have their own administrative, technical and financial resources and their own internal decision-making.
- A second group is formed by the broad number of existing Working Communities. In most cases, these structures are based on legally non-binding 'agreements of cooperation' or 'working protocols' signed between equivalent regions (and sometimes local authorities) or other organisations that agreed to cooperate.
- A third group are structures specific to the management of INTERREG programmes or other EU programmes supporting cross-border, trans-national and interregional cooperation.
- In addition to strategic and long-standing cooperations, a fourth category of cooperative structures is identifiable: project-based cooperation structures. Regional and local authorities, together with economic and social actors (such as public utilities, chambers of industry and commerce, employers' associations, or trade unions) have often set up project-level cooperation structures. Some have taken the form of European Economic Interest Groupings, whilst at other times they have been based on national legislation formats (e.g. Mixed Economy Companies and Public Interest Groupings in France), or they have simply relied on practical ad hoc agreement, without a legal basis such as joint working groups.

Referring to the results of a survey of Euroregions³¹ it can be said, that:

- Most of the Euroregions having a long history of territorial cooperation (more than 20 years) have already achieved a legal personality. The EGTC offers them no added value.
- Bilateral or multinational agreements, such as the treaty of Anholt (1991) or the agreement of Karlsruhe (1996) have strongly improved the quality of territorial cooperation in the countries concerned.
- The EGTC has a high value for Euroregions currently working together without a legal personality or where no bi- or multilateral agreements had so far been established.

Due to the fact that the EGTC is a new EU-level cooperation instrument, and no EGTC can be set up until the Member States have implemented the Regulation (EC) No. 1082/2006 into their national legislation, there is no experience from other European regions upon which to draw. Currently in most of the Member States there is what could be described as a 'wait-and-see' trend (also because the use of this instrument is optional). But nevertheless the '*Grande Région*' (BE/LU/FR/DE) plans to launch a new INTERREG IV programme and has inserted provision for setting up an EGTC in 2009/10 to take over the programme management, and the MATRIOSCA Project (INTERREG IIIB CADSES) is currently developing a feasibility study for applying EGTC on its multi-border areas (IT/AT/SL/HU/HR). Furthermore some other border regions (Spain and Portugal, Italy and France, and Austria and the Czech Republic) are also expressing an interest in using this new instrument.

Although the attempts of the European Union to provide a harmonised set of legal framework conditions for territorial cooperation at the supra-national scale represents a positive step, it needs to be highlighted nowhere have they become the most important legal pre-condition for territorial cooperation in practice (due to the ongoing sovereignty of each Member State). Hence, considering the fact that the legal framework conditions, provided by the nation-states vary significantly, it is not surprising that territorial cooperation in practice also varies strongly from one trans-border region to another.

Nevertheless according to the CoE (2006, p.12) two key parameters can be determined which influence the way in which cooperation activities are shaped and implemented in practice. Firstly are the '*decisions and policy choices as well as the scope of territorial cooperation made jointly by partners on either side of the border*', whose effectiveness is dependent from their spheres of responsibility. Secondly are '*the legal avenues available to them under domestic law and international undertakings entered into by the nation-states to which they belong*'. This means that generally speaking, partners and authorities in cooperation arrangements take common interests and competences as a starting-point in order to refine priority action areas and issues of common concern on which there is a consensus on both side of the border. In other words the substance of cooperative undertakings entered into varies considerably depending on the players involved and the type of territory under consideration as well as the past history of cooperation and the resources available. Such undertakings can range from 'gentlemen's agreements' or political declarations without operational effect to the drafting of white papers or territorial charters setting out

³¹ The survey was done in the course of the project 'EGTC – An instrument for cross-border cooperation' in February 2006 by the Vienna University of Technology (*Fachbereich Regionalplanung und Regionalentwicklung*) and Mecca Environmental Consulting.

objectives and key projects to be implemented jointly over a 20-year period. Important here is that the quality of the cooperative activity does not necessarily correspond to the deepening nature of the different levels/degrees of formality. In some cases less binding agreements might achieve the most substantial result. Hence it appears that the determining the correct/appropriate degree of formality for a particular trans-border undertaking is an essential success-factor for territorial cooperation in practice.

3.3.1.1 Basic level of territorial cooperation – through ‘gentlemen’s agreements’

A great deal of territorial cooperation has been (and is being) conducted informally, based on the coordination of activities by participants on either side of a territorial border with a view to a joint trans-border approach. Partners and authorities are bound only by an agreement in principle (‘gentlemen’s agreement’). This form of cooperation is often used in the early stages of cooperation or in the absence of a legal framework formalising the cooperation.

Territorial cooperation through ‘gentlemen’s agreements’ are only effective when both sides of a national border experience negative border effects in a similar way and moreover recognise this type of cooperation in terms of a win-win situation. Generally speaking the regulatory and procedural nation-state frameworks remain separate and cooperation is practised commonly case by case in finding strategic solutions for emerging problems. This type of cooperation seems to be adequate in particular for general strategic objectives of territorial relevance and can be centred on the definition of common visions, which draw their strength from describing and reading a trans-border territory. Visions seem capable of representing the regions involved and to define a general frame for projects and programmes that could be shared, feasible and compatible in addressing, on the one hand, common development objectives among the different countries and, on the other hand, EU policy objectives. Lessons to be learnt from planning practice are that this type of cooperation often turns out to be very successful (although any outcome is completely unbinding). This could be a consequence of the un-bureaucratic approach (compared to overly rigid organisational structures) with informal meetings being essential in terms of knowledge exchange and building up reciprocal trust as well as mutual understanding.

3.3.1.2 Intermediate level of territorial cooperation – through ‘formal agreements’

Territorial cooperation is initially formalised by means of cooperation agreements (‘formal agreements’) signed by the executives of authorities and subject to the approval of the deliberative assemblies of these authorities. In signing such an agreement, the latter formalise their partnership, set common objectives and enter into reciprocal undertakings, while overcoming differences between nation-states as regards the administrative and institutional structure.

Territorial cooperation through ‘formal agreements’ appear to be the right form of cooperation when the regulatory and procedural frameworks of the relating nation-states are quite similar. This may happen where different nation-states with, for instance, similar legislation on Strategic Environmental Assessment, decide to implement it in parallel (such as in planning a common transport corridor), even if the specific nation-state procedures are different. This type of cooperation appears adequate in particular for building up of shared territorial knowledge. In this case, shared territorial knowledge needs to be established for evaluating sustainability and compatibility of plans and programmes in specific trans-national contexts (and

where appropriate for wider territories). All required territorial knowledge need be translated into a shared GIS platform, based on a common understanding of meanings on spatial 'objects'. In other words, it can support for example the Environmental Strategic Assessment for plans and programmes within a trans-border, interregional and/or trans-national context and creates essential inputs for spatial visioning.

3.3.1.3 Advanced level of territorial cooperation – trough 'legal agreements'

Thanks to the combined effects of some domestic law and certain international agreements, such as the legal frameworks provided by the Madrid Convention (adopted in 1980 by the Council of Europe) and its successors enabling countries to compete bilateral and multi-national agreements based on public law, cooperation partners can set up and join trans-border cooperation bodies enjoying a legal personality and autonomy. Stimulated by the Madrid Convention, Austria amended its Constitution in 1994 (some time before joining the European Union). Since then the sub-national scale is allowed to conclude trans-national legally binding contracts with its neighbouring nation-states (or parts of it) in all affairs relating to the particular field of responsibilities of the respective sub-national administration (art. 16 of the Austrian Constitution). This concrete example has to be considered a remarkable achievement toward the establishment of trans-border bodies, allowing them to implement trans-border arrangements and projects under their own supervision.

Territorial cooperation through 'legal agreements' appear to be the appropriate form of cooperation where regulatory and procedural frameworks are similar and the political-institutional interest in integration and cooperation is very strong. This could take place for example where the establishment of a higher-level institutional and legal entity (agreements, such as the Treaty of Anholt or the Agreement of Karlsruhe, or the European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation) has already built up the base for this kind of organisational structure. The legal background also enables cooperation on traditionally intractable 'wicked issues' such us border control or crime.

3.3.2 Trans-border network structures

The success of trans-border cooperation is not only dependent on the degree of formality, but also on the structural organisation of the networking process itself. This means that the overcoming of borders and the building up of proximity (in particular mutual understanding and reciprocal trust) through socialised learning in networks has to be regarded another essential success-factor, which in particular assists the establishment of a shared trans-border knowledge base, whose importance for territorial cooperation has already been highlighted within this research (*cf.* chapter 3.2.2.3).

In planning practice, the concept of 'Euroregions' is very much in evidence when it comes to terms of social networking across borders. Although today there are more than seventy trans-border regions existing throughout Europe³² (operating under names such as *Euroregions*, *European Regions* and *euroregios*), it needs to be acknowledged that these existing trans-border networks neither create a new

³² Although some of these initiatives date back to the 1950s – the first 'Euroregion' was set up in 1958, along the German-Dutch border (the Euregio around Enschede-Gronau) – the 1990s saw a large increase in trans-border regions all over Europe, thanks to the Community Initiative INTERREG, set up in 1990.

type of government at the trans-border scale nor have a clearly defined status in the EU context and most importantly – in the majority of cases – do not build up trans-border learning with a long term focus.

Generally speaking 'Euroregions' could be described as case-specific initiatives of trans-border regions and/or other local/sub-national entities of several countries (not necessarily Member States of the EU), which have been set up within the framework provided from the 'top-down' (national/European scale) in order to promote common interests and enhancing living standards of a border population from the 'bottom-up' (local/sub-national scale). This has resulted in the fact that the scope as well as the organisational network structure of 'Euroregions' vary strongly within Europe. In some cases the cooperative activities of 'Euroregions' are carried out in form of temporally and financially delimited short term projects. In other cases sub-national and local authorities have structured their cooperation by means of long-standing frameworks which hold substantial organisational, planning and managing responsibilities for the main cooperation programmes, primarily co-financed by the European Union, but also by Member States and sub-national and local authorities themselves.

As the power and legal status of 'Euroregions' is limited to the competencies of the local and sub-national authorities that constitute them (Haselsberger, 2007) different kinds of organisational structures (such as Community of Interest, European Economic Interest Grouping³³, non-profit-making association, Working Community, public body) have been applied to support the different cooperative activities, with little attention paid to the structuring of the networking process within this given organisational structures. This resulted in the fact that nation-states, sub-national and local authorities were all confronted with great difficulties while running and managing cross-border, trans-national and interregional programmes, initiatives and projects throughout Europe. Even the European Union has already recognised that the existing instruments such as the European Economic Interest Grouping on Community level or bi- or multilateral agreements between Member States are to some extent ill-adapted for organising a structured cooperation for economic and social cohesion within the meaning of Article 158³⁴, and the INTERREG initiative during the 2000-2006 programming period (Haselsberger, 2007). Moreover, the quality and depth of cooperation has sometimes been jeopardised by conflicting legal frameworks and unstable organisational arrangements.

Despite the failure of the emergence of generalised formal structures for trans-border networking, the 'Euroregion' idea shows great promise for becoming a platform for trans-border learning and consequently to assist in the building up of a shared trans-border knowledge base. Hence, building on the hypothesis that *trans-border learning provides a solid basis for more intense and better structured activities*, this chapter will focus on collective learning processes, by drawing attention to literatures associated with the concepts of 'Community of Practice' and 'Network of Practice' (chapter 3.3.2.1) as well as 'Epistemic Communities' (chapter 3.3.2.2), which provide a conceptual means – as these 'socialised learning networks' – for understanding the institutionalisation process of trans-border cooperation.

³³ Structures as the EEIG, were not originally designed as tools for territorial cooperation, but have been used as such by border regions and authorities in the absence of a legal solution satisfying their requirements (CoE, 2006, p.17).

³⁴ Article 158 of the Treaty establishing the European Community

'In order to promote its overall harmonious development, the Community shall develop and pursue its actions leading to the strengthening of its economic and social cohesion.

In particular, the Community shall aim at reducing disparities between the levels of development of the various regions and the backwardness of the least favoured regions or islands, including rural areas.'

3.3.2.1 The 'Community of Practice' and 'Network of Practice' approach³⁵

As reality appears to be socially constructed, it could be argued that collective learning is a demand-driven and identity-forming social act (Brown & Duguid, 2000) with the building up of a shared knowledge base as critical determinant of its socio-economic success as well as more generally of the quality of life (Czapiewski & Janc, 2010). This means that knowledge becomes increasingly important to human society. But, unlike traditional forms of capital, land, labour and machinery, knowledge capital is embodied in people, and transmitted through their relationships with others. The concept of a 'network of practice' (Brown & Duguid, 2000; Benner, 2003), which emerged out of the concept of the 'community of practice' (introduced by Lave & Wenger, 1991 and further elaborated by Wenger, 1998) provides a means for understanding how knowledge capital can build up through different forms of networking. Making use of these concepts for trans-border cooperation, however, requires in addition consideration of the different forms of proximity (geographical, cognitive, organisational, social and institutional) as introduced by Boschma (2005).

According to Wenger (undated) '*communities of practice are groups of people who share a concern or a passion for something they do and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly*'. Wenger argues that a 'community of practice' builds up Social Identity³⁶, which emerges out of a shared domain of interests. Vital to the emergence of a 'community of practice' is the engagement of its members in joint activities and discussions, enabling people to share information and to learn from each other, as well as the building up of a 'shared tool-kit' or to use Wenger words a 'shared repertoire of resources', such as experiences, stories, tools, ways of addressing recurring problems'.

Wenger's theories emerged out from his studies of a number of workplaces dealing with difficult, confusing situations. He analysed how employees made sense of their work, and more generally of the whole world, in order to shape negotiation process towards the establishment of shared solutions to shared problems. He found out that 'communities of practice' developed a number of different manifestations of these collective solutions, often embedded into the social rituals performed by employees in the course of their work. An important element of this were the stories that employees told, often about the first time a solution was used, which helped to transmit to newer employees the 'right' ways of solving problems. The community had a hierarchy of established core members and newer peripheral members; these communities initiated new employees into the periphery, and as those peripheral employees became more central to the life of the community, and acquired the knowledge necessary for participation in that community, they moved towards its core, and in turn became the ones 'telling the stories'.

Although Wenger's work was confined to single organisations, he raised the possibility that the concept of a 'community of practice' might be extended across institutional and geographical borders. Given the fact

³⁵ Essential parts of the arguments in this chapter are drawn from the article: Haselsberger, B. & Benneworth, P. (2010) Cross-border Communities or Cross-border Proximity? Perspectives from the Austrian-Slovakian Border Region. In Adams, N. et al. (Eds.) *Territorial Development, Cohesion and Spatial Planning. Building on EU Enlargement*. London: Routledge, pp.471–516. The involvement of Paul Benneworth in the development of these ideas is strongly appreciated and acknowledged, who in turn acknowledges the contribution made by David Charles.

³⁶ The concept of Social Identity as well as the impact it has on social behaviour has already been discussed in this research (see chapter 2.2).

that the extension of reach inevitably effects direct coordination as well as reciprocal communication between the network members, much work has subsequently been done into the direction of adopting the theories of Wenger to a larger scale, by looking at the so-called 'networks of practice' (e.g. Benner, 2003). According to Brown & Duguid (2000) 'networks of practice' are networks that link people to others also in those cases where people do not know each other³⁷ (due to the geographical reach of the network itself), but work on similar practices and share the same interests or problems. Links between the network-members are rather indirect than direct (such as through newsletters, websites, or bulletins) and need to be well coordinated and communicated. This results in the fact that 'coordination- and communication-tubes' must be explicit.

Boschma (2005) highlights that the ease with which actors can transfer knowledge, develop relationships and network depends on their proximity, not only geographical/cartographic (distance), but also cognitive (knowledge gap), organisational (control), social (trust, based on social relations) and institutional (trust, based on common institutions). Hence it could be argued that when applying the concept of 'networks of practice' to a trans-border planning context, sufficient proximity (which is heavily dependent on the geographical reach of the network) to allow interaction, and develop a series of norms and routines in the course of their activity to support that interaction, must be guaranteed. In this context the frontier effect of a border has to be considered a key-factor, which reduces proximity between geographically proximate agents, particularly along cognitive and social axes, but also institutional dimensions. Repeated interaction may build familiarity and drive social learning, which in turn creates cognitive and social proximity.

Therefore a trans-border planning 'network of practice', which will be designated a 'smart network'³⁸ in this research, appears to be an adequate social unit for the building up of collective understandings, reciprocal trust and consequently a shared knowledge base. This in turns creates the basis for collective problem definition, strategies, priorities, projects, languages and effective trans-border planning, which increase the cognitive and social proximity of actors across the national border. Hence the establishment of a 'smart network' could be regarded as an important foundation for cooperative actions across national borders, which may later allow other proximities – organisational and institutional – to emerge, consequently assisting in the institutionalisation process of the trans-border cooperation.

However it is not merely enough to build up sufficient proximity within a network, but also to overcome the inside/outside dichotomy caused by the boundary of the network itself. Therefore the establishment of good external connections with (sub)national planning agents (but also politicians) in order to influence the respective (sub)national planning system and culture can be considered as another important step on the 'journey' towards institutionalised forms of trans-border cooperation. The emergence and establishment of these external connections is explored in the following sub-chapter with emphasis on theories connected with 'epistemic communities'.

³⁷ Pierre Nora as well underlined the fact that the belonging to a particular network/society which shares the same Social Identity, does not necessarily imply that the network/society members know each other personally (see chapter 2.2.1).

³⁸ The term 'smart network' has been chosen following the ideas of the 'European smart city' model. There a 'smart city' is described as a well performing and forward-looking city, building on a 'smart' combination of endowments and activities of self-decisive, independent and aware citizens (*cf.* <http://www.smart-cities.eu/>).

3.3.2.2 The 'Epistemic Community' approach³⁹

The 'epistemic community' approach provides a means to understand the channels through which knowledge circulates, such as from socialised learning networks to decision makers and governments as well as from one country to another country.

According to Haas (1992) 'epistemic communities' are rather small national or trans-national knowledge-based expert networks, focusing on the cause-and-effect understanding of a particular domain or issue-area. They are constituted by individuals who share the same worldview (or *episteme*) and hold in common not only a set of principled and causal beliefs but also have shared notions of validity and a shared policy enterprise. Its *'ethical standards arise from its principled approach to the issue at hand, rather than from a professional code'* (Haas, 1992, p.19).

In contrast to other socialised learning networks (such as communities of practice) the cognitive function of an 'epistemic community' is not limited to the exchange of tacit knowledge⁴⁰ within the network, but extends to the validation and dissemination of this knowledge to one (or more) group(s), decision makers and/or politicians with its expertise recognised, validated and legitimated from the outside. This happens as the community itself continually diffuses its knowledge and ideas through conferences, journals, research collaboration as well as a variety of informal communications and contacts (Haas, 1992) and hence provides evidence in a particular domain or issue area. Therefore epistemic communities are often consulted from decision makers lacking familiarity with *'preconceived views and beliefs about an issue-area in which regulation is to be undertaken for the first time'*. This in turn has a strong impact on the shaping of *'interpretations and actions [of decision makers] in this case and in establishing the patterns of behaviour that they will follow in subsequent cases regarding the issue-area'* (Haas, 1992, p.29).

Hence, the influence an 'epistemic community' has on the outer world can be considered 'systemic', as on the one hand it influences the way of thinking of external decision makers and politicians and by that may induce changes in nation-state interests and patterns of decision making, which on the other hand assists the community itself to achieve its own goals. This systemic approach can be detected partly also in other forms of networks or communities, where groups of people work together on shared challenges. Generally speaking, the crucial point here is that on the one hand a network establishes tacit knowledge, which is aimed to solve a particular problem of the network. On the other hand the network and its knowledge that emerges and is communicated to decision makers becomes an integral element of the solution.

The application of the 'epistemic community' concept in the trans-border planning sphere appears to be very useful and is explored through this research under the designation 'power network'. As 'epistemic

³⁹ Essential parts of the arguments in this chapter are drawn from the article: Haselsberger, B. & Benneworth, P. (2010) Cross-border Communities or Cross-border Proximity? Perspectives from the Austrian-Slovakian Border Region. In Adams, N; et al. (Eds.) *Territorial Development, Cohesion and Spatial Planning. Building on EU Enlargement*. London: Routledge, pp.471–516. The involvement of Paul Benneworth in the development of these ideas is strongly appreciated and acknowledged.

⁴⁰ Nonaka & Takeuchi (1995) make a key distinction in understanding the dynamics of knowledge, between *tacit* knowledge, which is most easily transmitted through face-to-face contact and *codified* knowledge, which can be written down and easily transmitted.

communities' are emergent communities, arising through purposive interaction, the immediately emerging question for the establishment of a 'power network' is *what kind of purposive interactions can emerge in situations characterised by a juxtaposition of different spatial planning systems with their own rationales and logics?* It appears that – given the enduring prevalence of national planning cultures and planning traditions despite a convergence of languages and processes of planning (Zonneveld, 2005) – purposive interactions are strongly required in a trans-border planning context to solve problems that cannot be solved solely within a pre-existing national governance scale. Considering for example the case of trans-European networks (TENs), which are based on the objective to ensure continued cohesion in terms of better trans-European infrastructure, the application of this concept appears very much appropriate, as a single national spatial planning system is incapable of dealing with it.

Through this purposive interaction towards a shared objective of solving a complex problem, 'power networks' are considered capable of establishing a shared knowledge base, characterised by mutual understanding and reciprocal trust, but also by shared routines and practices which, when transmitted to planning authorities (at the (sub)national scale) and external partners (across the national border), create the essential foundations for institutionalised forms of territorial cooperation. This may in turn allow the wider exercise of influence to reshape those national planning perspectives which nowadays very often limit border areas and trans-border regions. In this regard the building of 'power networks' have to be considered an emergent process from a series of negotiated outcomes addressed towards particular problems which might simultaneously encompass pragmatic, technical and idealistic dimensions.

3.3.2.3 Overview and Discussion

The process of building up potentially productive forms of territorial cooperation could be regarded as a 'journey' in which relationships emerge, are institutionalised, and become embedded within practice, in the sense of building up common experiences of working together, articulating shared visions, developing common plans, winning project funding, shaping mainstream funding, and ultimately building a trans-border governance space, albeit articulated within corresponding national and European planning spaces. It could be argued that this process is strongly dependent on the successful building up of proximity between the different partners, an institutionalisation procedure in which familiarity and learning builds up and provides capacity to achieve material shared outcomes irrespective of the presence of territorial borders.

Boschma's framework provides a means to understand how the negative impacts of the border are circumvented: local cross-border action build proximity, creating internally coherent trans-border networks, which then have the capacity to represent 'border region interests' within wider planning epistemic communities. Boschma's (2005) classification has been adapted in terms of exchanging geographical proximity with juridical proximity, because of the importance of legal systems and cultures in determining trans-border planning interaction, and the relatively slow pace at which geographical proximity changes.

The relationship between a 'smart network' and a 'power network' is akin to the different stages on the journey towards an institutionalised form of cooperation. Table 6 offers a comprehensive overview of the preconditions/starting points required for each different type of networking and is broken down into four stages – progressing from no interaction, the superficial interaction, the 'smart network' and the 'power network'. In this table the attempt has been made to differentiate between these different stages of network building, using various different elements of proximity, to understand how proximity and forms of cooperation may build up across territorial borders. The table offers an ideal type categorisation of (sub)national situations to understand the scope or extent of the different forms of cooperation that has built up in a particular context. On the basis of the categorisation, an analysis may be able to identify what has proven difficult to address in that context, and the future barriers to completing the formation of well-functioning trans-border cooperation within the multi-jurisdictional policy environment of European planning (see Adams et al., 2010).

Table 6: Potential dimensions of trans-border networking by sophistication level

	No integration (level 1)	Superficial integration (level 2)	Smart network (level 3)	Power network (level 4)
Collective learning mechanisms (organisational)	Working on common projects and experiencing cultural gulfs.	Learning-by-doing in delivering INTERREG structures and activities	Shared languages understanding, problem definition, strategies, projects priorities.	Active participation in multiple national planning systems
Legal framework (judicial)	The two legal systems operate independently with no recognition of the others	Attempts have been made to identify similar levels for cooperation, other partners recognised as stakeholders	There is some coordination of the two different planning systems at sub-national level	The two legal systems are completely coordinated and scheduled to run together
Political commitment & leadership (social)	Trans-border planning is largely ignored in political discourse	There are aspirations and interest towards cooperation across borders	Sub-national leaders regularly sustain a momentum for the partnership with informal meetings and agreements	There is a trans-border planning organ with serious representation, responsibility and power
Shared problems & services (social)	Trans-border service delivery restricted to emergency and rare situations	Realism of current state of integration reflected in plans extrapolated to future	Trans-border intelligence used to allow services to be provided across region borders	Active trans-border planning of services and all infrastructure services
Planning outcomes (institutional)	The other nation-state is omitted or ignored in spatial planning documents	Sub-national plans are made with consideration for neighbours but are not necessarily negotiated with them	The sub-national plans each draw on a shared body of trans-border intelligence	There is an overarching trans-border plan that shapes/ determines lower-tier plans
Availability of funding (institutional)	Opportunistic use of funding e.g. INTERREG to deliver 'pet' projects	Stream of sub-national project funding but dependent on external sources	Trans-border activities planned and budgeted out of own resources	Trans-border planning sustained through permanent sub-national budgets
Shared languages and understanding of planning cultures (cognitive)	No attempts to build up shared knowledge and connections between similar levels over border	A familiarity with language and structure of others' practices lacking cultural interpretation	Good knowledge of how the two spatial planning systems and planning outcomes join up, 'who does what'	Diffusion of terminology from supra-plan into local activities. Shared knowledge and understanding, building up of reciprocal trust
Communities (associations) and cultures of planning (cognitive)	Special 'festival' (ribbon-cutting) meetings, exchange visits & seminars	Consultations between different groups as part of a wider stakeholder consultation irregularly, only if necessary	Regular informal meetings between officers and members to address shared problems and future visions	A range of formal forums/ platforms where trans-border partners meet and do planning's 'serious business'
Infrastructure connections (geographic)	There is a hard, uncrossable border between the two countries	There are limited points of connection between transport infrastructure	There are well coordinated and extensive trans-border linkages	There is a single sub-national infrastructure maximising interaction

Source: Haselsberger & Benneworth, 2010 (dimensions after Boschma, 2005)

4 TERRITORIAL COOPERATION IN PRACTICE

Effective forms of territorial cooperation are urgently required in an ever enlarging European Union as highlighted in the theoretical part of this thesis. They appear to be of relevance on the one hand for the European Union itself (in terms of territorial and social cohesion) as well as on the other hand for each single border area (in terms of dealing efficiently with the negative consequences caused by national borders). But it should be borne in mind that territorial cooperation in practice is a very sensitive issue, which needs to be developed carefully yet energetically. It could be argued that due to the cultural richness and diversity of Europe there is no general valid 'remedy' in terms of how to build up and/or foster successful territorial cooperation activities/practices across Europe. On the contrary every single border area requires a case-specific consideration and consequently a case-specific solution. Nevertheless the added value of learning from the successes and/or failures and difficulties from particular cases should not be underestimated. Therefore this part of the research draws evidence from two completely different trans-border regions (in geographical as well as contextual terms) to verify the hypothesis that *in any specific trans-border cooperation activity, a shared knowledge base favours the building up of mutual understanding and reciprocal trust, which assists in establishing different forms of 'proximity' and consequently in the building up of potentially productive trans-border networks.*

Building on the theoretical framework provided in chapter 3, this chapter explores, as a first step, the Austrian-Italian border zone – the core case-study of this research – in a very detailed way. This specific case should be regarded as an illuminating trans-border example, so far little discussed in planning research. However as *Kärnten* (Austria) and *Friuli Venezia Giulia* (Italy) are separated by a national border, which follows a mountain chain (the Carnic Alps), this geographical element makes territorial cooperation not the most important issue for this two neighbouring nation-states. Generally speaking, it could be argued that there is no pressing need (necessity) to immediately build up potentially productive trans-border networks (although they are needed in the long term). On the one hand everything which takes place 'behind the mountains' is not visible for the other nation-state. On the other hand, due to the geology of the mountain chain, the frontiers are neither nation state's main focus for transformation/development processes. Therefore, this research, in a second step, draws attention to another case-study – the Austrian-Slovakian border zone – to complement the practical analysis of this research. Doing so, a number of additional aspects (like conflicts of interests on how to use/shape the frontiers) emerge. Both case-studies together provide a comprehensive picture of the challenges for territorial and social cohesion in Europe.

The first case considers the Austrian-Italian border zone, a trans-border context, where in the last three decades several cooperative activities/projects have been undertaken, but where the national border has still retained its separating function both in the territory and above all in the mind of the people. It could be argued that cooperation in this area – besides the separating function of the mountain chain – is both complicated and even hindered by the fact that until now no shared knowledge base (including a shared planning terminology) permitting a proper understanding of the 'others' planning traditions and planning cultures has accrued. Chapter 4.1 introduces a possible pathway of establishing such '*first level knowledge*' (as introduced in chapter 3.2.2.3) towards institutionalised forms of cooperation. Given that the

legal avenues as defined by domestic law (including the distribution of competences and responsibilities for different planning subjects) (*cf.* chapter 3.3.1), which have evolved over time in the respective nation-states, provide the basic framework for trans-border cooperation in practice, the understanding of the 'others' planning approach could be regarded an essential milestone for the building up of different forms of 'proximity' as well as a shared knowledge base. Therefore chapter 4.1 provides a very detailed analysis of the Austrian (focus *Kärnten*) and Italian (focus *Friuli Venezia Giulia*) spatial planning systems as well as determining the existing similarities and differences between these two planning approaches. The necessity of this very detailed approach is reinforced by the fact that the shaping of the spatial planning system and how spatial planning is practiced in reality is strongly dependent upon bottom-up influences, such history and Social Identity, which are not always visible and understandable at first sight. Generally speaking the Austrian-Italian case demonstrates how different spatial planning approaches can be analysed and compared, highlighting issues such as common competences, responsibilities, and issues of common concern in order to provide a proper base (precondition) for trans-border cooperation in practice.

The second case, the Austrian-Slovakian border zone, is examined as complementary example towards territorial cooperation in practice, raising a number of additional relevant issues towards the building up of potentially productive trans-border networks. The Austrian-Slovakian case demonstrates how, based on the existing *first level knowledge*⁴¹, the building up of '*third level knowledge*' and consequently the establishment of effective forms of trans-border networks (e.g. 'smart networks' or 'power networks') might become reality. It should be acknowledged both that the observed trans-border area was long divided by the 'Iron Curtain', as well as that Slovakia did not enter the European Union until 2004. Hence, this case provides an ideal example to determine the challenges and difficulties of trans-border efforts and projects in a trans-border context where no previous significant cooperation activity has taken place. The analysis in chapter 4.2 focuses on the impact of the projects carried out in the Austrian-Slovakian border zone between 2003 and 2006, exploring the role of different forms of 'proximity' (juridical, social, institutional and cognitive) for trans-border network-formation processes. This experiential trans-border learning approach builds on the systematic framework provided in chapter 3.3.2.

The progressive relationship between the two case-studies provides a means to understand the challenges and difficulties of territorial cooperation in practice:

- The Austrian-Italian case underlines the added value of analysing spatial planning systems in a very detailed way. Generally speaking, this approach assists in revealing similarities in terms of how planning is practiced in reality, even under different legal and political frameworks.
- The Austrian-Slovakian case demonstrates that even if the planning approaches of the nation-states concerned are well known, pressures for cooperation as well as conflicts of interests pose many challenges for the building up of different forms of 'proximity' and consequently trans-border network and cooperation structures.

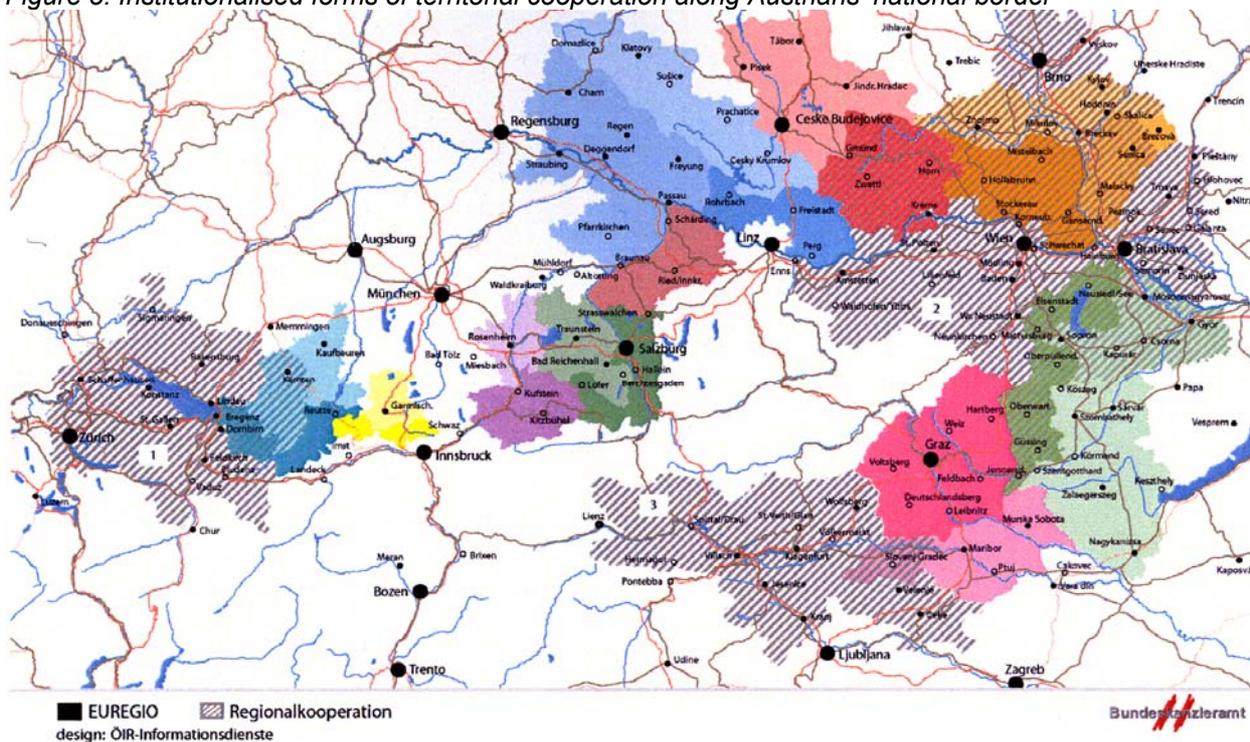
⁴¹ This kind of knowledge has been elaborated in the frame of the book 'Deutsch – Tschechisch – Slowakisches Handbuch der Planungsbegriffe' (The Compendium of German – Czech – Slovakian Planning Terminology and Planning Approaches), ARL (Akademie für Raumforschung und Landesplanung), 1997, pp.1–544.

4.1 The lessons of the Austrian-Italian border area

The coterminous area comprising the Austrian 'Land' of *Kärnten* and the Italian 'Regione Autonoma' of *Friuli Venezia Giulia* (FVG) has developed territorial cooperation strategies since 1975 (in particular in the frame of the *Alpe Adria* Working Community). However although the idea of territorial cooperation builds on a long tradition in this border area, it has to be acknowledged that no institutional form of cooperation between *Kärnten* and FVG has so far been established. The only noteworthy approach in this direction was the attempt to create a Euroregion '*Senza Confini – Beyond Borders*' in 1999, where *Kärnten*, *Friuli Venezia Giulia*, *Veneto* and *Slovenija* would have been integrated. But this project was never realised⁴².

Bearing in mind that along the Austrian border, nearly all border zones are somehow involved in territorial cooperation activities, in terms of institutionalised forms of cooperation (see Figure 5), the trans-border area of *Kärnten* and FVG constitutes a meaningful and concrete case, little discussed in literature, which can be used to identify better ways of dealing with opportunities, but also addressing difficulties, of initiating territorial cooperation practices currently under construction in Europe⁴³.

Figure 5: Institutionalised forms of territorial cooperation along Austrians' national border



Source: BKA, 2004, p.15

The case-study builds on the broad case-specific knowledge of the author, who on the one hand grew up and lived in *Kärnten* next to the Italian border for more than 20 years and on the other hand spent 15 months in FVG studying the Italian culture and the Italian spatial planning system. Following substantial

⁴² The main driving force behind the idea of the Euroregion '*Senza Confini – Beyond Borders*' was the joint candidature of *Kärnten*, *Slovenija* and *Friuli Venezia Giulia* for the 2006 Winter Olympic Games. However with the official nomination of Torino (Italy) as the host of the 2006 Winter Olympic Games the enthusiastic initiative to create an Euroregion '*Senza Confini – Beyond Borders*' was not further considered.

⁴³ The author has chosen this study area because of its very particular situation: the combination of the similarity of physical geography on the one hand and the diversity and complexity in human geography (cultures, traditions, languages, etc.) on the other hand, poses a challenge for territorial cooperation practices and research.

numbers of face-to-face interviews with planning authorities, professionals, researchers and academics from the two respective countries, it was determined that the main obstacles hindering territorial cooperation between *Kärnten* and FVG is the lack of mutual understanding and/or reciprocal trust, deriving from the fact that both countries deal in their own way with spatial planning issues in accordance with their own traditions. In this regard it appears that the systematic preparation of basic principles as a requirement for the implementation of an institutionalised form of cooperation must – first of all – come to terms with country-specific planning approaches as well as the peculiarities of the spatial planning systems involved, or in other words by determining the respective 'planning tool kit' operating in this particular trans-border area.

This chapter aims to indicate the functions, meanings and roles of spatial planning in Austria (focus *Kärnten*) and Italy (focus *Friuli Venezia Giulia*) in a clear and transparent way, fleshing out the theoretical framework provided in chapter 3.2.2 and more precisely on the planning scales glossary elaborated in Table 4 (chapter 3.2.2.2). The chapter explores as a first step the socially-rooted meanings of '*Raumplanung*' and '*Urbanistica*', the terms most notably used in the two countries with regard to spatial planning. The analysis of the specific spatial planning systems seeks to answer two questions, namely *how has spatial planning evolved* (in particular starting from the beginning of spatial planning as an explicit discipline for the regulation of space), and *which planning instruments and planning procedures are used in which ways*. The influence deriving from the milieu of spatial planning (planning traditions and planning identities) and its effects on the development and shaping of spatial planning system as well as on societal norms (regarding the regulation of space) – or in other words the influence of bottom-up dynamics – play an important role in the whole analysis. This bottom-up approach provides explanations for variations in these two spatial planning systems and moreover assists in revealing similarities as well as differences in the frame of the systematic comparative analysis.

4.1.1 Overview

From a geographical point of view and in accordance with the NUTS 2 classification⁴⁴ the '*Land* *Kärnten*' and the '*Regione Autonoma*' of *Friuli Venezia Giulia* can be considered comparable territorial entities. Moreover as both territorial entities play a decisive role in spatial planning matters within their nation-states, this territorial scale appears to be the most appropriate for a trans-border comparison of spatial planning systems.

⁴⁴ NUTS 2 regions are characterised by their heterogeneity both in the territorial dimensions and in the number of inhabitants (ESPON *et al.*, 2006a).

Figure 6: The Austrian-Italian case-study area

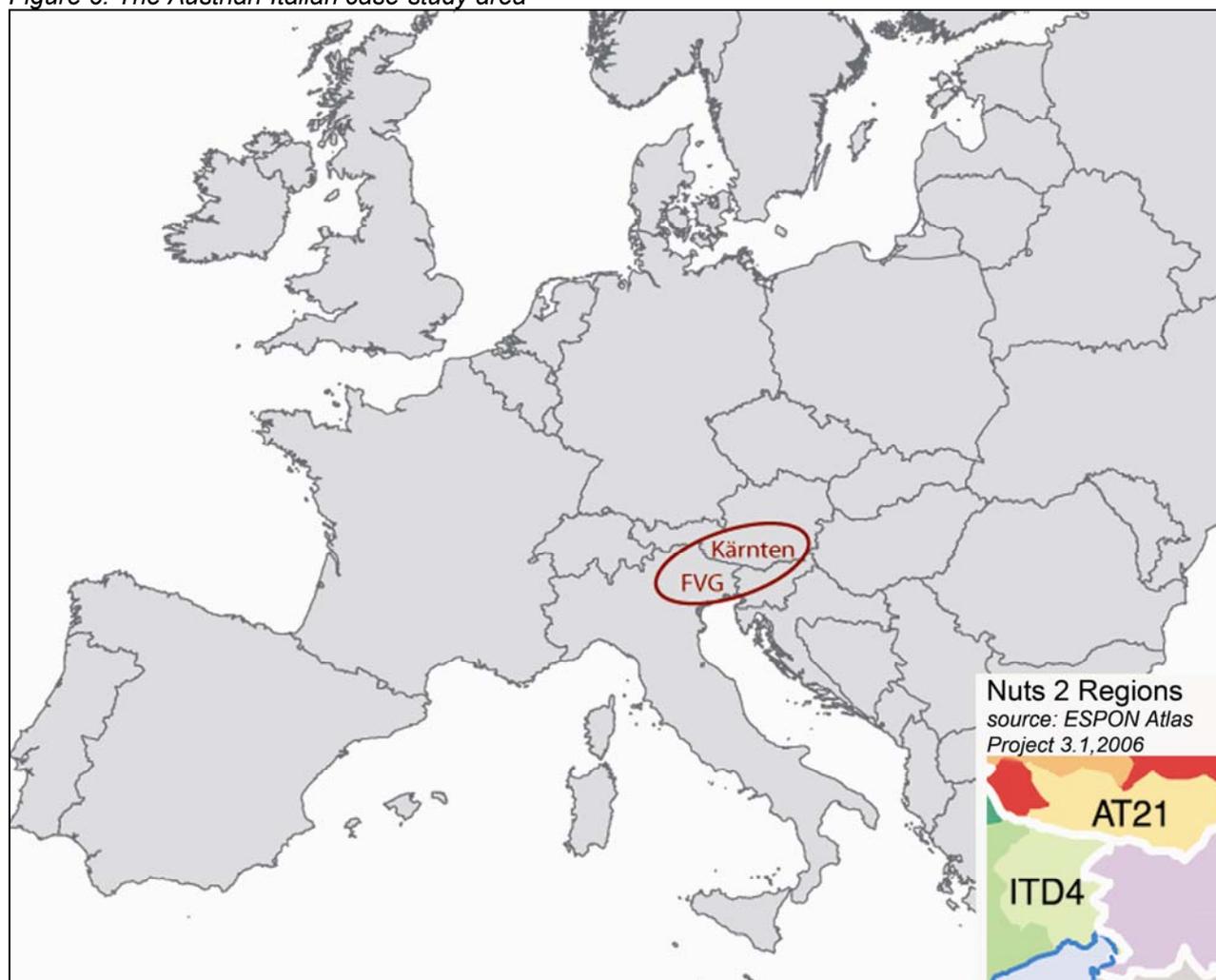


Table 7: Kärnten (Austria) in figures

Bezirke	Population (2007)	Area (sq km)	Density (population per sq km)	Gemeinden
Feldkirchen	30,524	558.59	54.64	10
Hermagor	19,317	808.02	23.91	7
Klagenfurt Land	58,035	765.59	75.80	19
Klagenfurt Stadt	92,397	120.07	769.53	1
Spittal an der Drau	80,423	2,763.99	29.10	33
St. Veit an der Glan	57,747	1,493.67	38.66	20
Villach Land	64,806	1,009.33	64.21	19
Villach Stadt	58,480	124.58	434.54	1
Völkermarkt	43,125	907.49	47.52	13
Wolfsberg	55,553	971.79	6.12	9
Kärnten	560,407	9,533.12	58.79	132

Source: <http://www.statistik.at>; <http://www.kagis.ktn.gv.at>

Table 8: Friuli Venezia Giulia (Italy) in figures

Province	Population (2007)	Area (sq km)	Density (population per sq km)	Comuni
Gorizia	141,948	466.02	304.60	25
Pordenone	307,664	2,273.22	135.34	51
Trieste	236,457	211.82	1,116.31	6
Udine	535,992	4,905.42	109.27	137
Friuli Venezia Giulia	1,222,061	7,856.48	155.55	219

Source: <http://www.regione.fvg.it>

4.1.2 Discovering similarities and differences in the planning approaches

4.1.2.1 The Austrian planning system and multi-scale planning in Kärnten (Foundation I)

The Austrian planning language

In Austria spatial planning traditionally refers to *Raumordnung*, which is defined as:

'the ensemble of all private and sovereign tasks of public bodies (Bund, Land and Gemeinde) in reference to specific political objectives for the common arrangement of the territory in particular in regard to the anticipatory regulation of land-uses and strategic space-oriented visions, influencing the territory' (ÖROK, 2002, p.155 [translated]).

Although in 1935 the term *Raumordnung* appeared for the first time in a (German) legislation, it is by no mean an invention of the radical national-socialist regime of that time. Rather it emerged for the first time in a German speaking area in 1925 (during the democratic Weimar Republic), and from 1927 it could be found in relevant German planning literature (Blotevogel, 2003).

Alongside the term *Raumordnung* there is also the term *Raumplanung* in use in Austria. *Raumplanung* is described as a subset of *Raumordnung*, able to

'prepare the implementation of planning actions, like building permissions. Raumplanung in the narrow sense focuses on structural land-use planning of the territory and in its wider sense includes also specific sectoral planning matters' (Schindegger, 1999, p.32 [translated]).

Although in theory *Raumplanung* is a subset of *Raumordnung*, both terms are used synonymously within the Austrian society⁴⁵. Moreover, *Raumplanung* (in the sense of the collective meaning of *Raumordnung* and *Raumplanung*) is more frequently used, despite all criticism (Schindegger, 1999). Moreover, neither *Raumordnung* nor *Raumplanung* are mentioned explicitly within the Austrian Constitution, only *örtliche Raumplanung* (in reference to the local planning scale).

Due to its strong embedding within the Austrian society, this research uses the term "Raumplanung" to encompass both Raumordnung and Raumplanung as defined above.

The Austrian planning system at a glance

In Austria three planning scales with (limited) competences in *Raumplanung* exist (Table 9).

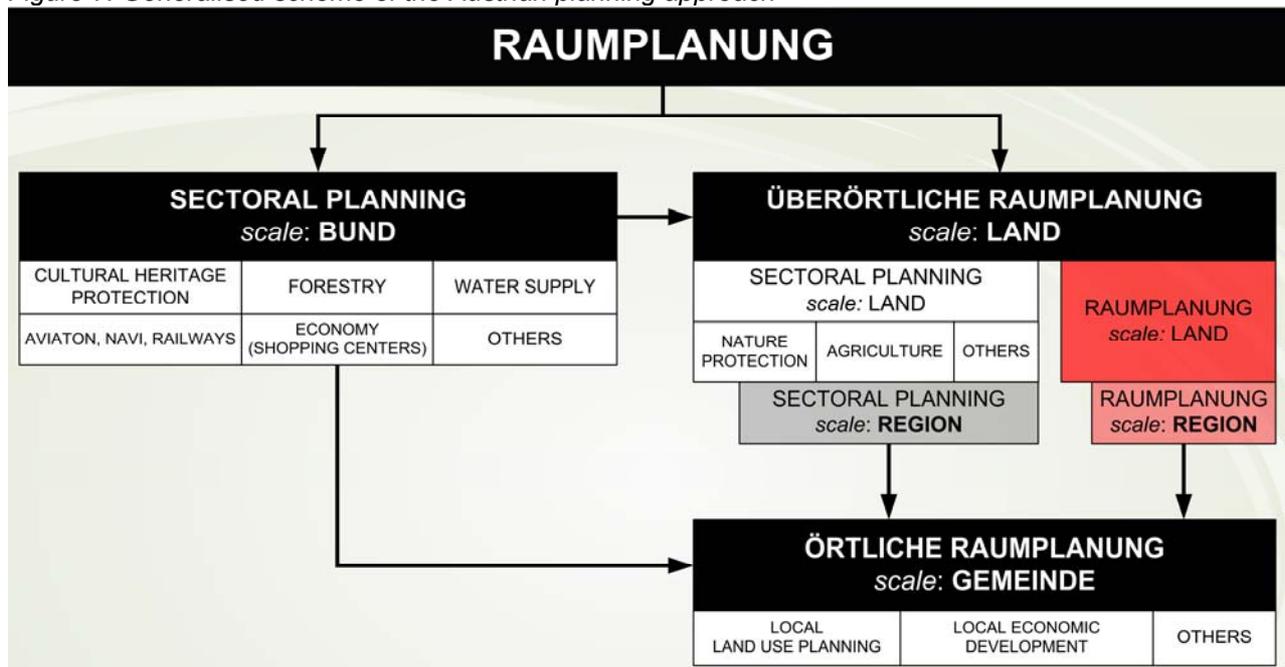
⁴⁵ This is not valid for other German speaking territories like Germany or parts of Switzerland. In Germany for example *Raumordnung* is used only at the national scale, while the sub-national scale refers to *Landesplanung* and the supra-local scale refers to *Regionalplanung*. The socially understanding of *Raumplanung* in Germany has moreover a broader meaning than in Austria; it comprises not only the whole complex of private and sovereign tasks for the regulation of the territory, but also its outcomes, the structure of the territory. In the Switzerland, however, the term *Raumordnung* has been introduced in 1996, before it was 'only' the term *Raumplanung*, which was legally defined by law (Schindegger, 1999).

Table 9: Planning scales in Austria (with legal competences for spatial planning)

Name	Sphere of Action	
<i>Bund</i>	Sectoral Planning of the <i>Bund</i>	National
<i>Land</i> (including <i>Region</i>)	<i>Überörtliche Raumplanung</i>	Sub-national (incl. Supra-local)
<i>Gemeinde</i>	<i>Örtliche Raumplanung</i>	Local

The most important planning scale in Austria is the *Land*, with the competence to approve Spatial Planning Laws, legally binding for the sub-national, supra-local and local scale. However the competences of the *Land* in terms of *Raumplanung* are limited by a range of (sectoral) national laws and programmes directly affecting spatial planning at all planning scales. Decisions by the *Bund* influence even private landowners at the local scale. Moreover the planning competences of the *Land* are restrained by sectoral laws and programmes approved by the *Land* itself. The ‘technical’ planning scale “*Region*” has no independent responsibilities or powers. However, theoretically the *Land* could provide this planning scale with competences. The local planning scale is enabled to exercise *Raumplanung* locally within the scope of the legislative framework defined by the *Land* and the *Bund*, and is only subject of supervision of the *Land*.

Figure 7: Generalised scheme of the Austrian planning approach



The emergence of the Austrian planning approach: a historical outline

From the 6th century, it was kings, dukes and clerical powers who controlled the organisation of space (mainly through specific building activities like monasteries, castles, and fortifications) in the Austrian territory we are familiar with today. Hence, the Middle Ages and in particular the long tradition of independent king- and dukedoms in this period (as for example the *Herzogtum Kärnten* established in 976⁴⁶) have a significance in understanding the emergence of the Austrian planning approach.

⁴⁶ cf. Fräss-Ehrfeld, 1984, pp.104–109

From the early 19th century, in the Austro-Hungarian Empire⁴⁷, many *Bauordnungen* (building regulations) were promulgated in the Crown Lands (*Kronländer*)⁴⁸ of the Austrian and Austro-Hungarian Empire. In 1867 the first Austrian Constitution provided the *Kronländer* with the competences to approve their respective building regulations⁴⁹. These building regulations provided the local scale for the first time with legal competences for local planning issues, in particular with the elaboration and approval of regulation plans (*Regulierungspläne*) (Semsroth, 1985; Seidenberger, 1998). The main emphasis in those days was the prevention of fire catastrophes, the improvement of sanitary standards as well as urban aesthetics in the growing cities.

The necessity and importance of sub-national and supra-local planning on the one hand to formulate principles for the local scale and on the other hand to coordinate sectoral issues within the complex matter of spatial planning was only much later recognised, in particular during the interwar years (Schimak, 1984). In contrast, in Germany, the strong pressure triggered by the rapid urbanisation (like Berlin) and the formation of industrial areas (like the *Ruhrgebiet*) required territorial cooperative actions and binding regulations at the supra-local and sub-national scale much earlier than in Austria (Blotevogel, 2003). As the German approach later became decisive for the formation of the Austrian model, it is necessary to understand the evolution of the key elements of German planning approaches.

Table 10: First main sub-national and supra-local planning approaches and associations in Germany

year of foundation	name of institution	purpose	milestone
1911	<i>Zweckverband Groß-Berlin</i>	Administrative association for the coordination of traffic, settlements, recreation matters in the greater Berlin area (including cities like Charlottenburg, Wilmersdorf).	First attempt of supra-local planning in Germany. However without legal competences. (Starting from 1920 the cooperating areas became part of the city of Berlin.)
1920	<i>Siedlungsverband Ruhrkohlenbezirk</i>	Development of the <i>Ruhrgebiet</i> , to manage the payment on account after the 1 st World War as defined in the peace-treaty of Versailles.	First administrative association with legal competences. Elaboration of supra-local plans (defining green connections, settlements, traffic, e.g.) to better coordinate local activities'.
1925	<i>Planungsverband für den Engeren Mitteldeutschen Industriebezirk</i>	Strategic distribution of economic functions and their related sectors (traffic, settlements) in an area without dominating urban centres, but of industrial importance.	Sub-national association of planning for Preußen organised as voluntary cooperation across administrative borders. Preparation of numerous comprehensive, but unbinding plans (<i>Planungsatlas</i>).
1928	<i>Hamburgisch-Preußischer Landesplanungsausschuss</i>	Harbour association for the common economic development of the harbour, cooperation instead of competition.	Contract between the sub-national governments of Preußen and Hamburg. Development of planning procedures.

In 1935 the first *Reichsstelle für Raumordnung*, an administrative body for spatial planning, directly responsible to Adolf Hitler, was established in Germany by the national socialist regime. Starting from that time, all those independent planning associations which had evolved, particularly during the democratic

⁴⁷ The Austro-Hungarian Empire (1867-1918) was a dual-monarchic state, ruled by the Habsburg dynasty. From the geographical point of view this empire was the second largest in Europe after the Russian Empire.

⁴⁸ *Kronländer* was the umbrella term for all sub-national and supra-local territories (kingdoms, dukedoms, counties, countries) during the Austrian Empire (1804-1867) as well as during the Austro-Hungarian Empire (1867-1918).

⁴⁹ In total 89 building regulations had been elaborated and approved in the 41 kingdoms, dukedoms, counties, countries and cities of the Austro-Hungarian Empire till the end of 1918 (Semsroth, 1985).

Weimar Republic (like the *Siedlungsverband Ruhrkohlenbezirk*) were immediately disbanded. Planning became a totally centralised task, seeking to create self-sufficient areas and to disperse high density areas, in Germany and later its conquered territories through a centralised top-down dictatorship (Schimak, 1984).

The loss of Austrian sovereignty in 1938 immediately stopped all developments towards an institutionalised planning structure in Austria. During 1938 and 1945 Austria formed part of the German territory, divided into seven *Reichsgaue* (sub-national scale). During that period spatial planning issues were regularised by the *Deutsche Gemeindeordnung* and the *Deutsche Wohnsiedlungsgesetz* which in 1933 (when Hitler became Reich Chancellor) were introduced in Germany. The *Deutsche Wohnsiedlungsgesetz* legalised the *Wirtschaftsplan* (a kind of land-use plan), compulsorily elaborated and approved for selected areas (*Wohnsiedlungsgebiete*).

As no Spatial Planning Law was approved in Austria before 1938⁵⁰ there was no legal precedent on which to build on following the Second World War. Therefore the *Deutsche Wohnsiedlungsgesetz* was 're-activated' with the *Wirtschaftsplan* becoming one of the most important planning instruments of that time in Austria. However in Austria this plan was generated as a local land-use plan rather than a supra-local land-use plan (as was the case in Germany). This was possible as the operational sphere of the *Wirtschaftsplan* in the German legislation was dedicated to *Wohnsiedlungsgebiete*, defined by law case by case. Contrary to the land-use plans of 'normal' communities, the *Wirtschaftspläne* for the *Wohnsiedlungsgebiete* had a legal character (Seidenberger, 1998). During the 1950s and 1960s, German legislation finally expired, or was substituted, with the approval of the Austrian Spatial Planning Laws.

Before examining more recent development of the sub-national planning scale in detail in *Kärnten* a short overview of the national and sub-national framework is necessary, drawing attention on the roles, functions and meanings of the national and sub-national planning scale within the Austrian planning hierarchy.

The role of the national planning scale in the Austrian planning hierarchy

In contrast with many other European Member States (including Italy), there exists no National Planning Law in Austria⁵¹. By contrast all federal *Länder* (except *Wien*⁵²) have approved specific Spatial Planning Laws.

⁵⁰ The Spatial Planning Law elaborated by the *Land Oberösterreich* in 1937, has not been approved (Schimak, 1984).

⁵¹ Theoretically (regarding to the Austrian Constitution) it would be possible to approve a National Planning Law. There had been even an attempt in the past, more precisely in 1975 (Schimak, 1984). However, a potential Austrian National Planning Law could only regulate those affairs, where the *Bund* (according to the Constitution) has the preliminary competences for. Considering the fact that the Austrian Constitution (1920) equipped the *Bund* with as few competences as possible (due to the long and still deeply rooted tradition of independent king- and dukedoms in Austria), the sphere of action of a potential Austrian National Planning Law would be only very limited.

⁵² *Wien* has a specific status, meaning that it is *Gemeinde* and *Land* at the same time. Spatial Planning in *Wien* is regulated in the Vienna Building Regulation (Spatial Planning Law regulating spatial planning for the *Land* and *Gemeinde* scale in *Wien*).

Bundesverfassungsgesetz (BV-G) 1920 (Constitution)

The Austrian Constitution (art. 2) identifies Austria as a federal state, divided into nine federal *Länder*⁵³.

The Austrian Constitution (art. 10-12 and art. 15) regulates the distribution of competences between the national (*Bund*) and the *Länder* scale for all affairs within the nation-state. In general it can be said that all affairs explicitly constitutionally reserved to the national scale (art 10-12), including forestry, mining, cultural heritage protection, water supply, railways, and important infrastructure, are delegated to the *Länder* (art. 15) as is the case with agriculture, nature protection, landscape protection, construction laws, kindergarten issues, health care, streets, and protection of town/city-scape. *Raumplanung* is not explicitly introduced in the Constitution. However, *Raumplanung* is a complex matter, embedded in the field of several sectoral matters, including some falling within the purview of the *Bund*⁵⁴. In Austria all *Länder* have approved Spatial Planning Laws, regulating exclusively those matters which fall under the remit of their own responsibilities.

The local scale (*Gemeinde*) is enabled by the Constitution (art. 118) to fulfil all affairs in the exclusive and predominant interest of their own local territory, such as local planning (in particular since the amendment of the Constitution in 1962) and local building inspections. In those matters *Gemeinden* are only subject to supervision by the *Land*, but subject to higher level directives. However as *Gemeinden* have to operate within the legal framework provided by the respective *Land* (as well as by the *Bund*), the *Land* is in the position to formulate directives indirectly via their supra-local and sub-national planning instruments. But these kind of restrictions of the 'local sphere of actions' are in compliance with the Constitution only in those cases where supra-local/sub-national interests prevail over exclusively local interests.

Österreichische Raumordnungskonferenz (ÖROK)

In the absence of an Austrian National Planning Law, the *Österreichische Raumordnungskonferenz* was established in 1972 with the ambitious objective to serve as an informal platform for the planning actors of the nine *Länder*. This platform enables and supports position making and informal agreements, as well as information and knowledge exchange. ÖROK decisions are recommendations and therefore not legally binding. However ÖROK decisions must be taken made unanimously, and therefore achieve a relatively high importance because the membership encompasses several prominent members (all federal ministers, all 9 nation-state governors, the presidents of the Austrian Union of Towns and the Austrian Union of Communities under the chairman of the federal chancellor).

Specifically ÖROK publications are significant in unifying important point of views, developments and trends concerning spatial planning in Austria, as well as statistical data (such as population development) in the form of plans and reports. These publications serve all kind of planning bodies and planning practitioners. The Austrian Spatial Development Report, published every three years, draws together significant topics of spatial planning in Austria and EU regional policy (of salience since Austria's 1995 EU accession). The Austrian Spatial Development Concept (ÖREK), published every ten years, communicates

⁵³ *Burgenland, Kärnten, Niederösterreich, Oberösterreich, Salzburg, Steiermark, Tirol, Vorarlberg and Wien.*

⁵⁴ The same is valid also for environmental protection (*Umweltschutz*).

supra-local strategies and decisions as well as point of views from the main actors in this field of spatial planning. Moreover the ÖROK Atlas on spatial development in Austria and other specific thematic publications build up fundamental background information and knowledge for all kind of planning activities in Austria. Some may argue that ÖROK publications are to some extent exercising the function of (strategic) spatial planning at the national scale. It is true that these publications have significant impacts in terms of orientating territorial policies and practices at various planning scales and in so doing have become influential documents for planning in Austria. However due to their non-binding nature they are by no means a substitute for a (harmonised) national planning framework in Austria.

The role of the sub-national planning scale in the Austrian planning hierarchy

In general it can be said that the period after the Second World War was very volatile for spatial planning in Austria and in particular for the sub-national planning scale (which due to the absence of a national legislation appears to be the most important planning scale in Austria). Most problems occurred due to the strongly centralised way the radical national-socialist regime practiced planning. Spatial planning in this period had become associated principally with arbitrariness and expropriation, without integrating the local population, making it quite obvious why spatial planning (in particular at the *Länder* scale) was not accepted by the local population in this period. Alongside these difficulties there were also serious legal uncertainties when the first planning authority elaborated its First Planning Law. In the beginning of 1954, the planning authority (the *Land Salzburg*) was confronted with these difficulties⁵⁵, and asked the Constitutional Court to control the conformity of its Spatial Planning Law draft. This was an important key moment in the evolution of the Austrian Planning System, clarified in the Constitutional Court finding that the *Bund* and the *Land* as well have competences in *Raumplanung*, but only in those specific matters for which they are enabled by the Constitution (*Kompetenzfeststellungserkenntnis*, VfGH – VfSlg 2674/1954). This happens as spatial planning is not an independent matter of administration, but a complex constituted by many specific sectoral spheres, over which different planning scales have the dominant competences. The Constitutional Court also stated that conflicts may occur (in particular) in cases where *Bund* and *Land* are planning for the same territory according to their competences. After this clarification and following Austria's federal structure and the Constitutional principles, all federal *Länder* (except *Wien*) approved their respective Spatial Planning Laws in order to establish their own basic framework for spatial planning⁵⁶. Consequently, Austria's contemporary Spatial Planning laws are by no mean uniform in their application across Austria, as they were drafted according to the needs of the individual territories (ÖROK, 2002). This situation complicates the cooperation even between the federal *Länder*, although it must be conceded that all Spatial Planning Laws both define principles and objectives for spatial planning (but no measures) and introduce a hierarchical system of planning instruments (*Hoheitliche Raumpläne*) affecting the scale of the *Land*, *Region* and *Gemeinde*. Moreover they define minimum content, the establishment and approval of their respective instruments, as well as the impacts on the territory in general and more precisely for the local scale.

⁵⁵ These difficulties occurred because of the complex matter of spatial planning in general and the sharing of competences as defined in the Austrian Constitution.

⁵⁶ The First Spatial Planning Laws were approved between 1956 (Salzburg) and 1973 (Vorarlberg) (Schimak, 1984).

This particular research is not aimed at comparing the nine different sub-national planning approaches within Austria or its developments (although this would also be interesting), but in highlighting how planning is practiced and organised in the case of *Kärnten*.

The spatial planning approach of *Kärnten*

After the establishment of the first *Landesplanungsstelle* (planning authority) in *Kärnten* (1948) with the growing trust of the local population into the planners of the *Land* (who at this time elaborated and approved local land-use plans), planning at the sub-national scale slowly started to become accepted for issues like the developing a post-dictatorship *Kärntner*/ Austrian identity and the protection of *Kärnten*'s natural beauty. Finally, the support of the chamber of agriculture, whose interest it was to protect agricultural production areas for the rural population and to avoid urban sprawl, greatly supported the development of planning activities at this planning scale.

Figure 8: Important milestones of the spatial planning approach in *Kärnten* (after World War 2)

1948	The First Landesplanungsstelle , planning authority was established in <i>Kärnten</i> . In the absence of Austrian Legislation for spatial planning in those days, German Legislation was utilised.
1959	The <i>Land Kärnten</i> , as the second <i>Land</i> in Austria, after the <i>Land Salzburg</i> , approved its First Planning Law (LGBl.Nr. 47/1959). In this law <i>Kärnten</i> introduced the legally effective planning instrument <i>Entwicklungsprogramm</i> (development programme). <i>Kärnten</i> was the first <i>Land</i> in Austria introducing this instrument, which today can be found in every Spatial Planning Law across Austria (Schimak, 1984). Since then <i>Kärntner Gemeinden</i> (municipalities in the <i>Land</i>) were obligated to elaborate their plans, programmes and concepts according to the objectives and principles defined by these higher level development programmes.
1969	<i>Kärnten</i> divided the First Planning Law (1959) into the <i>Kärntner Raumordnungsgesetz</i> (for all concerns regarding the scale of the <i>Land</i> and the <i>Region</i>) and the <i>Kärntner Gemeindeplanungsgesetz</i> (for all concerns regarding the scale of the <i>Gemeinde</i>). This division is unique in Austria. With this separation of the Planning Law <i>Kärnten</i> stresses the different objectives of sub-national planning, firstly the more regulative scope in defining frameworks for the local planning scale (in particular, land-use planning) and secondly the more strategic scope in coordinating all concerns, which influence spatial planning at the supra-local and sub-national scale. <i>Kärnten</i> also introduced the <i>Raumordnungskataster</i> , an at the country government located institution for collecting 'official' data and maps of <i>Kärnten</i> . <i>Kärnten</i> was the first <i>Land</i> in Austria which officially introduced this comprehensive collection of land-use regulations and restrictions by law.
1995	<i>Kärnten</i> approved the Second <i>Kärntner Gemeindeplanungsgesetz</i> to develop on the one hand the legal framework after the community grouping policy in 1973 (the then 204 <i>Kärntner Gemeinden</i> were grouped into 121 ⁵⁷) and on the other hand obligated each <i>Gemeinde</i> to elaborate a local development concept (<i>Örtliches Entwicklungskonzept</i>) including a 10-year building-land balance (<i>Bauflächenbilanz</i>) as basis for the elaboration of the land-use plan.

The sub-national 'Planning Tool Kit' of *Kärnten*

The *Kärntner Raumordnungsgesetz* (1969) defined the objectives and principles of spatial planning in *Kärnten* and introduced planning instruments and planning procedures applicable for the scale of the *Land* (sub-national scale) and/or the scale of the *Region* (supra-local scale).

According to this Spatial Planning Law the *Kärntner Landesregierung* (sub-national government) is obligated to elaborate a legally-binding development programme for the whole territory of *Kärnten* (***Landesentwicklungsprogramm***). The sub-national government also has the possibility to elaborate development programmes for particular areas within *Kärnten* (***Regionale Entwicklungsprogramme***) and

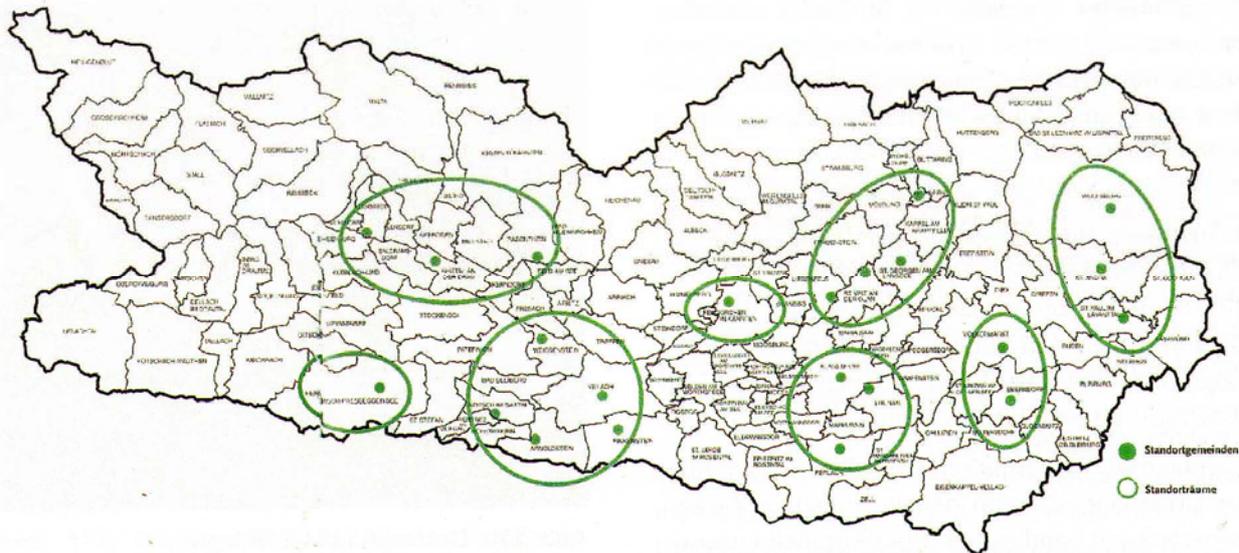
⁵⁷ Today *Kärnten* has 132 *Gemeinden*.

programmes for sectoral matters as required, such as waste management, distribution of shopping centres (**Sektorale Entwicklungsprogramme**). All types of development programmes (for the whole territory, for parts of the territory or sectoral matters) appear in form of a by-law complemented if required by reports and maps emphasising the state of art and the intended territorial with respect to economic, social, ecological and cultural development perspectives. All development programmes must acquire sub-national governmental approval to achieve a legal character and to constitute binding frameworks for the planning scales *Land, Region* and *Gemeinde*.

Although the *Kärntner Landesregierung* is obligated to elaborate a *Landesentwicklungsprogramm*, the reality is that this has not happened, because *Kärnten* has always tried to elaborate supra-local development programmes sub-nation-wide first and use the knowledge so developed to elaborate and approve a development programme for whole *Kärnten*. A variety of reasons meant that this ambition was never adequately fulfilled different reason (some will be explained in the following section). Nevertheless, the sub-national government recently (in 2008) concluded a strategic development concept (for the first time in its history), to serve as framework and essential knowledge base for the elaboration of the regulative *Landesentwicklungsprogramm* in the near future.

There have only ever been two sectoral development programmes affecting the whole territory of *Kärnten* which have entered in force: the first defines potential economic and industrial areas (LGBl. 49/1996) and the second focused on the distribution of shopping centres (LGBl. 9/2000).

Figure 9: Sectoral development programme ‘Potential Economic and Industrial Areas’



Source: *Kärntner Landesregierung* (reprinted in Seidenberger, 1998, p.255)

Supra-local planning in Kärnten

Starting from 1951 *Kärnten* recognised ‘*Regionalplanung*’ as the appropriate planning scale to control problematic activities like the already ongoing ‘sale’ of lake-front building land (e.g. *Wörthersee*), urban sprawl, the already emerging negative effects of the rapidly increasing tourism-industry, as well as to preserve the natural beauty of *Kärnten* (for tourists). *Kärnten* must be considered as pioneer in terms of Austria’s supra-local planning, as it was not until the 1970s when this planning scale gained salience

elsewhere in Austria, thanks to the national initiative of strengthening rural mountainous areas⁵⁸. The concept of this endogenous supra-local development was based on the principle of 'help for self-help' and comprised many advisory services for the respective areas alongside financial support. Although this action had initially been planned as temporary, its overwhelming success led to its continuation and extension. Starting from the 1990s, its main focus lay on elaborating strategic development concepts alongside establishing *Regionalmanagements*⁵⁹, whose duty it was (and still is) to promote and to pursue inter-municipal (between the *Gemeinden*) favouring a bottom-up approach – to establish a 'Region' (a supra-local territorial entity), and to serve as a discussion platform between local and the sub-national planning scales.

From the outset, the supra-local planning scale was (and still is) 'only' a technical planning scale, for which the *Land* from a top-down perspective elaborates and approves plans and concepts, such as development programmes and sectoral programmes. *Regionen* (in whole Austria⁶⁰) have no autonomous status and no powers/responsibilities in *Raumplanung*.

The supra-local 'Planning Tool Kit' of Kärnten

The first supra-local plans and planning approaches were dedicated to illuminating land use and ownership. These, supra-local planning approaches focused on local issues have been of high importance – although not legally binding – as that at that time only a handful of *Kärntner* communities had a valid local land use plan (*Wirtschaftsplan* as it was then called), regulating emergings pressure in terms of land use around emerging tourist zones.

Figure 10: Supra-local plan 'Wörthersee' (1956)



Source: Wurzer, 1956, p.12

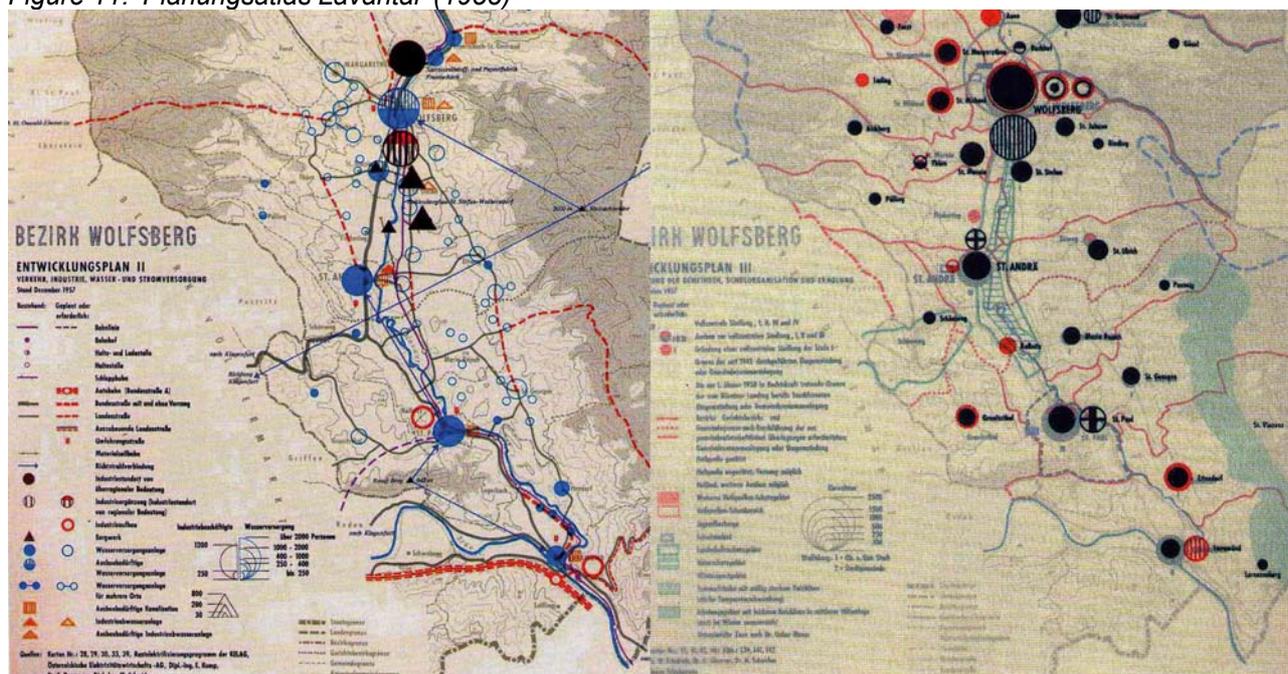
⁵⁸ Specific action of the Federal Chancellery of the Republic of Austria named '*Stärkung entwicklungsschwacher ländlicher Räume in Berggebieten Österreichs*'.

⁵⁹ *Regionalmanagements* could be regarded as coordination bodies covering the important functions of on the one hand better integrating the interests and the needs of the *Gemeinden* into the planning processes of the *Land* and on the other hand to increase the acceptance of sub-national planning at the local scale.

⁶⁰ Important exception: the *Land Salzburg*, which provided their supra-local scale with some competences in planning.

The *Planungsatlas Lavanttal* (1958) was the first, and in its detailed, interdisciplinary form absolutely unique, example (also from today's point of view) of supra-local planning in *Kärnten*, based on a comprehensive territorial analysis of weaknesses of and threats to the spatial structure. Moreover in comparison to the supra-local planning attempts along the lakes, the *Planungsatlas Lavanttal* integrated the local population into the planning process from the outset, as well as diverse representatives and authorities. The *Planungsatlas Lavanttal* was not binding; nevertheless had an important impact on the development of this area in terms of the knowledge it provided for planning actions.

Figure 11: 'Planungsatlas Lavanttal' (1958)

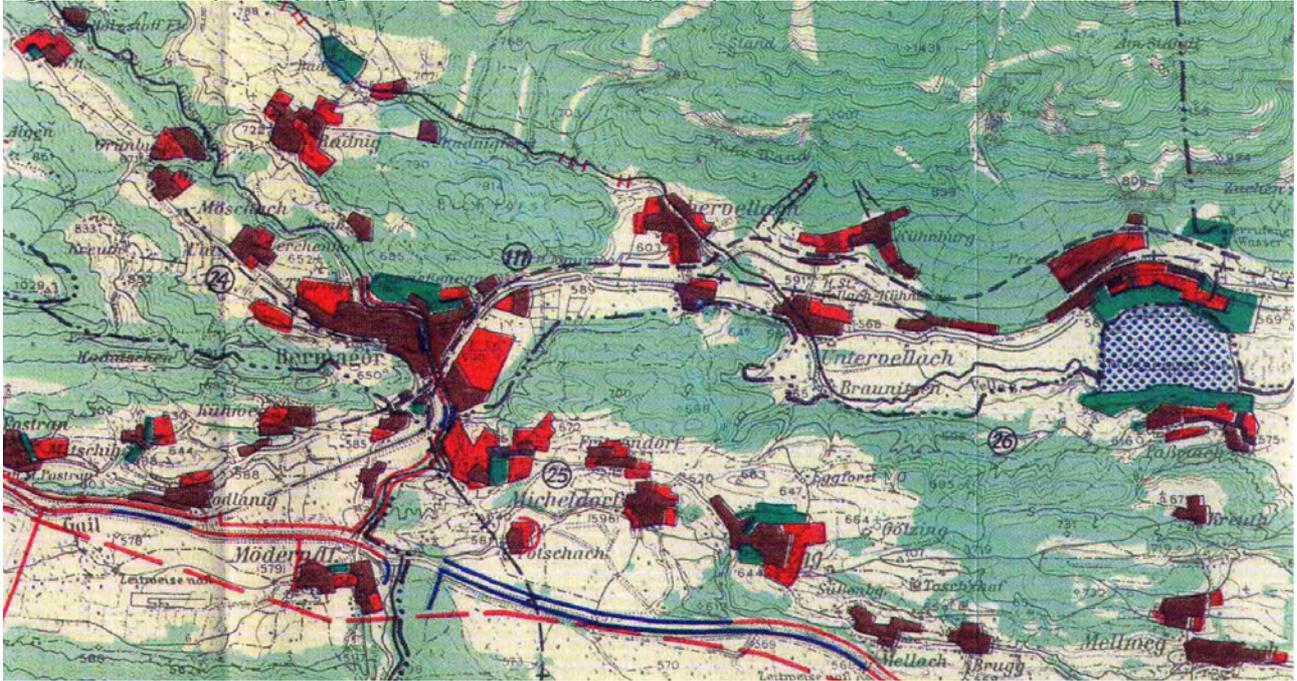


Source: Wurzer, 1958, map 49–50 (reprinted in Seidenberger 2008, pp.54–55)

According to the First Planning Law (1959) *Kärnten*, as the first *Land* in Austria, approved legally effective development programmes for the supra-local scale (Region)⁶¹. However, this phase of supra-local development programmes was undoubtedly influenced by the experiences and knowledge of geographers, architects and/or engineers, used their methods and processes developed at the local planning scale to deal with the novel supra-local scale. Consequently, the programmes which emerged in this period mirrored mainly local planning views; sometimes introduced concrete tourism-projects and were strongly influenced by powerful local politicians (Seidenberger, 1998).

⁶¹ development programmes scale: Region before 1969: Unterkärntner Seengebiet (LGBl. Nr. 40/1961), Klagenfurt und Umgebung (LGBl. Nr. 87/1962), Mittleres Gailtal (LGBl. Nr. 27/1963), Oberes Mölltal (LGBl. Nr. 24/1966) and Flattnitz (LGBl. Nr. 27/1967) (Schimak, 1984).

Figure 12: Development programme 'Mittleres Gailtal' (1963)



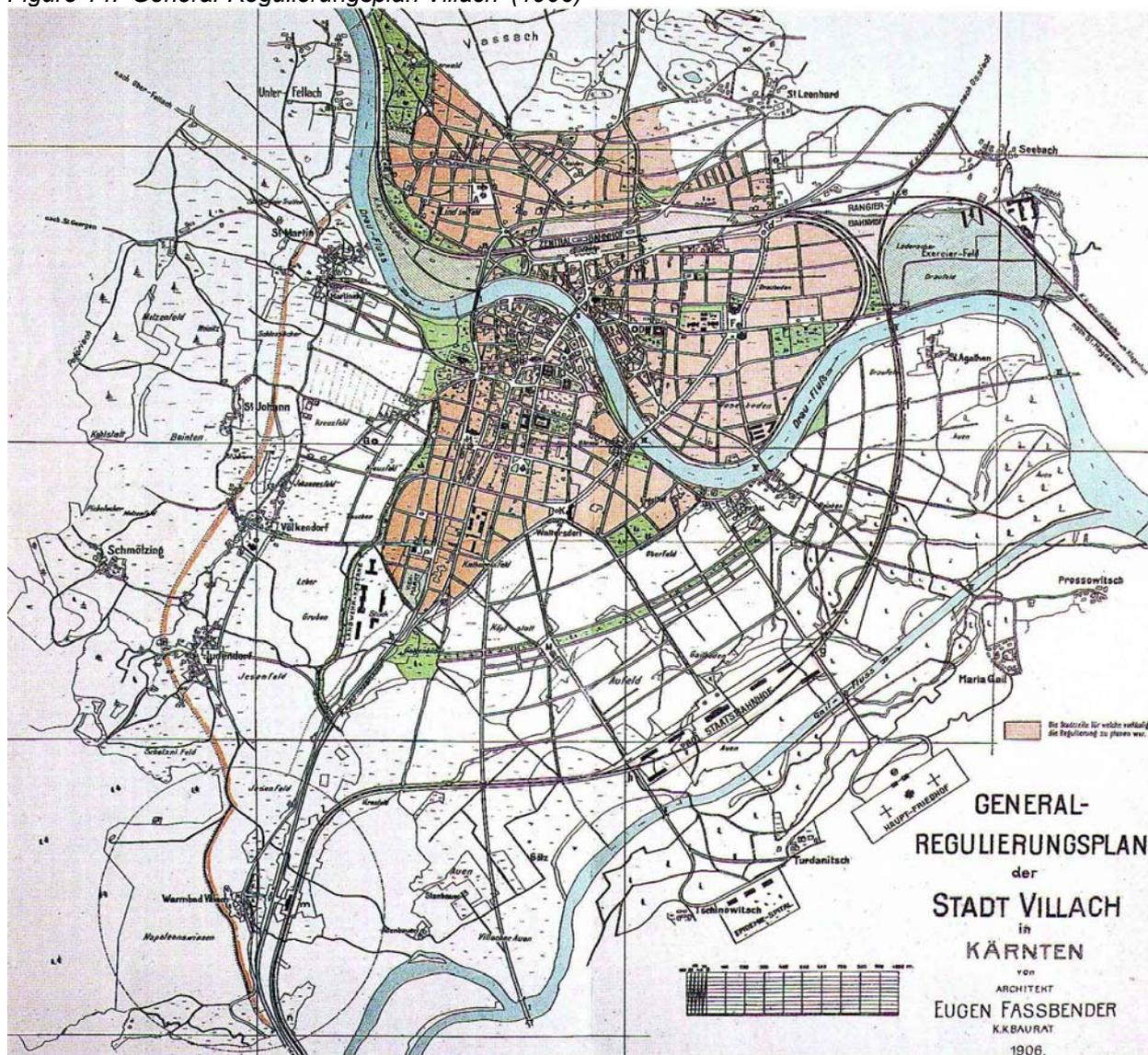
Source: Hansely & Glazer, 1963, p.31

Following the later legal basis, the Spatial Planning Law 1969, all extant supra-local development programmes were cancelled with new ones developed⁶². The demand for new supra-local development programmes was grounded mainly in the rapid changes of this time. On the one hand the motorway between Villach and Klagenfurt (the two biggest and most prospering cities in *Kärnten*) was constructed, whilst on the other, the mostly unspoilt mountainous areas became attractive for tourism and needed adequate legal tools for their protection. These and other developments heightened the conflicts between tourism, economy and local inhabitants, with the new supra-local development programmes becoming mediators between different interests.

⁶² development programmes scale: Region after 1969: Kärntner Zentralraum (LGBl. Nr. 39/1977), Raum Villach (LGBl. Nr. 40/1977), Nockgebiet (LGBl. Nr. 41/1977), Mirnock-Verditz (LGBl. 2/1978), Raum Klagenfurt (LGBl. Nr. 19/1981) and Politischer Bezirk St. Veit (LGBl. 37/1983), Raum Weißensee (LGBl. 59/1987).

tourist pressures created by the opening up of the *Wörthersee* through railway connection. This first local plan was followed by the elaboration of the *Regulierungsplan* for the city of Villach (1906), which due to its geographical situation then had the status of an important railway node.

Figure 14: 'General-Regulierungsplan Villach' (1906)



Source: Fassbender, 1906 (reprinted in Seidenberger, 1998, p.19)

After the interruption of planning activities during the First World War, the interwar years (particularly after 1925) saw an emerging demand for the regulation of space. This need was based on the ongoing 'plan-less' building activities (urban sprawl) in the outskirts of bigger cities and along lakefronts. After the Second World War many land-use plans (*Wirtschaftspläne* according to the German legislation) existed which had been elaborated, but only some of them achieved a legal status⁶³. From 1959 to 1969 all *Kärntner Gemeinden* finally approved a land-use plan according to the First Planning Law (1959). Although this is a remarkable result, it has to be acknowledged that due to time pressures – the *Kärntner Landesregierung*⁶⁴

⁶³ Approval of *Wirtschaftspläne*: 4 (Mallnitz, Gurk, Kolbnitz, Lind ob Velden) until 1945 and 61 during 1945-1959.

⁶⁴ At this time the land-use plans were elaborated by the *Kärntner Landesregierung*, due to the lack of money and the lack of competent practitioners.

elaborated and approved 204⁶⁵ land-use plans in only 10 years – many wishes of the local mayors were accepted without criticism to allow each community simultaneously to acquire a legal land-use plan (Seidenberger, 1998). The negative consequences of these 'liberal' land-use plans, in particular the broad nomination of building land, have continued into the present. Aware of these negative effects, the *Kärntner Landesregierung* obligated their *Gemeinden* in 1995 (in the frame of the Second *Kärntner Gemeindeplanungsgesetz*) to elaborate and approve a local development concept (*Örtliches Entwicklungskonzept*). One important part of this instrument is the building-land balance (*Bauflächenbilanz*), where *Gemeinden* must define their building land demand for coming decade, as base for the elaboration of their land use plans.

The local 'Planning Tool Kit' of Kärnten

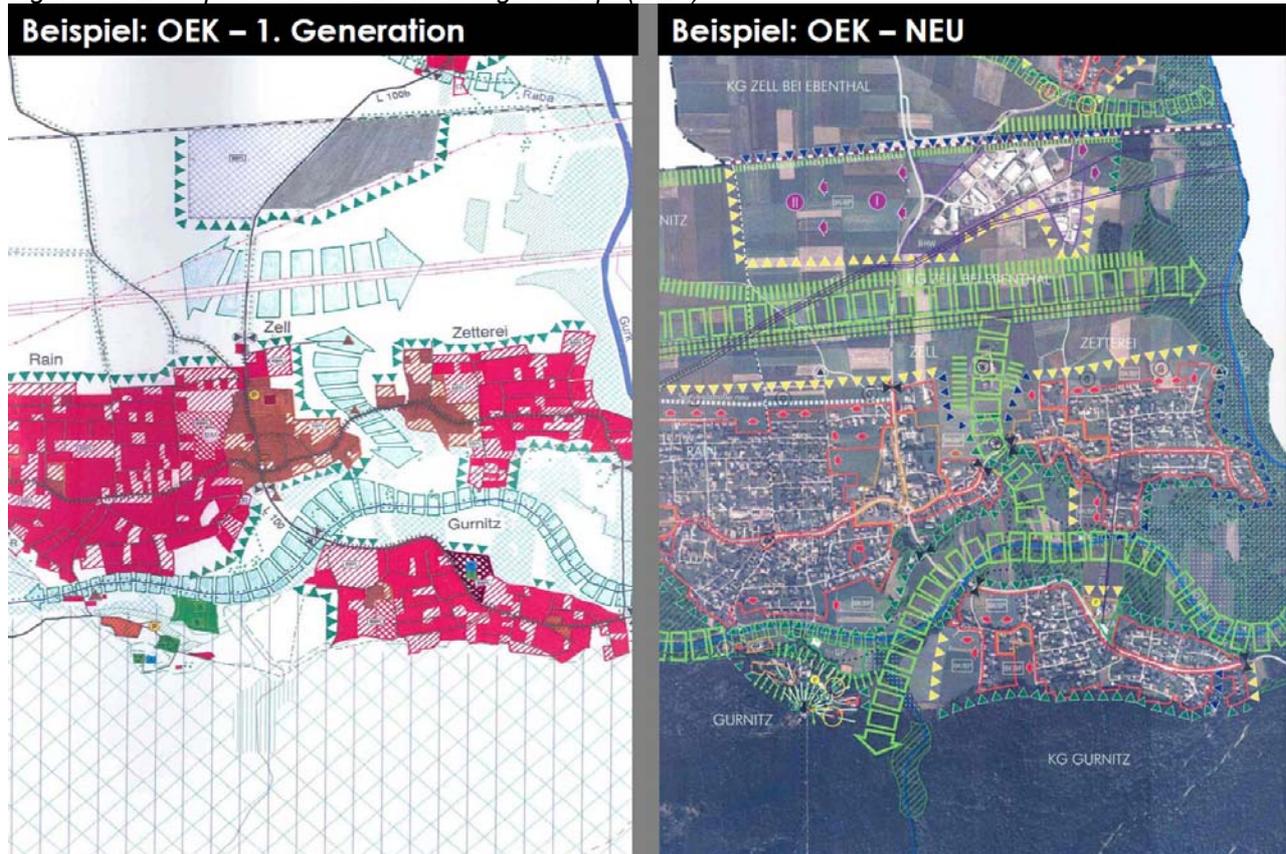
Today each community in *Kärnten* must elaborate (or continually up-date) *Örtliche Entwicklungskonzepte* (local development concepts), *Flächenwidmungspläne* (land-use plans) and *Bebauungspläne* (detailed building plans), all in accordance with the Second *Kärntner Gemeindeplanungsgesetz* (1995). Only land-use plans must be approved by the *Kärntner Landesregierung*: both the *Örtliche Entwicklungskonzept* and the *Bebauungsplan* must be approved by the *Gemeinde*.

Örtliches Entwicklungskonzept (local development concept)

Since 1995 each local planning authority in *Kärnten* must elaborate and approve an *Örtliches Entwicklungskonzept* to identify the intended development of the whole community, by defining objectives and general activities for a period of 10 years. This strategic concept has to draw attention on all objectives and principles defined by other national and sub-national laws, in particular by the *Kärntner Raumplanungsgesetz*, and provides the basis for elaboration and updating of appropriate land-use plans. It appears in form of a report as well as in form of plans and maps. Today, all 132 *Kärntner Gemeinden* have a valid local development concept, and some are already in their second stage.

⁶⁵ At his time *Kärnten* was structured in 204 *Gemeinden*. Due to the grouping tendency of the 1970s *Kärnten* nowadays has 'only' 132 *Gemeinden*.

Figure 15: Example: Örtliches Entwicklungskonzept (ÖEK)

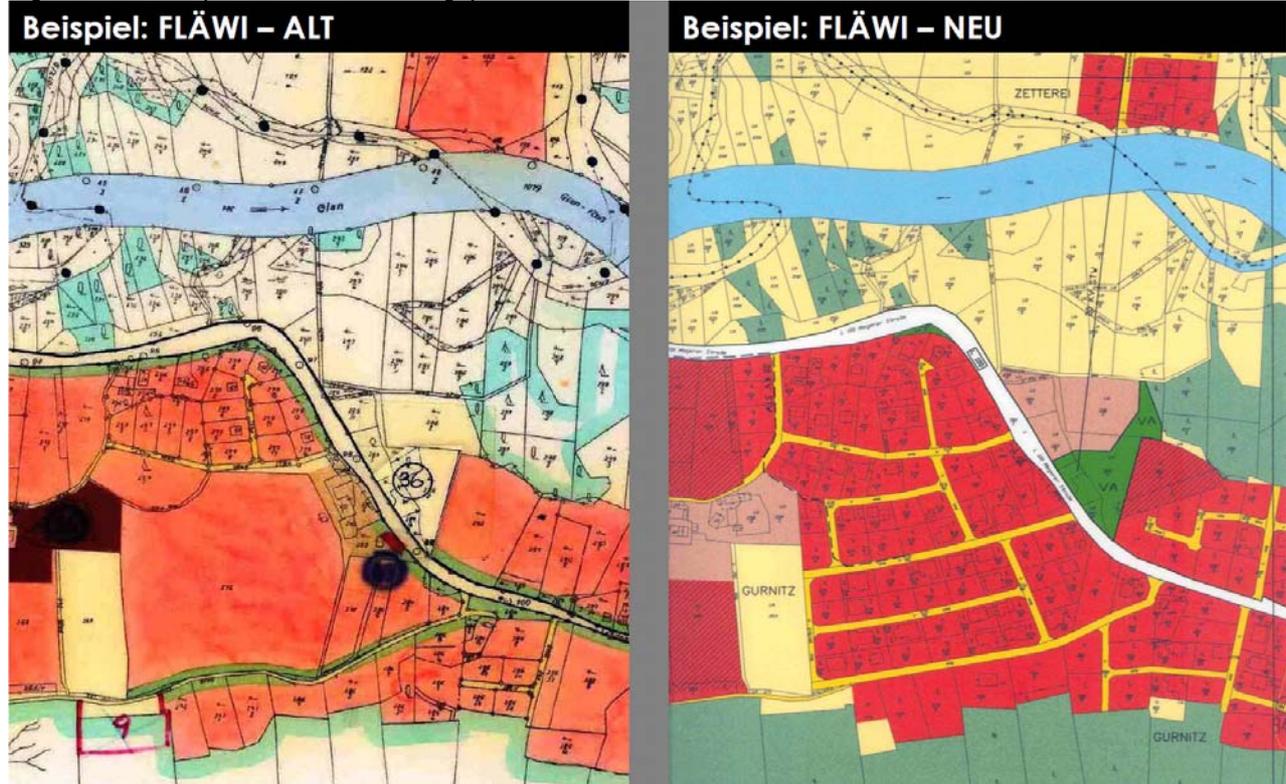


Source: Gemeinde Ebenthal, Kärnten (by courtesy of Kärntner Landesregierung, August 2009)

Flächenwidmungsplan (land-use plan)

Each local planning authority in Kärnten has to elaborate a *Flächenwidmungsplan*, which defines the land uses of the whole community regarding to the classifications: building areas, green areas and transportation areas (including all their sub-categories as defined in the *Kärntner Gemeindeplanungsgesetz*). The *Flächenwidmungsplan* must be coherent with the objectives and principles defined by the *Örtliche Entwicklungskonzept* as well as with by other national and sub-national laws. The *Flächenwidmungsplan* appears in form of a plan at the scale of 1:5,000 (1:2,000 or 1:2,500 for high-density areas of a community) and has to be approved by the country government. Today, all 132 *Kärntner Gemeinden* have a valid land-use plan, elaborated on the base of the respective local development concepts.

Figure 16: Example: Flächenwidmungsplan

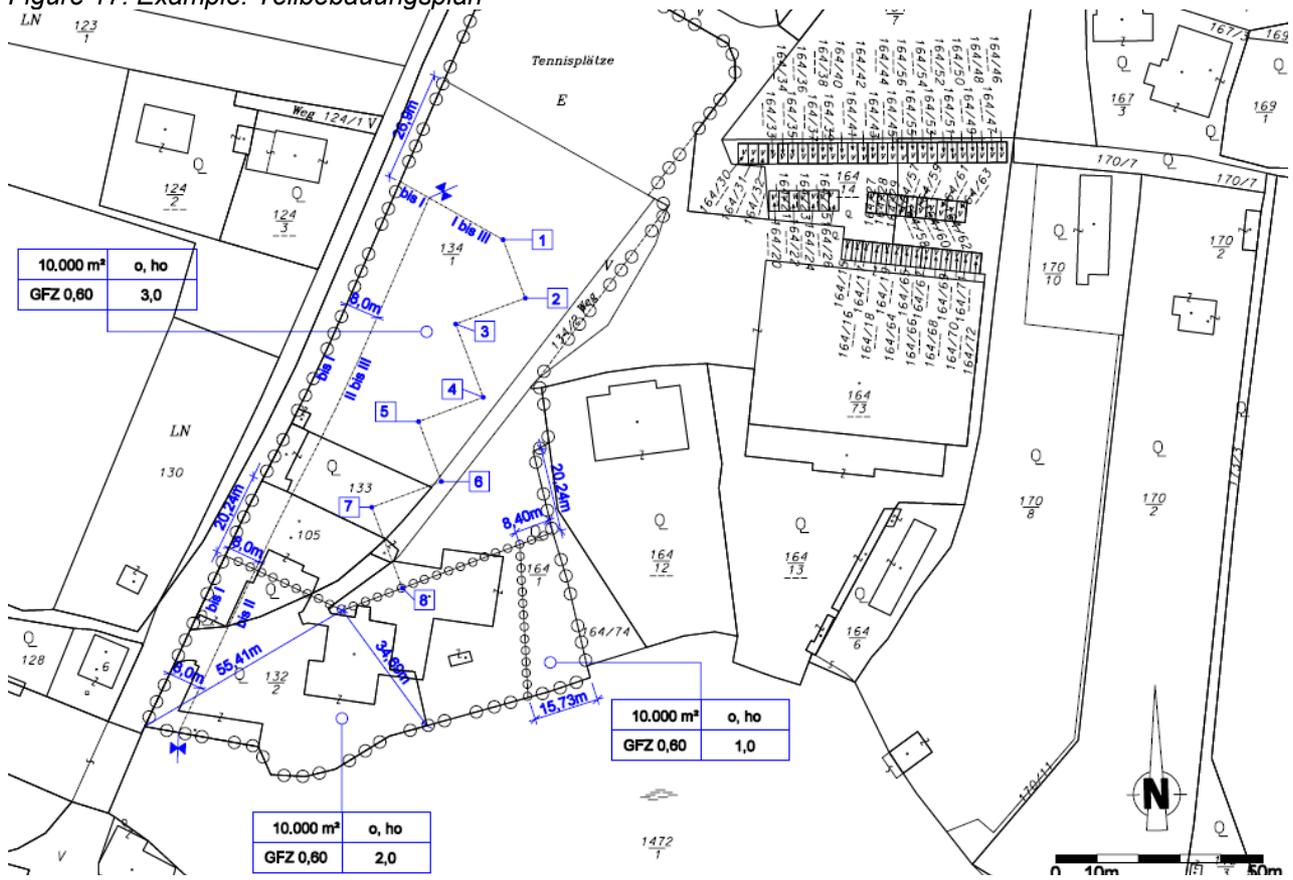


Source: Gemeinde Ebenthal, Kärnten (by courtesy of Kärntner Landesregierung, August 2009)

Bebauungsplan (detailed building plan)

Each local planning authority in *Kärnten* has to elaborate *Bebauungspläne* for all building areas in the community, which also must be approved by the *Bezirkshauptschafft* (county council). These *Bebauungspläne* must be coherent with the *Flächenwidmungsplan* and appear in form of binding norms and defining conditions for building activities. For particular areas, including for example unspoilt building areas of totalling more than 10,000m², the municipality can elaborate a *Teilbebauungsplan* (partial detailed building plan) for the respective territory, which appears in form of a plan at a scale of 1:200, 1:500 or 1:1,000.

Figure 17: Example: Teilbebauungsplan



Source: Gemeinde Seeboden, Kärnten (by courtesy of Consultancy LWK, February 2010)

4.1.2.2 The Italian planning system and multi-scale planning in FVG (Foundation II)

The Italian planning language

In Italy, spatial planning traditionally refers to the term *Urbanistica*, whose original meaning emerged within in the early days of Italian city planning, through the application of architectural methods and approaches. This meaning was later extended, becoming more planning focused, in the early 1970s by the *Istituto Nazionale di Urbanistica* (founded in 1933) and by the *Legge Urbanistica* (approved in 1942) as well as characterised and shaped in detail by Giovanni Astengo⁶⁶. The term *Urbanistica* cannot easily be translated directly into other languages (Astengo, 1966; Mazza, 2004), mainly because its practical meaning has changed over the years in order to address contemporary Italian planning issues. In its early days *Urbanistica*, as a cultural and technical discipline, was strongly influenced by the 'world of architecture', which explains why it referred for a long time exclusively to physical-formal aspects of cities, in contrast to other European countries, where spatial planning had been established as an independent discipline much earlier, as for example in the United Kingdom or in the Netherlands. Nowadays *Urbanistica* within Italian society is understood as:

*comprehensive and conformative activity, concerned with the regulative and strategic organisation and shaping of the territory (which is not necessarily related only to urban areas). This includes all processes and practices required to influence and shape the future by regulating and guiding the present, like plans at different scales, administrative implementation of plans, urban projects, management activities, e.g.*⁶⁷

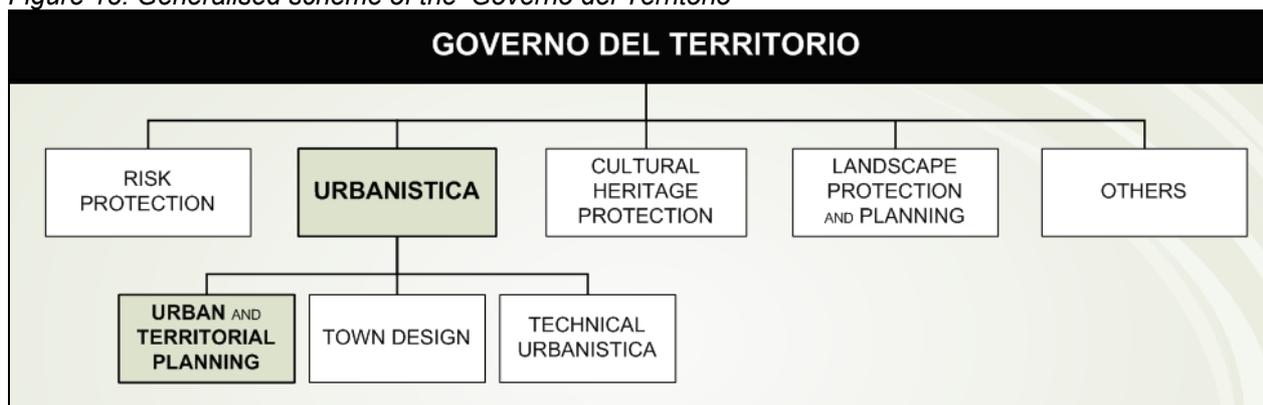
In 2001 the amendment of the Italian Constitution (*Riforma del Titolo V*), 'officially' introduced the term **Governo del Territorio**⁶⁸ to indicate a common field of legislative competences of the *Stato* and the *Regioni*. Since then *Urbanistica* has been taken to refer to those matters which fall under the remit of the *Governo del Territorio* and are required for the coordinated regulation of space. However, *Urbanistica* is not mentioned explicitly in the Constitution, due to *Urbanistica*'s complex nature.

⁶⁶ Giovanni Astengo could be regarded as one of the main supporter and promoter of *Urbanistica* in Italy. Since the early 1970s *Urbanistica* was recognised as an independent academic discipline, through the establishing of the first Italian university degree in *Urbanistica* (*Università di Venezia*) at the beginning of the 1970s by Astengo. Therefore Giovanni Astengo is often referred to as the 'father of modern *Urbanistica* in Italy'.

⁶⁷ This contemporary definition of *Urbanistica* has been elaborated together with Professor Sandro Fabbro (University of Udine) and mirrors the way this term is understood within Italian society of today. It is important to note, that this definition is an interpretation and does not build on theoretical planning literature, but on the practical meaning embedded in the social and administrative environment in Italy.

⁶⁸ The term *Governo del Territorio* in relation with spatial planning was used by Italian experts also before 2001. However, since 2001, it is appeared in the Italian Constitution.

Figure 18: Generalised scheme of the ‘Governo del Territorio’



In Italy, the term *Urbanistica* (due to its strong traditional and cultural embedding) is more frequently used than the term *Governo del Territorio*. Whilst *Urbanistica* would have historically been translated correctly as ‘Town and Country Planning’ or ‘Stadtplanung’, the contemporary (generalised) meaning of *Urbanistica* is more closely related to the concept of ‘spatial planning’ as referred to in English planning literature or the use of the term *Raumplanung* in Austria. At the same time, it must be borne in mind that the Italian term for territorial planning – *pianificazione territoriale* – a subset of *Urbanistica* (see Figure 18) is translated as *Raumplanung* (in reference to spatial planning) in Italian-German dictionaries. This situation could create substantial problems of misunderstanding among people and professionals lacking familiarity with the Italian planning approach (and consequently could easily risk hindering trans-border cooperation activities).

Due to its strong embedding within Italian society, this research refers to the term ‘Urbanistica’ when referring to spatial planning.

The Italian planning system at a glance

In Italy three planning scales with (limited) competences for the *Governo del Territorio* can be recognised (Table 11).

Table 11: Planning scales in Italy (with legal competences for spatial planning)

Name	Sphere of Action (according to the <i>Legge Urbanistica</i>)	
<i>Stato</i>	Sectoral Planning of the <i>Stato</i>	National
<i>Regione (Province)</i>	<i>Pianificazione del Territorio regionale e provinciale</i>	Sub-national (incl. Supra-local)
<i>Comune</i>	<i>Urbanistica locale</i>	Local

The *Stato*, organised in ministries, has the competence to approve sectoral laws and plans for the *Governo del Territorio*. Real planning (*Urbanistica*) laws and acts, which are legally binding for the sub-national, supra-local and local scale, are a matter of competences of the *Regioni* (autonomous⁶⁹ as well as

⁶⁹ Autonomous *Regioni* are in charge of governing their respective territory, only bound by the Constitution. This means consequently that an autonomous *Regione*, as for example the *Regione Autonoma Friuli Venezia Giulia* is not necessarily obliged to introduce any national legislation in their respective laws except those sectoral national laws and programmes for which the *Stato* has the predominant competences, including cultural heritage protection or landscape protection (defined in the Constitution).

ordinary⁷⁰ ones). But the competences of the *Regioni* are limited by the so-called '*competenza concorrente*' (correlated competence), defined by the Constitution as the field of sectoral matters where the *Stato* is in charge of formulating general principles which are then implemented by the *Regioni* in their respective laws and programmes.

The 'technical' supra-local planning scale, referred to *area vasta* or *sovra-comunale* planning in Italy has no independent responsibilities or powers, although *Regione* could provide this planning scale with competences. In many *Regioni* the competences for the *area vasta* has been shifted to the *Provincia*, a *sovra-comunale* institution introduced by the Constitution and which from the early 1990s has been recognised as a spatial planning subject for the elaboration of a specific plan (the *Piano Territoriale di Coordinamento*). In two particular cases (Trento and Bolzano) the *Provincia* achieved even an autonomous status.

The local planning scale is permitted to exercise *Urbanistica* at the local scale within the scope of the legislative framework provided by the *Regione* and the *Stato* subject to the supervision of the *Regione* (and in some cases also of the *Provincia*).

In addition to the *Legge Urbanistica* (1942), also other national laws have incorporated issues of *Urbanistica*, such as the *Decreto sugli Standard Urbanistici* (*Decreto Ministeriale* n°1444, 1968). This particular *decreto* (constitutional law) defines a set of quality standards for urban areas including public services, as for example the minimum green areas (m² per Person) in urban areas, or which public services (such as schools or hospitals) must be provided by each community proportional to their local population.

The emergence of the Italian planning approach: a historical outline

Although a centralistic form of nation-state government has prevailed over the last century, Italy has also a long history of being fragmented into kingdoms alongside independent republics (particularly in the north). With reunification in 1861, Italy became a constitutional Monarchy under the regency of King Victor Emanuel II. From the late 19th century, nation-state inventions on urban organisation and life (or more generally issues of *Urbanistica*) were recognised as highly important to control urban problems, improve urban standards (e.g. sanitary standards) and physical communication. Therefore the first national laws for the regulation of space were approved, and planning became an explicit legislative discipline.

In 1865 Italy approved its First National Law in regard to the regulation of space (*'Disciplina sull'espropriazione forzata per pubblica utilità'* – n°2359, 1865), dedicated to the expropriation of land for public purposes (such as streets and railways). In 1885, following *Napoli's* cholera epidemic, Italy approved a subsequent National Law (*'Legge di Napoli'* – n°2892, 1885) dedicated to the improvement of life standards in the city of *Napoli*. This early example of national legislation was followed by a set of National Laws during the 1930s, regarding specific environmental topics like forestry, mining, agriculture as well as laws dedicated to specify competences for the *Comuni* and the *Province*, sanitary standards and

⁷⁰ Ordinary *Regioni*, in contrary to autonomous *Regioni*, have to respect on the one hand the Constitution and on the other hand have to take fully account on any national legislation (including the National Planning Law) and other national programmes.

building activities and laws dedicated to cultural and environmental topics such as history and natural beauty. The 1942 National Planning Law (*Legge Urbanistica* – n°1150, 1942, still valid today) was applied in 1942 (during the Second World War) during the fascist regime.

Two significant phenomenon preceded this legislative development: firstly the rapid increase of population (and in particular the reduction of infant mortality) and secondly the improvement of standards of living. Thus it is obvious that in those days the main emphasis of planning was placed on the urban context, in particular on the growth of cities and increasing urban population.

The *Istituto Nazionale di Urbanistica* (INU) was founded in the 1930s and, since then, had the task of promoting the culture of spatial planning across Italy. The official journal of INU, named 'Urbanistica' was from the beginning an important platform for national and international planning debates. Behind the successful emergence of *Urbanistica* in Italy lay three factors, namely, the INU, the *Legge Urbanistica* (1942) and the establishment of the university degree in *Urbanistica* at the Università di Venezia in the early 1970s (influenced strongly by Giovanni Astengo).

In 1946, after the Second World War, Italy was proclaimed a Republic (in a 'regionalist' form but with a centralistic administration). Italy approved its Constitution in 1948, defining the rights and duties of the citizens and the organisation of the Republic in general. This Constitution did not change the main principles of *Urbanistica*, as defined in the National Planning Law from 1942, apart from the distribution of some competences to the sub-national scale, which previously dedicated to the *Stato* and the Ministry of Public Works (more recently renamed into Ministry of Infrastructure and Transport). Moreover the Constitution provided five *Regioni* (*il Friuli Venezia Giulia, la Sardegna, la Sicilia, il Trentino – Alto Adige/Südtirol and la Valle d'Aosta/ Vallée d'Aoste*) with an autonomous status (*Regioni a statuto di autonomia speciale*).

The role of the national planning scale in the Italian planning hierarchy

The *Governo del Territorio* has been introduced in the Constitution (*Costituzione*), and more specifically in the frame of the 2001 national constitutional reform (*Costituzione Riforma del Titolo V, Legge Costituzionale n°3, 2001*). But the legal base for *Urbanistica* still remains the *Legge Urbanistica* (National Planning Law) n°1150, 1942. The *Legge Urbanistica* was approved under the fascist regime, but nevertheless retained its legal basis as the foundation for planning in Italy. However, there have been a number of reforms which have changed the original introduced practical meaning of the *Legge Urbanistica*.

Legge Urbanistica (n°1150, 1942)

The *Legge Urbanistica* was approved in 1942. Even though other laws were later enacted, the *Legge Urbanistica* has to be considered the first and primary National Planning Law in Italy. This law provided the *Stato* and the *Comuni*, two institutional scales, with competences in the field of *Urbanistica*. Although the *Legge Urbanistica* has fallen out of step with the emergence of new territorial administrative scales and their corresponding institutions, (which have been increased over time, particularly with the re-launch of the *Provincia*) and their distribution of competences, it remains an important point of reference for planning

instruments. The *Legge Urbanistica* identifies the basis for the most important planning instruments⁷¹ thereby sets the general framework for the regulation of space in Italy still valid today:

- *Piano Territoriale di Coordinamento (PTC)* – a regulatory and strategic sub-national coordination plan (in the form of a comprehensive masterplan);
- *Piano Regolatore Generale Comunale (PRGC)* – a local land-use plan to be approved in accordance with the PTC;
- *Piano Regolatore Particolareggiato Comunale (PRPC)* – a detailed building plan to be approved in accordance with the PRGC;

These instruments constitute a hierarchical system of plans, creating binding regulations for all lower planning scales. This pyramid of plans is not meant to pursue concrete political agendas, but to address long term transformation processes. It must also be acknowledged that the meaning of these instruments has evolved with the introduction of new institutional bodies. In particular, and initiated by the growth of the *Regioni* since the 1970s⁷², these instruments have been introduced and drafted in detail (such as contents and approval procedures) by sub-national planning authorities in their respective Planning Laws (cf. following case of FVG).

Costituzione della Repubblica Italiana (1948) and the 2001 constitutional reform: planning impacts

A constitutional reform in 2001 had a number of impacts on the practise of Italian planning. Firstly, it established five institutional scales, able to act as entities of the Italian Republic (art.114) namely:

- *Comuni* – 8,101
- *Province* – 103 (two with autonomous status⁷³)
- *Città metropolitane* (urban areas/cities)
- *Regioni* – 20 (five with autonomous status⁷⁴)
- *Stato*

Article 117 of the Constitution defines the distribution of legislative powers. It lists on the one hand all competences reserved to the central government, such as defence, foreign policy, economics, electoral laws, courts and justice, landscape protection, and cultural heritage protection. On the other hand it established competences shared between the *Stato* and the *Regioni* (*competenza concorrente*), including foreign trade, international relations, education, major transport networks, the production and distribution of energy, in the following way:

- the *Stato* is in charge of formulating general principles which define the framework that *Regioni* have to respect, while drafting and approving their laws for the *Governo del Territorio*;
- the *Regioni* establish specific laws and prepare plans and programmes based on the general principles formulated by the *Stato*;

⁷¹ The so called *Piano Urbanistico*, which appears in form of three correlated parts (plans).

⁷² The *Regioni* achieved their competences in the field of *Urbanistica* by constitutional laws (*decreto*) in the 1970s.

⁷³ Trento, Bolzano – two *Province* of the *Regione* Trentino - Alto Adige (*Legge costituzionale* n°3, 2001, art. 116).

⁷⁴ *Il Friuli Venezia Giulia, la Sardegna, la Sicilia, il Trentino – Alto Adige/Südtirol and la Valle d'Aosta/ Vallée d'Aoste* (*Legge costituzionale* n°3, 2001, art. 116).

All competences not explicitly reserved to the central government, like economic and productive development, technological and scientific research, transport and communication, use of cultural and environmental assets, might be carried out by *Regioni*.

Article 118 of the Constitution empowers *Comuni* to undertake compulsory administrative functions concerning their own territory and their residents including services for individuals and the community, local land use planning and local economic development.

The role of the sub-national planning scale in the Italian planning hierarchy

It was not until 1948 (the date of the approval of the Italian Constitution) that the sub-national scale began its slow march to importance in Italy. The first important milestone along this journey was the nomination of five autonomous *Regioni* in the 1950s and 1960s (by constitutional laws). But the status and the competences of the other 15 Italian *Regioni* still remained badly defined. The Constitutional Court subsequently ruled that the competences of 'ordinary' *Regioni* with respect to *Urbanistica* were limited to the development of their urban centres. But the competences for the development of the whole territory and environment remained exclusively dedicated to the *Stato*. Given that the situation was still not satisfying for the *Regioni* two constitutional laws (*Decreto del Presidente della Repubblica* DPR n°8, 1972 and n°616, 1977) defining more precisely the sharing of competences between the *Stato* and the *Regioni*, were approved in the 1970s. This legislation clarified that, on the one hand, the *Stato* had competences for establishing fundamental guidelines for territorial interventions of national interest like infrastructure, environmental and land-use protection, seismic risk areas as well as for technical norms for building interventions. Moreover the *Stato* was in charge of coordinating lower planning institutions. On the other hand, the *Regioni* were enabled to discharge a set of specific territorial functions, in particular in the fields of *Urbanistica*, transportation, water supply and public services. From that point on, the *Regioni* were permitted to fulfil administrative functions, to approve specific plans and regulations as well as to identify for their respective territories areas of highly natural and cultural value, not yet recognised as national protection-areas, and to elaborate sub-national protection plans.

Finally, by the end of the 1970s all Italian *Regioni* (both 'ordinary' as well as autonomous) were furnished with fully functioning administrations and passed their own Planning Laws. As Italian *Regioni* are able to exercise considerable latitude in their approach, the Planning Laws throughout Italy are by no means uniform in their formulations as the sub-national legislations are not harmonised by a national law (although one indeed exists!)⁷⁵. Nowadays all the *Regioni* have legislative power (varying in accordance with their status) in the field of *Governo del Territorio* and *Urbanistica* and have the competences to control planning activities of lower planning institutions, within the constraints of the general principles formulated in the *Legge Urbanistica* and the Constitution. But the differences between the sub-national legislations are sufficiently large to cause problems of understanding between the different *Regioni*.

⁷⁵ Hence, it is often argued that the existing National Planning Law can and should be considered obsolete.

Clarification / Intermediate discussion

The Italian planning system comprises a legal framework established on the one hand during the (more centralised) Monarchy and the fascist regime in 1942 (National Planning Law) and on the other hand by the (democratically regionalised) Republic in 1948 and 2001 (Constitution and constitutional reform). However, it appears that the National Planning Law (even if originally farsighted), is nowadays out of step with the Constitution and other national and sub-national legislation as well. This is further corroborated by the fact that as according to the Constitution the national planning scale has to define principles for the regulation of space, which have to be respected by the *Regioni* in their respective legislation. As the National Planning Law was approved before the Constitution, in a completely different social and political environment (centralist Monarchy and fascist government versus democratically regionalist Republic), it is surprising that *this* law does not consider the sub-national planning scale at all. In this regard it is important to remember that the numbers of competent legal spatial scales have been increased over time⁷⁶.

In the absence of the sub-national and supra-local planning scale in the National Planning Law, other laws (constitutional as well as national ones) were approved to define the competences of the *Regioni* including the field of *Urbanistica*. According to *these* laws the *Regioni* were enabled to define the legislative framework for their *Comuni* and *Province* – in contrary to the National Planning Law, where the *Stato* is in charge of these competences. The result is a complex system of sub-national laws actually operating in Italy with most having only the loosest relationship with the 1942 National Planning Law. This situation seems particularly precarious for 'ordinary' *Regioni*, lacking adequate juridical background law upon which to build up sub-national legislation. One may argue that this offers a greater flexibility and freedom to the *Regioni*, but on the other side, it would be possible, at least in theory, that the constitutional court could offset the sub-national legislation and the plans and programmes going along with it, in areas covered by the Constitution, such as property rights. Whilst a number of different proposals/concepts for a new National Planning Law have so far been presented by different political parties to the Parliament, and triggered ongoing discussions, due to political disagreements, none of them has yet been approved.

The EU Compendium (specific volume: Italy) remarks that in Italy territorial planning at the national scale is practically non-existent (CEC, 2000). Rivolin (2003) contends that the EU Compendium refers only to the regulatory approach of planning, totally excluding its potential strategic dimension. The political and even cultural indifference to the strategic value of planning could help explain why, up until today '*at national government level there is no official territorial reorganisation strategy to refer to*' (CEC, 2000, p.97) with two relevant exclusions: the so called '*Progetto 80*', a proto territorial vision of the socio-economic future of Italy, issued during the early 1970s, and the more recent '*Quadro Strategico Nazionale*' elaborated to address the EU 2007-2013 programme. From the 1980s onwards, the Ministry of Infrastructure and Transport promoted both national sectoral plans (*Piano Generale dei Trasporti*) and strategic programming approaches to local spatial development (mainly in form of programmes and projects: the so called '*programmi complessi*') not nationally but specifically targeted at crucial urban and territorial contexts in Italy.

⁷⁶ The National Planning Law identifies only the *Stato* and the *Comuni* as planning bodies. According to art.114 of the Constitution (1948) the Italian Republic is divided into the *Stato*, the *Regioni*, the *Province* and the *Comuni*. The constitutional reform (2001) enlarged this article by introducing also the *Città Metropolitane*.

The spatial planning approach of the Regione Autonoma Friuli Venezia Giulia

Italy has been undergoing progressive 'regionalisation' since the 1970s, and so it is clearly untrue to state that planning in Italy is discharged at only two scales, the *Stato* and the *Comuni*, as the National Planning Law implies. To understand how the Italian planning approach has evolved in practise, it is necessary to understand how the *Regioni* have approved their planning legislation, and in particular how they have drafted and adopted their planning instruments within the *Legge Urbanistica* framework. To illustrate this, the specific case of the *Regione Autonoma Friuli Venezia Giulia* is analysed.

In the beginning of 1963, when FVG achieved its autonomous status, the *Regione Autonoma FVG* commenced working actively within the field of *Urbanistica*, in response to the competence acquired with autonomous status. Since then, there have been three major FVG Planning Laws, in 1968, 1991 and 2007, each subtly redefining the distribution of responsibilities within the FVG planning system.

Figure 19: Important milestones of the spatial planning approach in FVG (after World War 2)

1963	FVG achieved autonomous status (<i>Legge costituzionale n°1, 1963 'Statuto speciale della regione autonoma Friuli Venezia Giulia'</i>)
1968	FVG approved its First Planning Law (<i>Legge Urbanistica – n°23, 1968</i>) and established – with reference to the National Planning Law (1942) – the sub-national planning instrument <i>Piano Urbanistico Regionale Generale (PURG)</i> as well as other local planning instruments (PRGC and PRPC). Moreover FVG used this law to establish a supra-local planning scale, the so called <i>Compensori</i> (inter-communal consortia).
1991	FVG approved its Second Planning Law (<i>Norme Regionali in Materia di Pianificazione Territoriale ed Urbanistica – n°52, 1991</i>). With this law FVG changed the requirements of the PURG and renamed it into <i>Piano Territoriale Regionale Generale (PTRG)</i> . FVG used this Law to legally define the relative planning competences of the supra-local scale. The already existing administrative unit <i>Provincia</i> was enabled to draft and to approve <i>Piani Territoriali di Coordinamento Provinciali (PTCP)</i> , in reference to the constitutional law n°142, 1990. This would have been an innovative approach if the competences for drafting PTCPs would not have been subordinated to the approval of the sub-national plan, PTRG. Lastly FVG updated the legal basis for all local plans and provided the local scale with more autonomy for planning approval. That marked the starting point from which <i>Comuni</i> were not merely permitted to adopt, but allowed to approve PRGCs. The responsibilities of the <i>Regione</i> were limited to an observation task (ensuring that the PRGC is in conformity with the relevant provisions of sub-national and national legislation).
2007	FVG approved its Third Planning Law ⁷⁷ (<i>Legge Regionale di Riforma dell'Urbanistica e Disciplina dell'Attività Edilizia e del Paesaggio – n°5, 2007</i>). This Law confirmed the 'strong' role of the <i>Regione</i> towards the <i>Comuni</i> in the planning hierarchy. It also redefines the role of the supra-local scale. It almost completely eliminates the role of the <i>Province</i> and enables different inter-communal bodies to cooperate in elaborating and approving <i>Piani Strutturali Sovra-Comunali</i> . Moreover, it divided the local <i>Piano Regolatore Generale</i> into two separated instruments: the <i>Piano Strutturale Comunale (PSC)</i> and the <i>Piano Operativo Comunale (POC)</i> .
2008-	After the 2008 FVG elections, a completely new political majority and government was established. This new government decided to radically change the aims and instruments of the sub-national 'Planning Law' within the next two years (by November 2010). As an intermediate solution the 1991 Planning Law has been more or less re-established. The Legge n°22, 2009 introduction – as a first step of the new reform process – the new sub-national planning instruments, the so called ' <i>Piano di Governo del Territorio</i> ' (PGT). This plan, differently from the previous <i>Piano Territoriale Regionale</i> , is divided in two parts: the <i>Documento Territoriale Strategico Regionale (DTSR)</i> and the <i>Carta dei Valori (CDV)</i> . In this way the government of FVG aims at separating the sub-national strategies from the territorial knowledge and appraisal.

⁷⁷ Besides FVG there are only two other *Regioni* in Italy, which are also in their third level of planning laws: *Toscana* and *Piemonte*.

The sub-national 'Planning Tool Kit' of Friuli Venezia Giulia

Both the names as well as the contents of sub-national planning instruments, based on the principles of the *Piano Territoriale di Coordinamento* (PTC), as introduced by the *Legge Urbanistica*, vary across Italy, reflecting the differing applicable sub-national Planning Laws, which define the detailed contents as well as the nomenclature of this planning instrument. During the 1970s the first plans implementing main principles of the PTC, as defined within the *Legge Urbanistica*, emerged in *Trentino – Alto Adige*, *Friuli Venezia Giulia*, and *Umbria*. In *Friuli Venezia Giulia* for example this kind of plan was drafted, beginning in 1968 (initiated by the First FVG Planning Law) under the name of *Piano Urbanistico Regionale Generale* (PURG) and since 1991 (in response to the Second and Third FVG Planning Laws) must be elaborated under the name of *Piano Territoriale Regionale* (PTR).

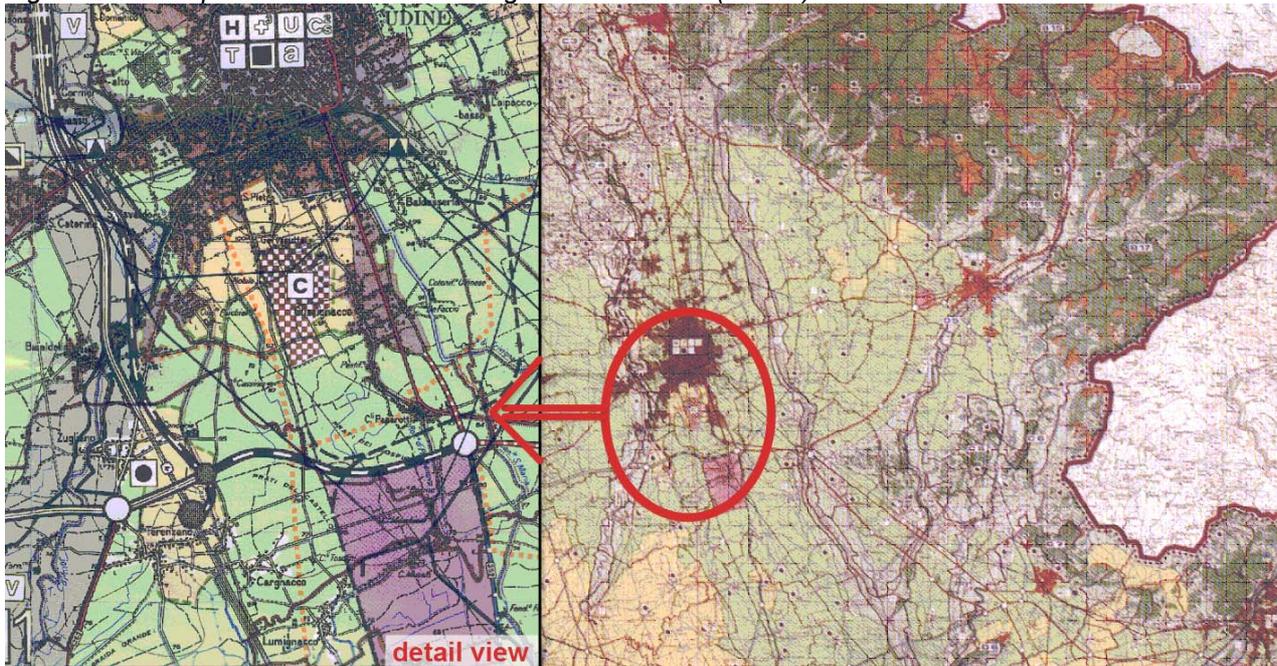
The early days of the tradition of *Urbanistica* provided this sub-national plan with a specific meaning, in the sense of 'local planning activities coordinating sub-national master plan', drawing emphasis on strategic contents (required in the *Regione*) as well as on regulative contents and hierarchical relationships (how requirements/strategies must be put into practise by local as well as by sectoral planning instruments/subjects, to ensure conformity with the sub-national scale) at the same time.

Piano Urbanistico Regionale Generale (PURG)

In 1978 FVG approved its first and only PURG (DPR n°826, 1978), according to the contents defined in the First FVG Planning Law (1968) trying to meet the reconstruction needs after the 1976 earthquake. The PURG of *Friuli Venezia Giulia* indicates protected areas and transformation areas, as well as areas for many kinds of public services, such as streets and infrastructure, in one single plan. It sought to coordinate sectoral plans at the sub-national scale. It defined strategic guidelines as well as norms and regulations in regard to the characteristics of building activities for each single zone of the *Regione*, at a scale of 1:50,000 and was binding for all *Comuni*. This instrument built up an important institutional frame for planning decisions. Moreover, the *Comuni* had to develop their *Piano Regolatore Generale* (local land-use plan) not only respecting the PURG, but also specifying it at a more detailed scale (1:10,000 or 1:5,000 and 1:2,000 for central areas).

The PURG was innovative when approved in 1978 in *Friuli Venezia Giulia*: however, after thirty years of experiences in planning at the local as well as at the supra-local, sub-national, national and European scale, one could question whether it is still correct to combine regulative as well as strategic functions in a single plan (Fabbro, 1998) given the inevitable conflicts of interest. Strategic contents according to strategic planning, on the one hand, are intrinsically uncertain and need to be flexible, creating strategic frameworks and visions with a relatively low power of compulsion, which require concretising in regulative terms prior to territorial implementation. Regulative contents, on the other hand, must be certain and more stable over the time to assure property rights and values, with a high power of compulsion for private land-owners (Mazza, 2004; Fabbro, 2007). Therefore it seems somewhat incoherent to unify these two functions into a single plan.

Figure 20: Example: Piano Urbanistico Regionale Generale (PURG)



Source: Regione Autonoma Friuli Venezia Giulia (by courtesy of Regione Autonoma FVG, July 2008)

Piano Territoriale Regionale (PTR)

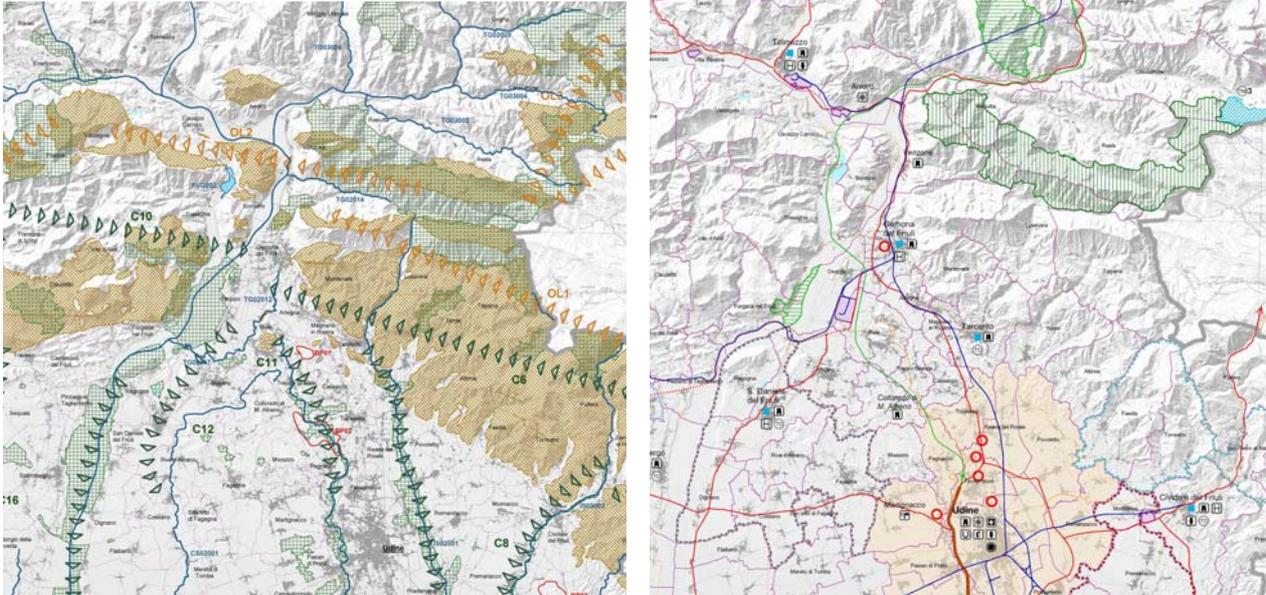
The PURG from 1978 remains in regulative terms, although the *Regione Autonoma Friuli Venezia Giulia* has drafted and introduced several replacement draft plans (some more strategic, other more regulative). The latest approach, the *Piano Territoriale Regionale*, adopted in October 2007 (following the Third FVG Planning Law), was not approved by the time this research was concluded (April 2010). Moreover it appears doubtful that this plan will ever be approved (as with earlier drafts/plans) as the new *Giunta Regionale* (sub-national government) has decided to elaborate another sub-national plan (the *Piano di Governo del Territorio*). Following the 2008 FVG elections a new political and administrative cabinet now governs the *Regione Autonoma FVG*, which is discussing its own new Planning Law for FVG as well as drafting a new sub-national plan (the PGT). Approval for the new PGT will finally supersede the 1978 PURG. The PTR has not been approved, as was also the case for other sub-national draft-plans historically. The PGT (or another) sub-national plan is urgently required, as the updating process of the PURG is not able to sufficiently satisfy FVG's contemporary demands.

The contents of the PTR⁷⁸ were similar in some regards to those of the PURG, with the main differences found in the implementation process. The Third FVG Planning Law (2007) specified that the PTR should be drafted using an inclusive stakeholder methodology compatible with Agenda 21 but, at the same time, implementation should be done through a complete and detailed assimilation in the local plans. This process therefore has a number of complicated, arbitrary and authoritarian threads. The outcome of the PTR would not have been a single plan/map (as with the PURG), but a collection of several maps at the scale of 1:150,000 where some provisions are also represented in very generic terms (e.g. environmental corridors see Figure 21). In comparison to the PURG, this smaller scale and larger number of maps make it more difficult for the *Comuni* to interpret and to adopt the contents of the PTR in their respective plans.

⁷⁸ Although it is most likely that in FVG no PTR will get approved, as the new sub-national government (elected in 2008) has initiated a planning reform process in 2009, it is introduced here for the sake of completeness. Besides it provides a mean towards the understanding of the FVG planning approach/tendency.

The PTR has apparently become more strategic in terms of content, but more authoritarian in terms of regulation – by comparing its extensive regulative components in comparison to the old, but still valid PURG. The PTR has an even stronger regulative impact, as the PTR plans needed to be elaborated by using Geographical Information Systems (GIS) with some data (like settlements and infrastructure) generated at the 1:5,000 scale. The PTR creates not only strategic guidelines for the *Comuni*, but also binding regulative obligations, which the *Comuni* must adopt (by using digital data provided by the *Regione*) and to concretise in their respective plans and programmes.

Figure 21: 2 Examples of the several maps of the Piano Territoriale Regionale (PTR)
 map 1: environmental corridors
 map 2: settlements and infrastructure

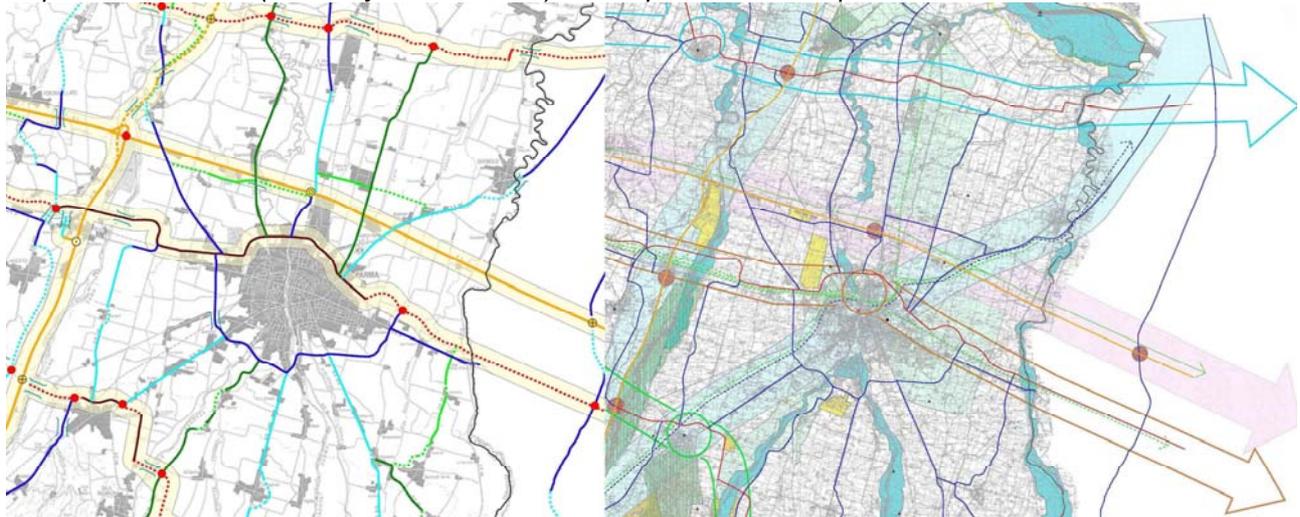


Source: Regione Autonoma Friuli Venezia Giulia (by courtesy of Regione Autonoma FVG, July 2008)

Supra-local planning in Friuli Venezia Giulia

During the 1970s the supra-local scale gained in importance in Italy. In the wake of the First FVG Planning Law, *Friuli Venezia Giulia* introduced, as with other Italian *Regioni*, supra-local consortia, the *Compensori*, a consortium of *Comuni* able to act as an administration body in regard to areas such as health, education, urban and territorial planning matters. At that time the *Provincia* was not considered as a planning unit and therefore was neglected. However, during the 1980s *Compensori* were abandoned in all Italian *Regioni*, and the *Provincia* was established as the 'new' supra-local planning institution. In 1990 the national Law n°142 regarding the powers of territorial institutions was approved and identified the *Provincia* as the supra-local institution in charge of generating *Piani Territoriali di Coordinamento Provinciali (PTCP)*. Since then, more than 50% of all *Province* in Italy have drafted and approved PTCP, as for example the *Provincia di Parma (Regione Emilia Romagna)* (Figure 22).

Figure 22: 2 Examples of the several maps of the Piano Territoriale di Coordinamento Provinciale (PTCP)
 map 1: road-network (hierarchy and functions) map 2: territorial aspects



Source: Provincia di Parma, Regione Emilia Romagna
 (Available at: <http://ptcp.provincia.parma.it/>, accessed February 2010)

However, in *Friuli Venezia Giulia* no PTCP was approved, as the 1991 Second FVG Planning Law subordinated these plans to the approval of the sub-national *Piano Territoriale Regionale Generale* (PTRG)⁷⁹. It was not until October 2007 that the first *Friuli Venezia Giulia* PTR was successfully adopted, in the wake of the Third FVG Planning Law (2007), which redefined and limited the role and responsibilities of the *Provincia*. The *Provincia* in *Friuli Venezia Giulia* is an institution between the *Regione* and the *Comuni* without significant planning roles (therefore unable to adopt and approve a PTCP). Thus, whilst in the past FVG provided their *Province* only in theory with competences for the regulation of space because the *Stato* obliged the *Regione* to do so. In practice the *Province* have never had competences for the regulation of space; it is somehow an intermediate planning body, awaiting activation. Moreover, the FVG *Province* are very unbalanced as the *Provincia di Udine* is very large, to the point of being a competitor for the *Regione*, while the *Provincia di Trieste* is very small (a narrow strip of land with only six *Comuni*). It is only the two other *Province*, the *Provincia di Gorizia* and the *Provincia di Pordenone* which appear to have an appropriate size to serve as intermediate planning bodies between the *Regione* and the *Comuni*. This might explain why FVG – unlike other Italian *Regioni* – has not provided their *Province* with ‘real’ competences for elaborating PTCPs.

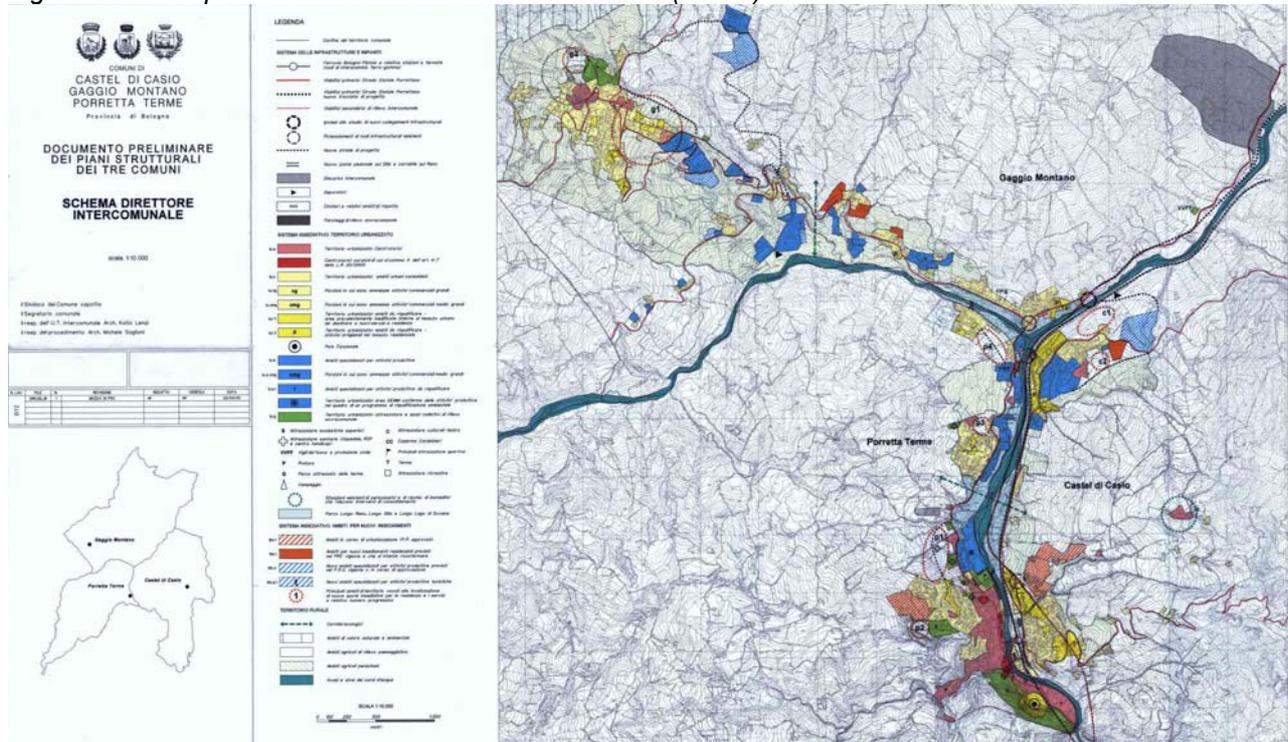
The supra-local ‘Planning Tool Kit’ of Friuli Venezia Giulia

The 2007 Planning Law of FVG (currently being withdrawn by the *Regione*) permitted that through the cooperation of several *Comuni* an ‘area vasta’ (an intermediate planning subject at the supra-local scale) could be created. A minimum of five *Comuni*, at least one third of the *Comuni* of a *Provincia*, or an area of at least 30,000 inhabitants would have been in charge of elaborating and approving *Piani Strutturali Sovra-Comunali* (PSSC), which would have been subsequently promoted, in a financial and normative way by the *Regione*. The idea of the PSSC was to allow a coordinated drafting of the *Piani Strutturali Comunali* (PSC), a plan which all the *Comuni* would have had to elaborate and approve according the 2007 FVG Planning

⁷⁹ *Piano Territoriale Regionale Generale* (PTRG) according to the Second FVG Planning Law; *Piano Territoriale Regionale* (PTR) according to the Third FVG Planning Law.

Law. The idea of the *area vasta* became reality because the *Regione* recognised the possibility for so guiding and addressing transformation processes not solely comprised within a single *Comune's* territory.

Figure 23: Example: Piano Strutturale Sovra-Comunale (PSSC)



Source: Provincia di Bologna, Regione Emilia Romagna
(Available at: <http://cst.provincia.bologna.it/ptcp/psc/>, accessed February 2010)

Local planning in Friuli Venezia Giulia

The local planning scale has a deeply-rooted historical tradition in Italy. However it needs to be acknowledged that the *Comuni* were for a long time not equipped with any formal planning competences, as suggests from the example of the *Legge di Napoli* (1885). This national law was dedicated to the rehabilitation of the slums of the city of *Napoli* (or in other words a national law seeking direct intervention through expropriation for a single local context).

In Italy the first local planning activities were focusing on city planning, the example of *Palmanova*, a city in FVG planned and realised as a fortress, here serving as a good example (see Figure 24). Furthermore, the city-shaping of nearly every city in Italy dates back to plans made in the early 19th century by the famous architects of that time, such as Edmondo Saint Just di Teulada (*inter alia* Udine, Roma), Marcello Piacentini (*inter alia* Livorno, Roma, Bari) or Luigi Piccinato (*inter alia* Padova, L'Aquila, Foggia, Cagliari, Catania).

Figure 24: Palmanova (1585 and 2005)



Source: http://historic-cities.huji.ac.il/italy/palmanova/maps/braun_hogenberg_V_68.html (historical map); http://www.italylowprice.com/images/regioni/36_Palmanova.jpg (2005 satellite picture)

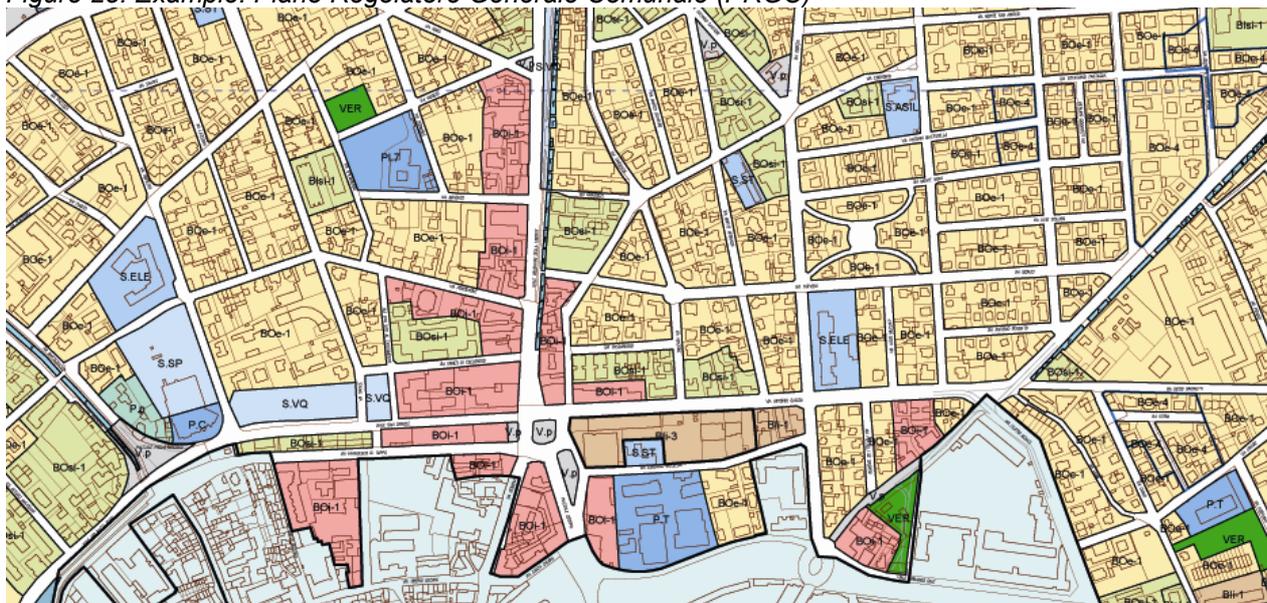
It was not until 1942 that the *Legge Urbanistica* provided the *Comuni* for the first time with legal competences in the field of *Urbanistica* although neither the sub-national nor the supra-local scale were introduced in any planning legislation.

The local 'Planning Tool Kit' of Friuli Venezia Giulia

In Italy, it is more than sixty years that communal planning has been based principally on elaborating the *Piano Regolatore Generale Comunale (PRGC)* and therefore a certain level of experience can be recognised within the Italian *Comuni*. This type of plan can be described as a combination of a local master plan and a local land-use regulation plan. Nowadays every *Comune* has to elaborate, in reference to the different applicable sub-national legislation, either a PRGC or a further elaborated form of it. These local plans represent the whole territory of the *Comune*, regulating land use by indicating the main physical communication routes, public areas, areas for public buildings, protection for the environment and landscape, define through specific regulations its implementation, the physical and functional status of the individual parts or zones of the territory. In a first phase only some *Comuni*, specifically chosen from the Ministry of Infrastructure and Transport, had to develop a local PRGC. As the *Legge Urbanistica* does not dictate a deadline by which the PRGC has to be approved, it can easily happen that some *Comuni*, in particular in the south of Italy, have never had a valid PRGC.

In *Friuli Venezia Giulia*, starting from 1991 (Second FVG Planning Law), all *Comuni* received the competences for the approval of the *Piano Regolatore Generale*, which before were subsequently approved by the *Regione*. However, the *Regione* is in charge of controlling the conformity of the communal plans to the respective laws as well as with the sub-national plan (currently the PURG) prior to the *Comuni* approving their plans.

Figure 25: Example: Piano Regolatore Generale Comunale (PRGC)



Source: Comune di Udine, Regione Autonoma Friuli Venezia Giulia
(by courtesy of Regione Autonoma FVG, July 2008)

The Third FVG Planning Law (2007) enhanced the required content and structure of the *Piano Regolatore Generale*, which according to this law (and the general tendency operating in Italy since the Tuscany Law of 1995) has to be drafted in two separate but complementary plans. As the Third FVG Planning Law is currently being withdrawn, it is introduced here solely for the sake of completeness.

- The *Piano Strutturale Comunale (PSC)* can be considered an instrument both mirroring the existing territorial situation as well as indicating strategic objectives (although this appears to be incompatible to a certain extent). It aims to indicate existing structural aspects of the territory as well as to define provisions and general guidelines for transformation processes. That is done with reference to other sub-national as well as national laws and plans, such as designating conservation areas or areas of natural importance, as well as areas suitable for transformation processes. In those *Regioni* where PSC already applied it appears in three parts (cartographic maps, a descriptive report and normative document).
- The *Piano Operativo Comunale (POC)* can be considered an operative instrument defining planning activities and building interventions and regulations (such as projects, programmes) for the transformation areas outlined in the PSC to be realised in the near future⁸⁰. Hence it deals with the implementation of short term actions in the territory. Where an intended intervention is not realised within the period of validity of the POC, claimed rights such as the expropriation of particular properties, expire. The POC has to be coherent with the PSC.

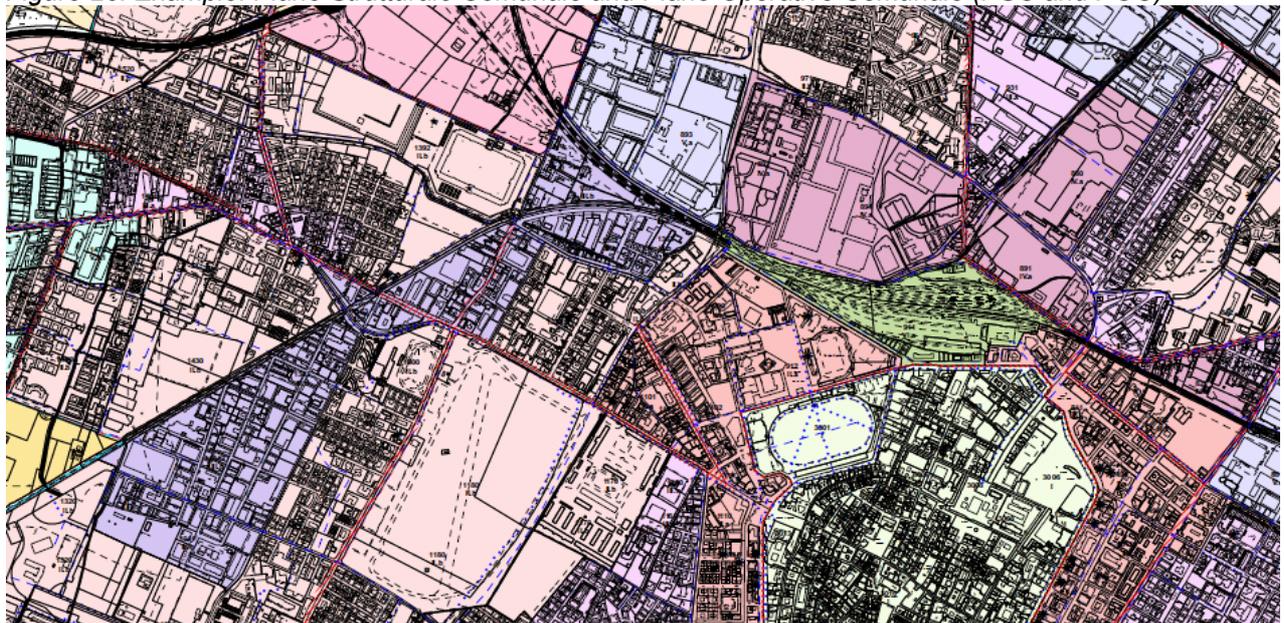
The Third FVG Planning Law stated that the PSC must achieve '*intesa*' with the *Regione*. The *intesa* is a statement of conformity (official act) signed by the *Regione* and the *Comune*. The *Regione* provides the

⁸⁰ The timeframe of the 'near future' is not defined in the Third FVG Planning Law. However it should be coherent with the election mandate of the local government, which is 5 years, in the sense it is defined in other Italian *Regioni* like in the *Toscana*.

Comuni with the *intesa* only when the PSC has been drafted in conformity with the sub-national PTR. The POC can be approved by the *Comuni*, who must certify that the POC is in conformity with the PSC.

Figure 26 shows the PSC as well as the corresponding POC of Modena (*Regione* Emilia Romagna). This example is used to introduce the interrelationship of this innovative local planning approach in Italy. In FVG, it was not before 2007 that this approach was introduced, in the frame of the Third FVG Planning Law, a law subsequently rescinded by the incoming sub-national government in 2008. Therefore local planning in FVG is still based on the PRGC plan (combining the functions and meanings of the PSC and POC in one single plan).

Figure 26: Example: Piano Strutturale Comunale and Piano Operativo Comunale (PSC and POC)



38	FASCIA FERROVIARIA - SISTEMAZIONE PORTA NUOVA STAZIONE.
39	COMPLETAMENTO DEL PARCO DELLA REPUBBLICA, REALIZZAZIONE IMPIANTI A VERDE, PER CORSI CICLOPEDONALI AREE E ATTREZZATURE PER LA SOSTA COLLETTIVA.
40	FASCIA FERROVIARIA - SISTEMAZIONE CARROBBIO (VIA FANTI - VIA PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA).
41	PP VIA IX GENNAIO 1950 - II LOTTO.
42	FASCIA FERROVIARIA - PIANO PARTICOLAREGGIATO MERCATO BESTIAME - URBANIZZAZIONE PRIMARIA - ONERI DI U2 - PIAZZA CENTRALE E PARCHEGGIO SOTTERRANEO - CAMPOLUNGO E PORTA D'INGRESSO.
43	COSTRUZIONE NUOVA SCUOLA ELEMENTARE A DUE CORSI VIA DALLA CHIESA.

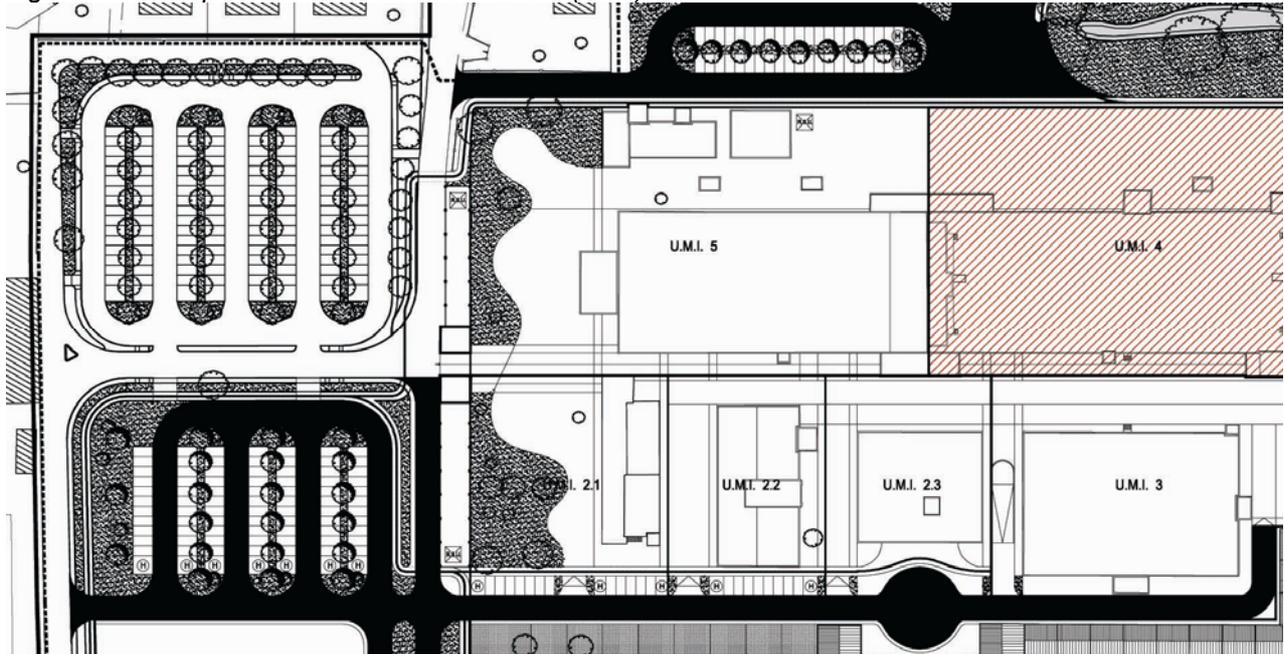
Source: *Comune di Modena, Regione Emilia Romagna*

(Available at: <http://urbanistica.comune.modena.it/prg/>, accessed February 2010)

*Piano Attuativo Comunale (PAC)*⁸¹

The PAC, a detailed building plan (scale: 1:1,000 or 1:500), has to be drafted and approved by the *Comuni* for all areas explicitly selected by the *Comune* as well as for areas affected in conjunction with bigger projects (as for example in the building of a shopping centre or the restoration of an historical centre). The PRPC specifies the building parameters, including the quantity of volume, buildings types, construction typologies, heights as well as the detailed site development with respect to roads, parking spaces, internal system of communication, levels of green, and accessibility.

Figure 27: Example: Piano Attuativo Comunale (PAC)



Source: *Comune di Pordenone, Regione Autonoma Friuli Venezia Giulia*
(Available at: <http://www.provincia.pordenone.it/>, accessed February 2010)

⁸¹ *Piano Regolatore Particolareggiato Comunale (PRPC)* according to the Second FVG Planning Law; *Piano Attuativo Comunale (PAC)* according to the Third FVG Planning Law.

4.1.2.3 A systematic comparative analysis of the planning approaches

This chapter seeks to examine the commonalities and differences of the Austrian and the Italian planning approaches with a specific focus on the coterminous area comprising the Austrian *Land Kärnten* and the Italian *Regione Autonoma Friuli Venezia Giulia* by undertaking a systematic comparative analysis. Building on the country-specific knowledge provided in the previous chapters, this comparison will assist in explaining that these two spatial planning systems, which evolved through two completely different historical contexts, and currently belong to two different legal families (cf. Nadin et al., 2008), are not as different as might at first seem. The main purpose of this comparative chapter is to establish *first level knowledge* for the observed area as an essential stepping stone towards mutual understanding across national borders and consequently the building up of a shared knowledge base, a pre-requisite for building up of institutional territorial cooperation.

Planning languages

As a first conclusion regarding the terminology of spatial planning in Europe, it appears in general terms, that the contemporary use of the term *Urbanistica* within Italian society is comparably to the way the term *Raumplanung* is used in Austria or the term 'spatial planning' is used elsewhere in Europe.

The national planning framework

Both, the Austrian Constitution (1920) as well as the Italian Constitution (1948) and constitutional reform (2001) impose essential framework conditions in terms of territorial governance. Both Constitutions introduce on the one hand specific (sectoral) competencies, for which the national scale has the sole and independent competences whilst on the other hand provide the sub-national entities (*Land* and *Regione*) with the competences required (for legislation and implementation) to become active in those specific matters not explicitly dedicated to the national scale. The important exception to this is the field of local administration and local planning, where competences have been shifted directly to the local scale. However, although the national frameworks provided by the Constitutions appear to be very similar in general terms (as explained above), some country-specific peculiarities can be observed.

Firstly, the competencies reserved to the national scale are not necessarily the same in both countries. Although one is on the one hand confronted with the same situation (sharing of competences) when referring for example to cultural heritage protection, a completely different situation occurs on the other hand for the domains of landscape or nature protection, etc. (national scale in Italy; sub-national scale in Austria). It appears that in Austria more sectoral competencies are reserved to the national scale, where however in recent years a partial shifting from the national to the sub-national scale can be observed, for example in the case of 'B-roads' streets⁸².

Secondly, the Italian constitution defines *competenze concorrente* (correlated competences), with the *Stato* in charge of formulating general principles, which are then concretised and further elaborated by the sub-national legislations of the *Regioni*. This idea of shared competences exists also in Austria (*Bund*:

⁸² In 2002 (national law n°50/2002) the *Bund* has shifted all competences in regard of *Bundesstraßen* ('B-roads') to the *Länder* scale. Only competencies for trunk roads and motorways remained at the national scale (cf. Haselsberger, 2004, p.19).

Grundsatzgesetzgebung – Land: Ausführungsgesetzgebung)⁸³, but its application to spatial planning related topics is limited to a few domains only (e.g. health spa resorts).

Because of Italy's long history of centralist government, it is unsurprising that planning was for a long time organised and controlled primarily by the national scale. Italy introduced its first and only National Planning Law, which still has validity today, under the fascist regime. But, as this National Planning Law was approved in 1942, before the Constitution (1948) and moreover in a completely different social and political context (centralist Monarchy and fascist government versus regionalist Republic), it can be argued that the National Planning Law is out of step with the Constitution alongside other national and sub-national legislation. Interesting is, that although Italy has a valid National Planning Law, the sub-national scale (*Regione*) has evolved over recent decades to become the most important level for planning legislation. This became reality as five *Regioni* (including *Friuli Venezia Giulia*) achieved autonomous status and as the constitutional laws of the 1970s enabled other, 'ordinary', *Regioni* to exercise planning as well as to approve sub-national planning legislations. Nevertheless it is important to note that for 'ordinary' *Regioni* the National Planning Law still creates an important point of reference for their respective planning legislation, for 'autonomous' *Regioni*, on the contrary, it is more or less redundant. This means for the autonomous *Regione Friuli Venezia Giulia*, starting from 1963 (when it achieved its autonomous status) it is no longer obliged to pay attention to any national legislation other than the Italian Constitution and the constitutional laws. In contrary to the Italian situation there exists no National Planning Law in Austria.

This comparative analysis emphasises that the *Regione Friuli Venezia Giulia* and the *Land Kärnten* have comparable competences in planning, limited only by specific sectoral competences at the national scale outlined in the respective Constitutions, but by no higher level (national) Planning Law.

The sub-national planning framework

Nowadays, the sub-national scale in both countries plays a significant role for planning legislation (passing of Planning Laws) and implementation (introducing of planning instruments) of spatial planning issues. Moreover, it has the predominant competence towards the local and supra-local planning scale, in the sense that the respective sub-national Planning Laws define the framework conditions (including planning instruments and their approval procedures) for these lower planning scales.

In Austria, due to the long tradition of independent king- and dukedoms (continued during the Austrian and Austro-Hungarian Empire) the sub-national scale was from the beginning recognised as an important planning scale, always attributed with competences for planning. On the contrary, in Italy, the sub-national scale remained for a long time without competencies, due to its historical strongly centralised form of government. This means that the *Land Kärnten* has a much longer and continuous tradition as independent administrative body than the *Regione FVG*, which only achieved its autonomous status in 1963. *Kärnten* even approved its First Planning Law (1959) before the *Regione FVG* achieved its autonomous status (1963) and hence before FVG approved its First Planning Law (1968).

⁸³ cf. Austrian Constitution, Article 12, B-VG 1920, last change B.G.Bl. 2/2008.

Starting from the early 19th century the *Land Kärnten* began to approve building regulations (framework-laws) in order to coordinate local building developments. Since then the *Land* has always been in charge of not only establishing legislative principles but also of approving the *Gemeinden's* respective regulation-plans. In Italy, however, it was the *Stato* (national scale) which provided *Comuni* (local scale) with building regulations and approved their respective plans. In FVG the *Stato* was in charge of approving all kind of local plans (even the *Piano Regolatore Generale Comunale*, local land use plan) until 1968 (First FVG Planning Law).

In 1968 FVG approved its First Planning Law, followed by the Second Planning Law in 1991 and the Third Planning Law in 2007. All three laws define framework-conditions for all lower planning scales (local and supra-local) as well as for the sub-national scale. In *Kärnten* starting from 1969, the extant Planning Law, dating back to 1959, was divided into two separate Planning Laws, one dedicated to the sub-national and supra-local scale, more general in scope, trying to emphasis and structure the coordinated development of the *Gemeinden* and another dedicated only to the local scale, defining quite precisely their sphere of actions and competences.

In 1978 FVG approved its first (and until today only) comprehensive sub-national plan – the *Piano Urbanistico Regionale Generale (PURG)*. Generally speaking, this plan can be described as predominately regulative instrument, although it also has significant strategic and structural components. The PURG from 1978 is still valid in regulative terms, but after more than thirty years this plan is clearly incapable of adequately mirroring the current/real situation of FVG or for addressing current issues. Several attempts to approve a new sub-national plan have previously failed, including the sub-national plan adopted in 2007 – the *Piano Territoriale Regionale (PTR)*.

In *Kärnten* there is no sub-national plan to consider, although according to the Planning Law of *Kärnten* this should be the case. However, *Kärnten's* approach of developing a (predominately strategic) sub-national plan was always based on firstly elaborating and approving supra-local plans, which then should create the required knowledge base for the higher level plan. However a range of factors have played a role on the fact that thus far no 'whole-territory' plan or development programme for *Kärnten* has been drafted or approved, only two sectoral development programmes (predominately regulative in scope).

In FVG the PURG (sub-national plan), dating back to the late 1970s, is still in force. Also in *Kärnten* the supra-local development programmes⁸⁴ in force have been approved in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Thus, in both cases any important intermediate planning activity stopped at around the same time. It appears that this similar situation occurred partly because of the, starting from that time, increasing importance of 'regional spatial planning' in the European context. From the national perspective, this tendency was characterised by considerable insecurity in parallel with generalised tendencies for transferring legislative and administrative powers and responsibilities from national governments to regional autonomous authorities in a process strongly driven by EU focus on regions (Morgan, 2004) whilst

⁸⁴ They are introduced here as no comprehensive sub-national plan/programme exists in *Kärnten* (so far).

further complicated by the fact that no commonly accepted definition of 'region' or 'regional spatial planning' exists within Europe (CEC, 1997; Faludi, 2004b).

The supra-local planning framework

In *Kärnten* as well as in FVG the supra-local planning scale has no independent competences or powers. Therefore in both cases the sub-national scale, from a top-down perspective, develops and approves supra-local plans, programmes and concepts or alternatively provides supra-local planning subjects with competences for this task (which however has been the case in neither country).

In *Kärnten*, strong pressures, mainly triggered by rapid tourist growth made planning activities at the supra-local scale indispensable to preserve the territory for future developments, even if in those days the future developments were rationalised through a lens influenced by tourism ('saving unspoilt nature as valuable capital for the tourist-industry'). In addition to tourist pressures, urban sprawl, which exploded after the Second World War, required plans and programmes to control this undesirable yet burgeoning development tendency. The first supra-local development programmes of *Kärnten*, which were however not legally binding, date back to the early 1950s. Following the First Planning Law (1959) *Kärnten* could approve legally binding supra-local development programmes, and its attempts had important impacts on local planning activities. One supra-local development programme (*Mirnock-Verditz*, 1978) sought to control a euphoria emerging from the success of *Franz Klammer*, (a famous Austrian skier in the 1970s) which drove pressures threatening the natural beauty in the area next to his home community. Another supra-local programme (*Nockgebiet*, 1977) ensured the partly preservation of the *Nockgebiet* (an area of highly natural importance for *Kärnten*), where tourist expansion was immediately stopped after road construction (and before hotels were built), with the area itself declared a national park. More recently, its status has been changed to a biosphere reserve, to combat the negative effects of the road crossing this natural area. Although *Kärnten* achieved much in terms of its early days of supra-local planning, and was even the first *Land* in whole Austria to promulgate supra-local development programmes exploiting the sub-national legislation, its contemporary situation has deteriorated, with its currently valid programmes already around 25 years old and therefore ill-equipped to deal with today's situation.

Starting from 1963 (when FVG achieved its autonomous status) the *Regione* FVG always tried to concentrate as much power as possible at the sub-national scale. In so doing, the *Regione* succeeded in hindering the emergence of the supra-local planning scale, with the supra-local planning scale yet to acquire significant competences in planning. Although in 1990, national legislation officially introduced the *Province* as institutions responsible for the intermediate planning scale between the *Regione* and the *Comuni*, the *Regione Autonoma* FVG always found a way to limit and even to obstruct its Provinces' competencies and to favour its own competences. The Third FVG Planning Law (2007) in particular substantially worsened the situation. Whilst FVG did introduce the supra-local scale and even a planning form, which could be elaborated by this scale, neither does a real supra-local institution exist (if the *Provincia* is excluded) nor have competences from the *Regione* been shifted to supra-local planning subjects. The supra-local structural plan introduced in the Third FVG Planning Law is more or less a coordinative planning tool of the local structural plans of the involved *Comuni*, which theoretically the *Comuni* could adopt without the *Regione's* permission.

The local planning framework

Generally speaking, *Kärntner Gemeinden* are much bigger in area-terms than FVG *Comuni*, partly because in the 1970s the then-204 *Kärntner Gemeinden* were restructured in only 121 *Gemeinden* (today *Kärnten* is build up by 132 *Gemeinden*). Whilst *Kärntner Gemeinden* are bigger in size, FVG *Comuni* are more populous (see Table 12).

Table 12: *Kärnten* and FVG in figures

	<i>Kärnten</i>	<i>Friuli Venezia Giulia (FVG)</i>
No. Municipalities (<i>Gemeinden/Comuni</i>)	132	219
Area	9,536 km ²	7,856 km ²
Population	c. 600,000	c. 1.2m
Density (Population/ km²)	c. 63	c. 153

In both cases the local planning scale has a very long tradition and acts as that scale where planning activities originated and where the first laws and plans were elaborated and approved. In Italy it was the *Stato* (national scale) who approved its first planning legislation for the local scale, in line with its then-centralistic ideology. The first notable example is the *Legge di Napoli* (1885), a national law made by the *Stato* to intervene directly, with expropriation powers, for urban slum rehabilitation. In Austria it was always the *Land* (sub-national scale) which provided (legislative) frameworks for the regulation of space at the local scale.

Nowadays in both cases the operational sphere of the local scale is on the one hand constitutionally defined, enabling the communities in both cases to fulfil local administration and local planning tasks and on the other hand regulated by the respective sub-national legislation (*Land; Regione*) defining more precisely the framework (such as planning instruments and approval procedures) for the communities. According to the sub-national legislation *Kärntner Gemeinden* must elaborate strategic local development concepts (*Örtliche Entwicklungskonzepte – ÖEK*), as well as regulative land-use plans (*Flächenwidmungspläne*). Until 2007 every *Comune* in FVG had to elaborate a regulative local land-use plan (*Piano Regolatore Generale Comunale – PRGC*) also including strategic issues. In the wake of the 2007 Third FVG Planning Law, this single communal plan has been split into the more strategic *Piano Strutturale Comunale* (PSC) and the more regulative *Piano Operativo Comunale* (POC). But as the 2007 Planning Law is currently being rescinded, it is once again the *Piano Regolatore Generale Comunale* which has to be considered the most important planning instrument at the local scale. In both countries the local planning scale is obliged, according to sub-national planning legislation, to conform to higher level planning institutions's directives, and subject to supervision in terms of controlling conformity with national and sub-national laws and binding plans.

Each *Kärntner Gemeinde* must elaborate, approve and continually update their (predominantly strategic) local development concept within the framework defined by the *Land* (sub-national scale). This instrument provides the main basis for the local land-use plan (*Flächenwidmungsplan*), which should be elaborated

within the framework defined by their local development concept. Thus although the land-use plan should be approved by the *Land*, it may only be refused if it is not coherent with either national or sub-national legislation or the ÖEK, a document approved by the *Gemeinden* themselves. Thus the *Gemeinden* themselves can to some extent 'fix' and influence their intended futures transformation as well as the framework for their land-use plan.

From 1969, all *Gemeinden* have been attributed with a valid land-use plan (*Flächenwidmungsplan*), at that time elaborated and approved by the *Land*. Nowadays, land-use plans are elaborated by *Gemeinden*, but must also be approved by the *Land*. The (former) local *Piano Regolatore Generale Comunale* (PRGC) appears to be very similar to the *Flächenwidmungsplan*, both being regulative local-land use plans. However, one slight difference can be observed in the approval-process in that *Comuni* are able to unilaterally approve local PRGCs providing that they can acquire prior *intesa* (the statement of conformity of the *Regione*).

The *Piano Strutturale Comunale* (PSC) is not completely comparable with the ÖEK, although it appears also a strategic instrument defining the future transformation of the local territory. The ÖEK is a far more detailed and comprehensive analysis of the current situation from which future development emerges, comprising a report, a SWOT (strengths-weaknesses-opportunities-threats) analysis, overall concepts, and visions visualised through several plans. As ÖEKs have been elaborated since 1995, *Gemeinden* do have certain experience in the process, whilst the PSC is by contrast a completely new planning instrument in FVG, just recently introduced (2007) and almost immediately withdrawn.

The *Piano Operativo Comunale* (POC) is not comparable with the *Flächenwidmungsplan*, although it is also a regulative instrument dealing with land-use planning. In contrast to the PRGC, the new POC deals only with the transformation areas outlined in the PSC, and is concerned primarily with the implementation of short term actions in the territory, and the required land-use planning. Its duration is limited to a maximum of five years at which point its provisions relating to spatial designation expire. Because it allocates land to particular key activities, it is not a plan covering the whole territory of a *Comune*, rather only particular parts of it.

The detailed building plan (*Bebauungsplan*, *Piano Attuativo Comunale – PAC*) appears to be the same, in both cases elaborated and approved by the local scale and in both cases the local scale is authorised to set out building permissions.

The Kärnten – Friuli Venezia Giulia 'Planning Tool Kits' at a glance

Table 13: The Kärntner 'Planning Tool Kit'

Planning instruments of the **sub-national** planning scale in Kärnten

Name	Content / Nature	Function
<p><i>Landesentwicklungsprogramm</i> (sub-national development programme)</p> <p><i>Regionales Entwicklungsprogramm</i> (supra-local development programme)</p>	Sub-national as well as supra-local development programmes should identify economic, social, ecological and cultural development perspectives a particular area. Settlement-boundaries, danger-zones as well as the future building land demand for enterprises and industry and for free open spaces should be introduced in these legally binding programmes.	Structural; Strategic; Regulative;
<p><i>Sektorales Entwicklungsprogramm</i> (sectoral development programme) for the sub-national and/or supra-local planning scale</p>	Sectoral development programmes should identify economic, social, ecological and cultural development perspectives in terms of a specific sectoral matter. They can also define binding standards and limiting conditions for all lower planning scales.	Structural; Strategic; Regulative;

Planning instruments of the **local** planning scale in Kärnten

Name	Content / Nature	Function
<p><i>Örtliches Entwicklungskonzept</i> (local development concept)</p>	Local development concepts define local planning objectives and create a framework for any local planning activities for a period of 10 years on the basis of a detailed analysis of the economic, social, ecological and cultural situation.	Structural; Strategic;
<p><i>Flächenwidmungsplan</i> (land-use plan)</p>	Land-use plans determine the land-use of a community, by introducing building areas, green open spaces and areas for transportation (and all their subcategories as defined by law).	Regulative;
<p><i>Bebauungsplan</i> (detailed building plan)</p>	Detailed building plans define binding norms/conditions for all building interventions/activities.	Regulative;

Table 14: The FVG 'Planning Tool Kit'

Planning instrument of the **sub-national** planning scale in FVG

Name	Content / Nature	Function
<p><i>Piano Urbanistico Regionale Generale (PURG)</i></p> <p>instituted: 1968; approved: 1978; still in force;</p>	The PURG (a sub-national master plan) indicates protected areas, transformation areas, as well as areas and standards for all kind of public services and infrastructures in one single plan at a scale of 1:50,000. It was approved in 1978 and is currently still in force.	Structural; Strategic; Regulative;
<p><i>Piano Territoriale Regionale Generale (PTRG)</i></p> <p>instituted: 1991; to replace the PURG;</p>	Several PTRGs and PTRs have been drafted, but no one was approved so far. This kind of plan, in general, would have mostly the same contents than the PURG, but emphasising them in different ways and establishing different relationships with the <i>Comuni/Province</i> . It would appear in the form of a general report, several maps at a scale of 1:150,000 and an implementation guide.	Structural; Strategic; Regulative;
<p><i>Piano Territoriale Regionale (PTR)</i></p> <p>instituted: 2007; to replace the PURG;</p>		

Planning instrument of the **supra-local** planning scale in FVG

Name	Content / Nature	Function
<p><i>Piano Strutturale Sovra-Comunale (PSSC)</i></p> <p>under the Third FVG Planning Law (2007); later repealed;</p>	The PSSC is an inter-communal plan, which defines general addresses for conservative as well as for transformative land use processes. This plan could be described as a joint presentation of several <i>Piani Strutturali Comunali (PSC)</i> of the <i>Comuni</i> involved. The elaboration is facultative (but with limits to expansion for those not adopting it).	Structural; Strategic; Regulative;

Planning instruments of the **local** planning scale in FVG

Name	Content / Nature	Function
<p><i>Piano Regolatore Generale Comunale (PRGC)</i></p>	The PRGC, a combination of a local master and land-use regulation plan, covering the whole territory of a single <i>Comune</i> was adopted until 2007. After the withdrawal of the 2007 law it has been temporarily restored in the perspective of the new territorial planning reform.	Structural; Strategic; Regulative;
<p><i>Piano Strutturale Comunale (PSC)</i></p> <p>under the Third FVG Planning Law (2007); later repealed;</p>	The PSC, a structural master plan, has to define general addresses for conservative as well as for transformative land use processes at the local scale. It has been temporarily removed pending the new reform.	Structural; Strategic;
<p><i>Piano Operativo Comunale (POC)</i></p> <p>under the Third FVG Planning Law (2007); later repealed;</p>	The POC, an operative land-use plan, has to define planning actions (projects, programmes, e.g.) and building interventions for particular areas outlined in the PSC to be realised in the near future. It has been temporarily removed pending the new reform.	Regulative;
<p><i>Piano Regolatore Particolareggiato (PRPC)</i></p>	The PRPC, a detailed building plan, defines binding norms/conditions for all building interventions/activities. It has been replaced in 2007 by the <i>Piano Attuativo Comunale (PAC)</i> . The PAC is a detailed building plan, for areas defined by the POC, that establishes binding norms/conditions for all building interventions. It has been established in 2007 and is still in force.	Regulative;
<p><i>Piano Attuativo Comunale (PAC)</i></p> <p>instituted: 2007; to replace the PRPC;</p>		

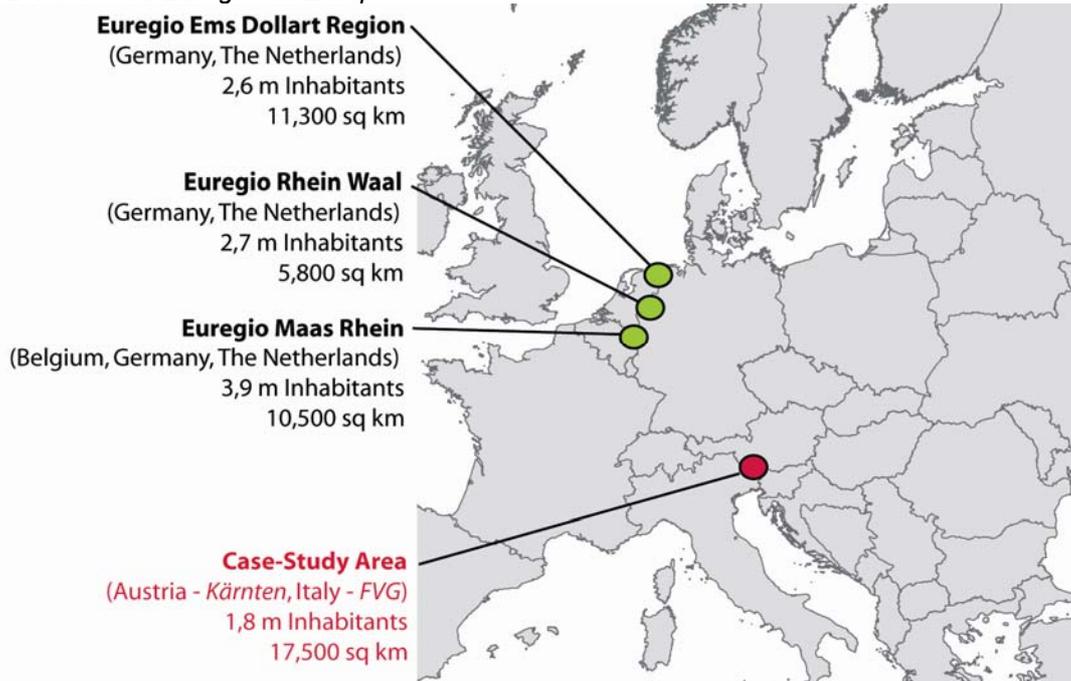
4.1.3 Discussion

The fact that spatial planning systems have evolved in different historical, social as well as political contexts, have been clustered in different abstract ideal types or legal families (traditions or styles), and moreover deal in their own country-specific way with spatial planning 'issues' in accordance with their own identities, cultures and traditions (*cf.* Nadin & Stead, 2008), does not necessarily mean that spatial planning systems are completely different to each other. On the contrary the Austrian-Italian case demonstrates very clearly that although country-specific planning approaches might superficially appear to be very different to one other, closer examination reveals many similarities in planning practice. It has been explained that the legal avenues available to *Kärnten* and FVG under domestic law as well as the fields of competences of the two sub-national planning subjects are attributed with many similar and comparable characteristics (at least in the way planning actions are shaped and/or implemented in practice). This observation becomes even more meaningful given that variations within Italy, concerning applicable planning approaches, are much greater than between *Kärnten* and *Friuli Venezia Giulia*.

What is perhaps striking in the Austrian-Italian case is that up to now no effective form of cooperation has been established, although these nation-states have been engaged in territorial cooperation processes and programmes for more than 30 years, most noteworthy in the frame of the Alpe Adria Working Community but also in the context of a number of INTERREG projects. Besides formal agreement to cooperate on trans-border topics and collecting of country specific data, the case-study area still has a long and difficult way to go in terms of establishing potentially effective forms of cooperation. Generally speaking it appears that residents on both sides of this border do not immediately experience the necessity for territorial cooperation because the national border separating *Kärnten* and *Friuli Venezia Giulia* is constituted by a prominent visible natural element (a massive mountain chain). On the one hand the absence of substantial pressures for cooperation (at least from the perspective of the respective (sub)national governments) slows down the development of trans-border networks. But, on the other hand, this is not necessarily a major disadvantage, as local frontier partners are afforded the opportunity to shape and address cooperative activities in line with their bottom-up needs. Inspiration from success-stories of other trans-border regions elsewhere in Europe appears to be very helpful in this regard.

Lessons to be learnt from comparable Euroregions (in terms of geographical reach and population), such as the Euroregion Ems Dollart Region, the Euroregion Rhein Waal or the Euroregion Maas Rhein (which began their territorial cooperation also in the 1970s) demonstrate impressively what could be achieved in terms of cooperation beyond national borders within a time-horizon of around 30 years. The Euroregion Ems Dollart and the Euroregion Maas Rhein, for example, demonstrate how trans-national cooperation in security matters and crime prevention can successfully be organised in practice. The Euroregion Rhein Waal and the Euroregion Maas Rhein have managed to provide a trans-border system of medical care irrespective of national borders and without any bureaucratic difficulties for the population. This kind of success-stories together with the knowledge base provided in the frame of this research should be used strategically to promote the idea of territorial cooperation in the case-study area effectively.

Figure 28: Selected Euregios in Europe



The detail analysis of the functions, meanings and roles of spatial planning (*Raumplanung; Urbanistica*) and its outcomes in *Kärnten* and *Friuli Venezia Giulia* has established essential *first level knowledge* for a trans-border area, where cooperative activities often fail because of a lack of political interest and/or the existence of deep structural difficulties due to historical, mental, linguistic and semantic barriers, or in more general words, due to cultural diversities (Fabbro & Haselsberger, 2009). The emerging question however is how this knowledge could be used strategically to establish a joint trans-border planning culture, capable of dealing efficiently with the issues/pressures of the 21st century.

Besides existing case-specific difficulties, contemporary society faces a spectrum of intense external pressures driving rapid changes in social, political, economic and cultural structures. Similarly, spatial planning systems and policies (in many European countries) are going through an unprecedented period of rapid adjustment, affecting processes and policies of spatial planning systems, but also planning traditions and planning cultures (*cf.* chapter 3.2.1). These pressures are creating a demand for greater trans-border working, and whilst there are pressures for cooperation across borders, little is known of how differing spatial planning systems are shaping the emergence of 'new planning' issues. As both globalisation as well as Europeanisation tendencies are affecting spatial planning activities in Austria (*Kärnten*) and Italy (*Friuli Venezia Giulia*) in a similar way, it appears that these external top-down pressures could be taken as a starting point (common concern) for establishing promising forms of trans-border cooperation in Austrian-Italian trans-border area.

Building on the *first level knowledge*, which revealed many common competences as well as similar spheres of responsibilities of different planning subjects at different planning scales, the shaping of trans-border networks (capable of dealing with the pressing demands of the 21st century) appear to be the next essential stepping stone to deal with on the 'journey' towards institutionalised forms of trans-border cooperation between *Kärnten* and FVG. The challenges and difficulties of this 'exercise' are demonstrated using the following case of the Austrian-Slovakian border area.

4.2 The lessons of the Austrian-Slovakian border area⁸⁵

The Austrian-Slovakian case-study builds on the research results of three projects, undertaken by the Vienna University of Technology (*Fachbereich Regionalplanung und Regionalentwicklung*) and Mecca Environmental Consulting under the KOBRA acronym between 2003 and 2006, in which the author of this research was actively involved. They are introduced here to illustrate the challenges and difficulties of building up 'proximity' within border zones and trans-border regions.

The KOBRA projects focus on developing a joint future perspective of the city-region of Bratislava and the Austrian rural hinterland along the Austria-Slovakian national border, a largely historically ignored border. However, in an enlarging European Union and with the eastward shift of the external EU border, the role and function of this area has changed drastically, with this area becoming one of the most dynamic and increasingly important 'bottlenecks' in the heart of Europe. The two capitals Bratislava (Slovakia) and Vienna (Austria), 'twin cities' at a distance of just 60km, together with a number of other vibrant and attractive cities nearby, such as Brno (Czech Republic) and Győr (Hungary) come together to form the prospering CENTROPE Euroregion. CENTROPE brings together parts of the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Austria and Hungary, encompassing a population of 7m, a workforce of 2.7m and a surface area of 54,000km². The area covered by the KOBRA projects within this Euroregion consist of 14 Austrian municipalities immediately adjacent to the Slovakian border and the city of Bratislava; whilst these 14 municipalities have a total population of 22,000, the total population of Bratislava is 430,000 across five administrative districts.

Figure 29: The KOBRA project region within the CENTROPE Euroregion



Source: Haselsberger & Benneworth, 2010 (after TU Wien et al., 2003)

⁸⁵ Essential parts of the arguments in this chapter are drawn from the article: Haselsberger, B. & Benneworth, P. (2010) Cross-border Communities or Cross-border Proximity? Perspectives from the Austrian-Slovakian Border Region. In Adams, N. et al. (Eds.) *Territorial Development, Cohesion and Spatial Planning. Building on EU Enlargement*. London: Routledge, pp.471–516. The involvement of Paul Benneworth in the development of these ideas is strongly appreciated and acknowledged.

The Austrian-Slovakian border area has been shifting throughout history both in terms of its location as well as its function and meaning. Austria and Slovakia⁸⁶ were united from 1526 within the Habsburg-Monarchy (1526-1804), within the Austrian Empire (1804-1867) as well as within in the Austria-Hungarian Empire, which lasted until the end of the First World War. The Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye (1919) together with the Treaty of Trianon (1920) ended up the shared history of Austria and Slovakia, creating the newly independent nation-states of Austria and Czechoslovakia. After the Second World War the 'Iron Curtain' structurally separated these two, formerly very closely related, regions with the effect that no interaction could take place until 1989. From an Austrian perspective, the enclosure of its eastern border by the 'Iron Curtain' led this area to be regarded as the 'dead end of the east', mirrored in the Czechoslovakian point of view of this border as the 'dead end of the west'. Subsequently, the end of the Soviet Bloc and the removal of the 'Iron Curtain' (1989) allowed new developments to spring up in this region, further facilitated by Austria's (1995) and Slovakia's (2004) accession to the EU, and their respective accessions to Schengen (1998 and 2007 respectively). However, the shared history of Austria and Slovakia is currently largely academic rather than an active cultural variable. Their completely separate development for around 70 years created many barriers – not only physically but also mentally and emotionally. In fact, it could be argued that these barriers, evident in terms of mutual antipathy and distrust, hinder promising forms of contemporary cooperation. Interesting here is that although the Austrian-Slovakian border area builds on a very long common history and collective memory, the separation of this area by the 'Iron Curtain' promoted an inside/outside dichotomy to such an extent that even today in a 'united European Union', some people on the ground would like to have their strongly guarded national border back. The lesson to be learned from this case study is that whilst it is quite easy to destroy mutual trust by establishing from the top-down an insurmountable border between 'us' and 'them', it remains a very difficult and sensitive process to later remove the accumulated barrier effects.

This chapter firstly provides an overall insight in terms of a simple overview of the KOBRA projects carried out between 2003 and 2006 (chapter 4.2.1). After this introduction, scientific analysis of the direct and indirect impacts/effects of the KOBRA projects, with respect to the emergence of trans-border network structures are examined. This chapter particularly seeks to explore the extent to which the interactions involved in the frame of the KOBRA projects were able to build the various dimensions of 'proximity' (chapter 4.2.2). Finally some key-points emerging from the more complex and embedded nature of learning processes across borders are getting discussed under the light of the future of the 'European Union project' (chapter 4.2.3).

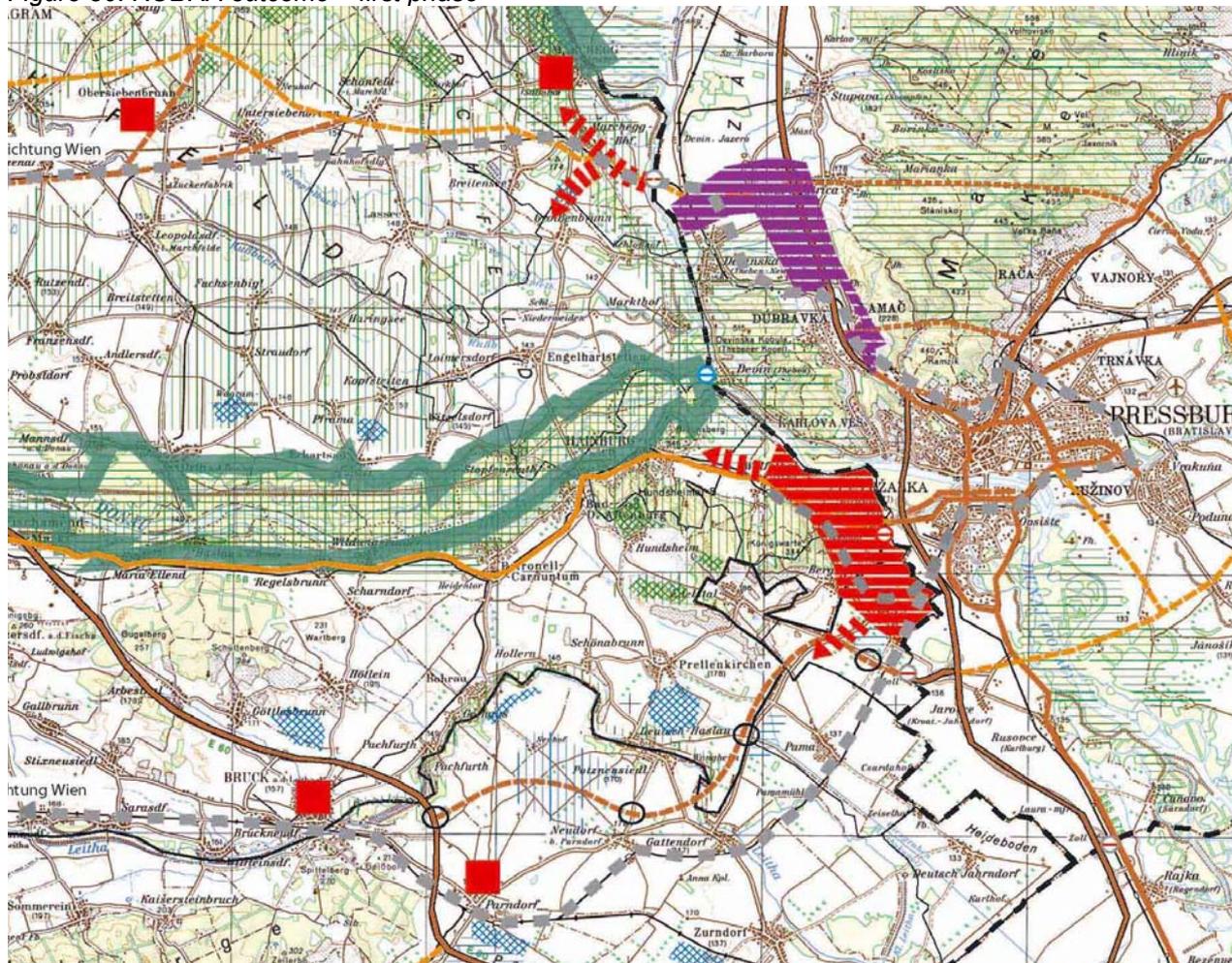
4.2.1 Overview

The KOBRA projects were initiated in 2003 (before Slovakia entered the EU) and were handled in three separate phases (referred to as the first – second – third phase, according to their chronological sequence in this chapter). The first phase (2003-2004) was undertaken within the INTERREG project JORDES+ (Joint regional development strategy for the Vienna-Bratislava-Győr Region), focusing on the establishment of trans-border cooperation between the Austrian municipalities near to Bratislava, and the capital of Slovakia (Bratislava). This phase of the project sought to create a shared (trans-border)

⁸⁶ Starting from the 11th century the 'territory of Slovakia' (as it is known today) was part of the Kingdom of Hungary.

knowledge base by updating existing and collecting new nation-state specific data as the basis for the elaboration of a shared vision (focusing on a shared development perspective) for this trans-border area.

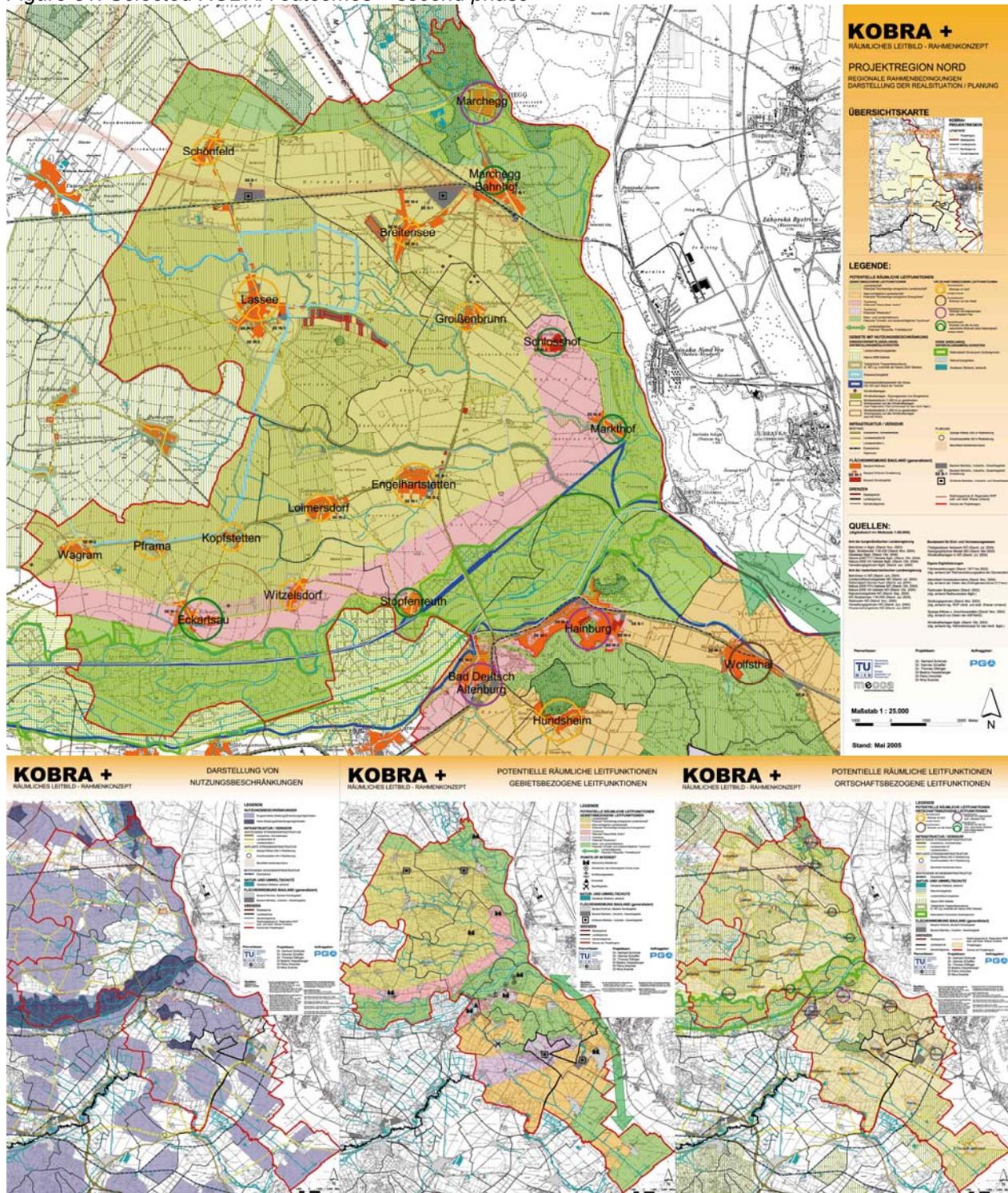
Figure 30: KOBRA outcome – first phase



Source: TU Wien et al., 2003

The second phase (2004-2005) focused upon two interrelated objectives for the Austrian border zone: firstly the identification of a strategic development concept to coordinate different land use demands, and secondly the formation of a shared identity within the KOBRA region. This phase assisted the 14 KOBRA municipalities to build up their own specific identity within the overall KOBRA identity. In the course of this phase, the strategic development concept of the KOBRA region emerged as one of the most important decision-making guidelines for planning processes and activities in this area. KOBRA's innovative planning approach, drawing on the first phase's development of a shared knowledge base, enabled the Austrian border zone to develop a common set of strategic development criteria and understandings across its 14 municipalities – among which was a more active cooperation with Bratislava.

Figure 31: Selected KOBRA outcomes – second phase

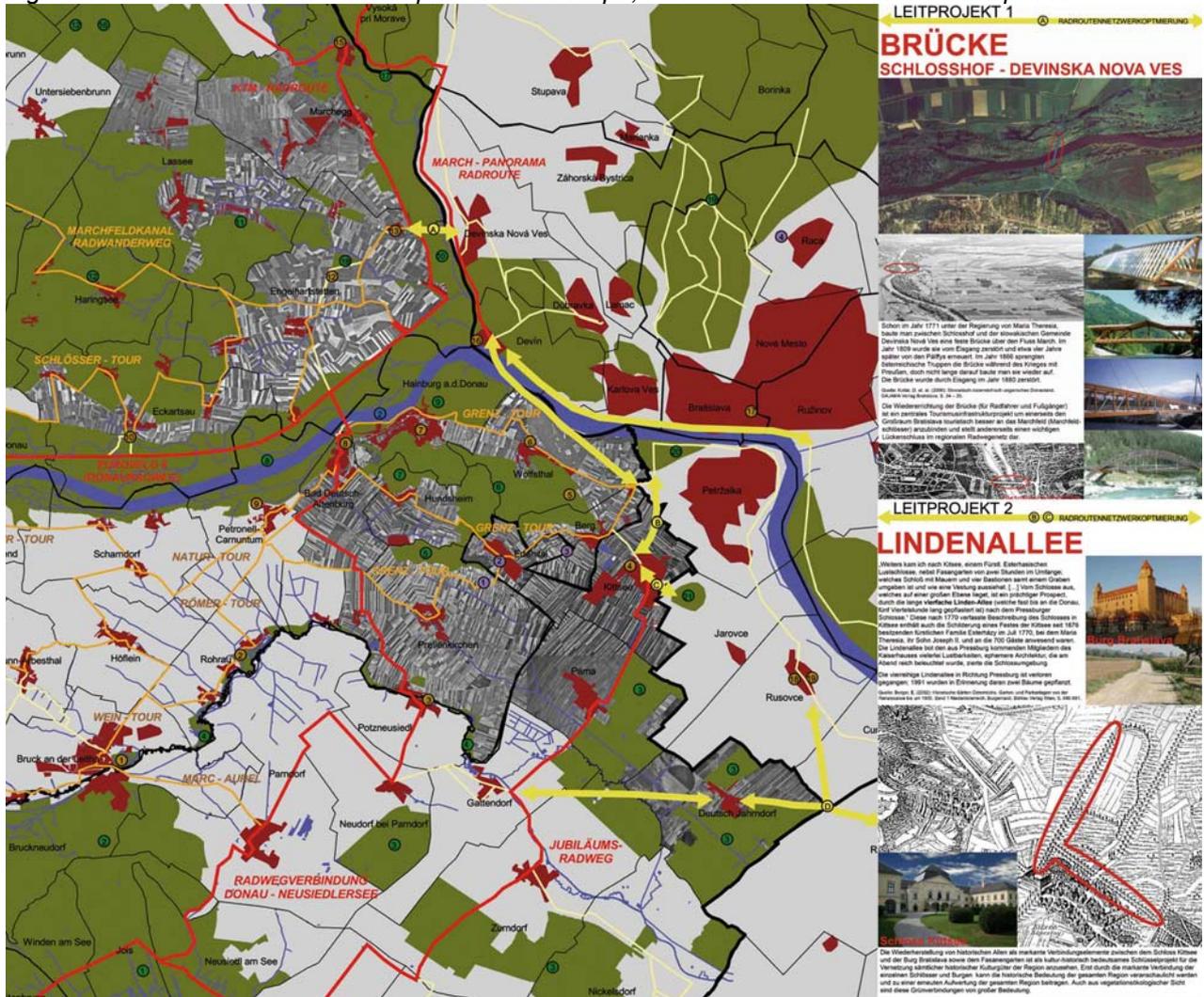


Source: Authors' own design (after TU Wien et al., 2005)

The third phase (2005-2006) was handled as an INTERREG IIIA (Austrian-Slovakia) initiative, which resulted in the drafting of a trans-border master-plan for the Austrian-Slovakian border area. This third phase was animated by local agents, who recognised trans-border cooperation in this area as an effort to overcome the existing boundaries. The main focus of this project phase was dedicated to landscape, recreation and tourism as well as on the elaboration of trans-border key-project proposals, building on the broad knowledge base of the prior KOBRA projects and on consultations with local key players. The involved actors immediately found it easy to agree on what should happen 'over the border' for their own

benefit, with Slovakian actors keen to benefit from the recreation and landscape potential of the Austrian territory and Austrian actors with many ideas for the unspoilt territories of the former 'Eastern Bloc lands' on both sides of the national border. However, in the context of different planning traditions and cultures, only a few of these trans-border ideas could be reconciled due to each nation-state's fear of losing control over the development in their respective territory when allowing trans-border activities. Therefore, three 'small' (and *nota bene* politically palatable) project proposals were elaborated which could be undertaken without affecting either nation-state's territorial sovereignty, a pedestrian and cyclist bridge, the (re)establishment of a historical route and a sculpture garden. In effect, both sides agreed to take a small step forward rather than doing nothing, leaving the more pressing and politically sensitive planning concerns for subsequent project discussions.

Figure 32: KOBRA outcome 'Master-plan for Landscape, Recreation and Tourism' – third phase



Source: Authors' own design (after TU Wien et al., 2006)

4.2.2 Classifying experiential learning in the KOBRA projects

KOBRA provided a basis for the consolidation of trans-border interaction and the development of a 'smart network'. However, the previous overall outline of the KOBRA project-phases hides much of the detail necessary to fully appreciate the progress as well as the limits of this consolidation. A close reading of the summary above highlights the immediate tension in the Austrian-Slovakian case-study between 'big'

aspirations for trans-border cooperation and visioning, and the 'small' project implementation (the elaboration of key project proposals, which are not yet (in 2010) realised). Nevertheless, these projects emerged out of a set of discussions that were undertaken amongst sub-national and local partners worried about the impacts of the untrammelled growth of Bratislava on the quality of living and housing, and on the environment and culture of the Austrian city-hinterland of Bratislava. This dialogue evolved and produced a set of technologies, maps, forums and project proposals – 'codified' knowledge about trans-border planning. But it could be argued that the more interesting story emerges in the 'tacit' knowledge between the partners involved in articulating solutions to their concerns (cf. TU Wien et al., 2003; 2005; 2006). Therefore this section examines how the particular dimensions of trans-border 'proximity' (following Boschma, 2005) are manifested in the course of the KOBRA's project phases.

4.2.2.1 Legal framework – 'juridical proximity'

The legal framework for KOBRA stipulated that project development activity could begin as a relatively minor task within the INTERREG JORDES+ project (first phase) and later evolved into a further INTERREG project (third phase) in its own right. The first phase was a technical data gathering 'exercise' to create the preconditions for shared visioning. Legally speaking, this first phase was carried out under the auspices of the parent project (JORDES+), and drew on legal agreements made in order to access the rather substantial sums made available for building up a trans-border cooperation structure.

The second phase of the project was a purely Austrian affair. This phase was primarily financed by the two Austrian *Länder*, viz. Lower Austria and *Burgenland*, out of a concern within the Planning Community East⁸⁷. The Planning Community East felt that the rather small KOBRA municipalities lacked substantive (planning) capacity, rooted in the fact that some of the municipalities believed themselves to be equal cooperation partners for the city of Bratislava (an Austrian municipality with some 1,000 inhabitants and the city of Bratislava with some 430,000 inhabitants!). This second phase was therefore intended to create a shared inter-municipal KOBRA identity and vision (within 14 Austrian municipalities) to which these municipalities committed to be bound (cf. TU Wien et al., 2005).

'The Planning Community East together with the State Governments of Burgenland and Lower Austria as well as partners in Vienna and Bratislava prepared the ground for an expert discussion of existing local and regional [sub-national] plans to define and map functional zones and regional [sub-national] focus measures. Especially the mission statement on the 'Biosphere region and green centre' was considered and advanced, by assessing areas and sites for their special relevance – with regards to ecology, settlement development, raw material extraction, agriculture, industry - from a national, regional and community perspective.' (Wollansky, 2008, p.4 after TU Wien et al., 2005)

These first two phases created a situation where there was a functioning inter-municipal organisation on the Austrian side, at a time when Bratislava was only interested in collaborating with Austrian authorities to address its urban sprawl, congestion and flood-plain management. Nevertheless, this small, rural inter-municipal organisation was able to coordinate administratively with partners in the Slovakian capital city

⁸⁷ The Planning Community East is the sub-national planning committee for the east of Austria, comprising the Austrian *Länder* Lower Austria, Burgenland and Vienna.

and city-region. The progress of this institutional arrangement between the (sub)national partners consequently led to the third phase of KOBRA – an INTERREG project with the involvement of Austria's newly formed inter-municipal organisation.

Interesting here is the fact that although the key institutionalisation process of the whole KOBRA project series was a trans-border one, the most important progress was made in the second phase, when the operational sphere of the project was a purely Austrian affair. One interpretation is that the Planning Community East felt that the 14 local authorities involved in JORDES+ were not up to the task of cooperating across borders, and that effective planning in the East of Austria was undermined by this missing capacity. In other words, the creation of the new inter-municipal organisation sought to overcome the degree of governance dysfunction. Considering this concern in terms of creating the necessary juridical 'proximity' between (sub)national partners – creating two (more-or-less) equal bodies that could work together across the national border to articulate a collective position.

4.2.2.2 Shared problems, political commitment and leadership – 'social proximity'

The most comprehensive contribution by KOBRA was to effectively articulate the challenges facing the Austrian KOBRA municipalities trapped between two capital cities – adjacent to one (Bratislava) and beyond the attention of the other (Vienna). The KOBRA municipalities belong to the sub-nation-states of Lower Austria and Burgenland. Vienna was not involved into the development process of this rural border area, as the limit of Vienna's eastwards spatial interest was marked by the airport in *Schwechat* (which is located in Lower Austria around 20km east from the city-centre of Vienna).

The main issue for the KOBRA municipalities was the risk that Bratislava's urban sprawl would spread over into the rural Austrian border villages, leading to suburbanisation, the rise of commuter settlements as well as second-house occupation by residents of Bratislava. In turn, this urban sprawl would have implied the loss of rural land, countryside landscapes and the distinctive appearance and identity of each single municipality as well as of the KOBRA region as a whole (TU Wien et al., 2003). The KOBRA process assisted the Austrian municipalities to deal with the perceived threat of urban sprawl and its implications in two principal ways. Firstly, as a group of 14 small municipalities, they identified many of the same problems and challenges that they shared, and recognised that cooperation rather than competition made the most sense. Secondly, the group realised a need to engage with Bratislava to resolve their concerns because the potential drivers of urban sprawl lay over the border.

A further dimension came about with the realisation that ideal solutions were driven partly by the negative perceptions of their partners. Bratislava merely regarded the Austria municipalities as a welcome opportunity to release some of the pressures of congestion and development undermining its competitiveness and attractiveness. The Austrian municipalities regarded Bratislava as a source of negative overflows, of new residents and tourists potentially destroying the environmental quality of the area without due compensation. This situation highlights another important element of collective learning – beginning with, but by no means completed within KOBRA – that is, the recognition that perceptions, which fuelled (sub)national partners' concerns, vary substantially across borders. This suggests that there was

effective cognitive 'proximity' built between (sub)national partners, in the sense that they appreciated their mutual restrictions and limitations.

The various phases of KOBRA encouraged the formation of a committed group of local leaders in the Austrian border zone who were keen to take advantage of their new central position in Europe and to position themselves appropriately in the Austrian-Slovakian dialogue. Initially, common leadership for the Austrian side was challenging as the 14 municipalities were more accustomed to competing with one another. Therefore the two *Länder* Lower Austria and Burgenland joined forces within the Planning Committee East to initiate a process toward cooperation with Bratislava. Although the main focus of the first two phases of KOBRA was directed at stimulating interest in mutual cooperation among the 14 Austrian municipalities, it also involved sensitising partners to the opportunities for collaboration with Slovakia. In fact, some Austrian partners had never been within Bratislava (although some of them lived for many years only 10 minutes distant!). These initial efforts to stimulate and sensitise partners included study tours of current development projects as well as presentations of land-use plans under discussion for Bratislava.

The second phase particularly helped to enthuse and energise the local Austrian leadership to undertake the third phase. In this third phase, there was a much broader and, for the first time, genuine trans-border leadership that enabled the three above mentioned project proposals to emerge. However, it is important to emphasise that even this third phase was also mainly led by the Austrian partners because Bratislava was focused solely on two development interests. Firstly, Bratislava had developed a floodplain management plan in which the Austrian territory provided the floodplain reserve land. Secondly, the city partners intended to profit financially by allowing high-value exclusive housing to be developed in the remaining green areas along the Austrian-Slovakian border. These projects had a profound impact on the Austrian municipalities, and yet Bratislava was unwilling to discuss them with its trans-border partners – a situation that created a sense of antipathy among the Austrian partners with their counterparts in Bratislava.

This situation had immediate consequences for the degree of local and supra-local autonomy that Austrian partners were willing to cede to Slovakian planners in a joint planning structure for the trans-border zone. In a sense, the national-level aspirations through which Bratislava expressed its development interests resulted in a boundary to further collaboration. This stresses the point that partners in trans-border partnerships are not working along an ideal set of relationships as the complex links between 'proximity' and community formation suggest – inevitably there will be tensions in cooperation, which may stem from external pressures such as national and European-level decisions.

4.2.2.3 Planning outcomes, availability of funding – 'institutional proximity'

The development of a shared vision for spatial development between (sub)national partners was the most significant trans-border planning outcome of KOBRA in the frame of the third phase. However, as the development of this framework was built on the knowledge gathered at different project phases, its effectiveness is directly related to the activities undertaken within KOBRA as a whole. As Wollansky (2008) notes, there was a fundamental split in interests between the pro-development coalition in Bratislava –

aiming to develop exclusive up-market real estate in an area of natural beauty, and the landscape-preservation coalition in Austria – keen on contributing to the ecological network initiative of 'The European Green Belt' that runs from the Barents to the Black Sea (following the path of the former 'Iron Curtain'). In the end, the pro-development coalition had to abandon its plans for exclusive housing developments as some parts of the KOBRA region already were protected by European Union Directives, namely for the *conservation of wild birds* (79/409/EEC), and for the *conservation of natural habitats and wild fauna and flora* (92/43/EEC).

The shared vision demonstrated the need to reconcile the interests in concentrated urban growth and targeted development within city-hinterland areas in order to prevent the loss of character/identity associated with urban sprawl. The master-plan developed for landscape, recreation and tourism (outcome of third phase, *cf.* Figure 32) is a reflection of work undertaken to balance these competing interests. Together this strategic plan and the institutional arrangement between national and sub-national partners encouraged investment in these activities through a win-win scenario, by introducing different key-project proposals (*cf.* TU Wien et al., 2006).

But it is important to not exaggerate claims for a shared vision, particularly given the extremely modest outcomes of KOBRA that were jointly proposed. Returning to the distinction made between 'tacit' and 'codified' knowledge, the 'codified' shared understanding (i.e. the master-plan) has relatively limited value and demonstrates relatively little in terms of an accrual of 'proximity' toward trans-border community formation. However, this 'codified' understanding would suggest more strongly that 'proximity' had accrued were there to be strong evidence that this shared vision between (sub)national partners will successfully shape future funding streams. This reinforces the point that success is critical to the development of 'proximity' – but that what can be achieved successfully depends on what has hitherto been delivered.

In the context of funding it must be highlighted that the whole KOBRA experience was driven by the availability of funding (INTERREG and Austrian sub-nation-state funding) and the continuation of activities was entirely dependent on winning further funding (e.g. third phase, which was an INTERREG project in its own right). Yet, the presence of this funding was not as entirely negative, as discussed in chapter 3.2.1.2, allowing a group of actors to undertake a series of activities that changed their perceptions of the world, their internal relationships and their relationships with external partners in seeking to solve their local problems. Indeed, the lure of funding was very useful to compel the authorities to take the activities seriously, because the funding was only released in return for a binding commitment to implement locally the external vision offered in the emerging strategy (second phase). What appears significant here is that the resources led to a change in the way that things were done, and that they were not swallowed up on a pre-existing set of 'pet projects'.

4.2.2.4 Shared languages, planning cultures, communities formation – 'cognitive proximity'

The Austrian-Slovakian case-study highlights how different boundaries can be nested within trans-border planning activities. The Austrian mayors - highly enthusiastic and motivated after the completion of the second phase - were then keen to start trans-border cooperation with Bratislava. However, there was significant political reservation in Bratislava with respect to this approach. This resistance made it

extremely difficult for the Austrian partners to initiate a genuine trans-border community. In fact, and it was only when Bratislava could not get its desired solutions to its physical planning problems (flooding and housing) that additional organisational platforms were developed to help break the antipathy between the two partner groups. This illustrates the potential for the emergence of latent barriers that can challenge the sustained success of trans-border networking and trans-border community formation.

KOBRA (which started in 2003) represents a notable attempt to exploit new trans-border opportunities particularly in light of the fact that Slovakia did not join the EU until 2004. And it clearly demonstrates the indispensable need for a shared knowledge base as a precondition for trans-border cooperation activities and organisational proximity. As noted earlier, the lack of experience and competence in trans-border collaboration demanded the creation of an inter-municipal organisation for the development of a shared knowledge base. This emphasises the fact that it was not solely the Austrian-Slovakian border (edge-line) which complicated the cooperation between (sub)national partners, but also the fact that the Austrian KOBRA region itself was characterised by natural dividers (like the Danube) on the one hand and administrative planning barriers (two different applicable Planning Laws) between the two Austrian *Länder* on the other.

For example, a considerable effort by actors, not themselves the municipalities, was invested in the creation of a knowledge base for the Austrian KOBRA region. This 'codified' knowledge then had to be absorbed and owned by the KOBRA municipalities in order to integrate them effectively within an inter-municipal organisation, which could articulate a shared institutional vision into which other sub-national and national planning actors could be enrolled. This learning process not only involved the simple transmission of 'codified' knowledge, but it also required a learning process that could encourage the social 'proximity' between municipalities.

It is worth reiterating the point that both groups of partners regarded each other as the cause of their problems, which may partly explain the antipathy at the outset. It is important neither to underestimate the practical consequences of that antipathy, which greatly hindered the exchange of information across the border, nor to neglect the fact that resistance also arose because there were nation-state pressures from within their own (sub)national planning systems. It is currently too early to assess whether the institutionalisation of the newly created organisational structure will be able to address the deep-seated tensions between both groups of (sub)national partners. But this stresses the point that the deep-rooted cultural dimension of borders is neither flexible nor easily manipulable. In other words, there can be multiple overlapping boundaries across various dimensions of 'proximity', which can present significant problems in developing effective collaboration despite the economic rationale and organisational pressure for cooperation.

4.2.3 Discussion

This chapter on trans-border community formation has questioned why bottom-up driven 'power networks' have failed to emerge in the Austrian-Slovakian border area, despite the apparent softening of European Union borders in the wake of the 'European Union project'. By closely examining the KOBRA project, it becomes immediately clear that the formation of trans-border relationships is an extremely difficult and

complex process. Despite geographic 'proximity', there were several barriers and organisational asymmetries that prevented partners from easily working together. Arguably, the least of these barriers were the differences in the formal planning systems, as they were well known from the outset. The most significant barrier was national and sub-national planning authorities' persistent fear of losing control over 'their' territories under a trans-border institutional arrangement.

It was into this context of complex overlaying boundaries and organisational asymmetries that a series of KOBRA phases were introduced. KOBRA departed from the assumption that if the right information could be assembled in front of the right partners, then the right priorities and decisions for trans-border planning could be determined. There is also an implicit dimension to this assumption that expects an institutionalisation of 'power networks' in return. It could be argued that the failure of these trans-border communities to immediately emerge is a result of the opaque and complex nature of different (partly overlapping) barriers which worked against the implementation of effective trans-border planning.

There are three key points that come out of the preceding analysis, which highlight the more complex and embedded nature of trans-border learning processes. Firstly, community formation is an uncertain process with actors requiring reasons, in the sense of common concerns, to work together effectively. Secondly, multi-level governance of spatial planning is an increasingly crowded institutional space, and thus the weaknesses in developing strong trans-border relationships may reflect the fact that there are already promising 'epistemic communities' at a range of different 'territorial governance' levels (in particular at the national scale). Finally, 'proximity' is not a simple variable in a trans-border situation. In other words, whilst some kinds of 'proximity' may increase (such as the permeability of internal European Union borders), this may in turn highlight weaknesses caused by the absence of other elements of 'proximity'.

Whilst it would be true to say that having good reasons to work together is a pre-requisite for the emergence of effective trans-border communities, this is a significant simplification of a more complex reality. In the Austrian-Slovakian case, the presence of funding was clearly a motivation for both nation-states involved to carry out the KOBRA project. In other words, trans-border cooperation between KOBRA partners was a by-product of a desire or need to access INTERREG funding (first and third phase). However, the trans-border partnership was not initiated from/within the Austrian KOBRA region. Rather it emerged from pressures placed by Austrian planning authorities on local municipalities (second phase), which provoked the emergence of the inter-communal KOBRA region, capable of demanding participation by authorities in Bratislava. It also reflected what these authorities felt was desirable and legitimate – the Austrian authorities expecting rural municipalities to behave less parochially, and Slovakian authorities strategically pursuing their interests in up-market real estate developments. Support from these (sub)national-scale organisations provided KOBRA partners with the necessary technological knowledge and political support. This agent interactivity represented a new scale of planning. But more importantly it illustrates how existing actors at multiple scales helped to realise this new scale of planning; in other words, it was not the trans-border interactions that were the most powerful in determining these relationships.

This raises the second point, which suggests that there could be a functional limit to the multiple scales of 'territorial governance' in a (trans-border) planning process. Multi-level governance of spatial planning is becoming a heavily crowded institutional space, shaped and organised very often merely according to top-down demands and doing so hindering adequate trans-border network structures to emerge. The reliance on well-known actors (from the 'own' nation-state) appears to reduce 'proximity' between trans-border agents and more importantly towards unknown actors (from the 'others' nation-state) by flattening out the importance of trans-border relationships. This raises the question whether new trans-border planning spaces have failed to emerge as a consequence of a lack of demand for them and/or the limited capacity that they might bring to trans-border planning. In fact, there is a tendency within feature-driven planning (e.g. planning for river systems) where nation-state systems remain important (Janssen, 2009), raising the question about whether the future for trans-border regions remains contingent on the necessity of trans-border planning.

Lastly, the KOBRA case-study highlights the multiple and parallel dimensions of 'proximity' enabling and constraining trans-border community formation. Earlier in this research it was demonstrated that the softening of borders does not necessarily imply that different actors are brought together more closely across those borders. Clearly, better trans-border working is at the heart of efforts to drive European competitiveness and solidarity as well as to ensure that all 'European regions' benefit from the European Union's economic success. But this raises the question of whether a new European approach/perspective is necessary to ensure that it is not just (national) borders that are dealt with, but that Europe does deliver an ever closer Union between the people of Europe in the sense of 'a unity of diversity'. A shift from the thinking about abolishing national borders to softening national borders and consequently the establishment of dynamic trans-border spaces of interaction and communication, building up 'proximity' at its various dimensions, could help to reignite the popular role of the 'European Union project'.

5 TOWARDS 'A UNITY OF DIVERSITY'

'We are not forming coalitions of nation-states, we are uniting people.' These historical words of Jean Monnet, one of the founding fathers of the European Union, highlight the substantial ambitions that lay at the heart of the emergence of the European Community. Nowadays, five decades later, it appears that this comprehensive social objective has been marginalised in favour of economic goals. But as Marks (1999) notes, the roots of the European Community/Union should not be forgotten, conceived '*as a response to the horrors of war in Europe, as a means to tame or at least moderate destructive nationalism*' (p.69). Consequently, the European Union was never intended to build up homogenisation (in the nationalist sense of the early twenties century) but to establish 'a unity of diversity' through (economic, social and territorial) cohesion⁸⁸.

In physics, cohesion is a specific force between at least two adjacent units of a substance, particularly of a solid or liquid, which bonds a piece of matter together (*cf. inter alia* Online Encyclopaedia Britannica). Applying the general idea of this physical phenomenon – the holding together of a substance – to the European Union context appears to be appropriate. However, as cohesion at the atomic scale is a physical property, the emerging question is of how can cohesion be built up in the European Union? This research has already revealed that national borders cover an enormous potential for becoming 'cohesive' elements. In this regard, the fundamental role of territorial cooperation in the sense of facilitating the overcoming of the dividing function of national borders and consequently the building up of soft dynamic spaces of interaction has been examined. But on the other hand, it has also been deduced that effective forms of territorial cooperation in practice require case-specific considerations producing case-specific solutions. Hence, the unanswered question remains of how cohesion can be build up in the European Union. As this is indeed a very fundamental question, it is unsurprising that a lot of research has already been carried out into this issue, with the 2008 Green Paper on Territorial Cohesion⁸⁹ launched by the European Commission as the most peak to this so far. Nevertheless it must be acknowledged that although there are many advanced ideas concerning how to build up territorial cohesion in Europe, there is still little consensus about how to put these ideas into practice and to realise the concept as a whole. This is illustrated by the fact that for the 2008 Green Paper consultation, the European Commission received some 400 responses (EC, 2009). Moreover there is not even a generally valid definition of territorial cohesion existing throughout the European Union (Faludi, 2009).

It is not the aim of this research to enter the current debates about territorial cohesion or to provide a generally valid definition for it. On the contrary, attention is drawn to a possible root-cause of why the idea of (territorial) cohesion – in the sense of holding together the Member States of the European Union by uniting its people – is so difficult to implement in the territory. According to Eder (2005) '*[t]he main proposition is the more complex societies are – and the society emerging within the EU is certainly much more complex than the national societies it is composed of – the more a collective identity that*

⁸⁸ The Treaty of Lisbon amending the Treaty of the European Union and the Treaty establishing the European Community, signed at Lisbon, 13 December 2007 states that the EU *shall promote economic, social and territorial cohesion, and solidarity among Member States*.

⁸⁹ Green Paper on Territorial Cohesion. Turning territorial diversity into strength. COM(2008) 616, October 2008.

compensates for the lack of direct relationships among people is needed' (p.197). Hence it appears that what the European Union needs is a collective European Identity.

This however brings us back to a point made earlier in this research, that Europe and the European Union are not synonyms (*cf.* chapter 2.1.1). It has been explained that Europe is defined by culture, history and geography. It is precisely these characteristics together with collective memory that serve the emergence of identity in general. Hence it appears that what Europe needs is a *European Identity*, encompassing all nation-states of Europe and not only the Member States of the European Union. But it needs to be acknowledged that the European Union plays a significant role in the emergence process of this collective European Identity. The Member States of the EU have joined forces in order to create a unified and integrated space within Europe (which might bring together all citizens and nation-states of Europe at some point). By doing so the European Union has established several institutions at the supra-national level. It is this institutionalised supra-national structure of the European Union which might be in the position to construct but also to promote *the* collective European Identity. Crucial here is that the objective must be the building up of a European Identity for all citizens of Europe, including those living in nation-states, such as Switzerland, Norway or Iceland, which have not joined the EU yet.

*Every person holding the nationality of a Member State shall be a citizen of the Union. Citizenship of the Union shall be additional to and not replace national citizenship.*⁹⁰ From this it could be argued that everybody holding the nationality of a nation-state of Europe is European and all together share a collective identity, the European Identity, additional to and not replacing the national as well as local/regional identities. But as Europe has a fuzzy border in the east, it is impossible here to define who is European and who not. '*Some identify themselves as Europeans but are not considered by Europeans to be Europeans (which happens at times with Turkish people)*'. (Eder, 2005, pp.199–200) This research will not enter this discussion, although it is highly relevant, but will build on theories emerging from social sciences, where the members of a social group are defined as either persons belonging to or persons perceiving attachment to a particular social group, with which they identify themselves (*cf.* Halbwachs, 1985; Assmann, 1999).

Although it is often presumed that *the* European Identity could be only a rather weak identity as compared to the national identities, it appears that the opposite is true (Kohli, 2000; Spohn, 2005, Eder, 2005). According to Smith (1992) collective identities, once established, are pervasive and persistent, even when quite large numbers of individuals no longer feel their influence, as might be experienced with religious and ethnic identities. However as territorial identities (in particular national ones) play a decisive role for every human being (*cf.* chapter 2.2.3) the following questions arise:

What exactly does an overarching European Identity mean for individuals and families? Has the building up of the European Community/Union had an impact on the Europeans' diverse territorial identities? In how far is the ever growing European Union changing and/or shaping the values, heritages and cultures of Europe's many ethnic communities, regions and nation-states? How strong and how widespread is the

⁹⁰ Article 20(1) of the Treaty on the functioning of the European Union (2008) after Article 8 of the Treaty of Maastricht (1992).

attachment of people from different nation-states to Europe? Is it possible to create a European Identity and if so, does this mean that existing territorial identities could be expected to adapt or even to dissolve?

Smith (1992) argues that *'human beings have multiple identities, that they can move between them according to context and situation, and that such identities may be concentric rather than conflictual'* (p.67). Consequently this means that there is no contradiction between progressive forms of identity. In the ancient world it was possible to be Athenian, Ionian and Greek at the same time, in the medieval world, to be Bernese, Swiss and Protestant. Similarly, nowadays one could feel simultaneously Carinthian, Austrian and European or Catalan, Spanish and European. It is even possible that a single person has multiple identities originating in different national identities, as observed in the case of migrants, where it is not inconceivable that someone might simultaneously feel Slovene, Carinthian, Austrian and European. Moreover it should be underlined that identification with and belonging to larger social circles does not imply that smaller circles such as the family or the local, regional and national space are automatically displaced. On the contrary, these circles are more like layers. In terms of constructing a European Identity *'the consequence for the individual is an increase in choice: between his national and cosmopolitan identification he has the additional choice of being European'* (Eder, 2005, p.212).

Taking it as a fact that multiple identities exist, the following question arises in the context of EU cohesion. What does it mean to feel and to be European? *'Is 'Europe' merely the sum total of its various national identities and communities?'* (Smith, 1992, p.68) It is assumed not, but this brings us to the next question of what are exactly those characteristics and qualities that distinguishes Europe from anything or anyone else? Or in other words what is common to all Europeans and what makes them differ from non-Europeans? May this quality or qualities, which are not replicated elsewhere, that shape 'European experiences', as Smith (1992) calls it, and enable collective memory to emerge, be found within the history, culture and/or tradition of this continent? But as diversity has been stated as the hallmark of the European Union (CEC, 1997), and consequently is 'of Europe', the answer to these questions may not easily be found.

According to Eder (2005) a collective Europe can be identified in geographical but also historical terms. He argues that it is required *'to bring the past of different groups together and merge them into a new past, they need to be coordinated in light of a past that transcends the diverging and often conflicting pasts that might have separated the members of the new group so far'* (pp.200–201). This brings us back to the early days of the European Community and more specific to the most important reason why the idea of the European Community emerged. In the early and mid twentieth century Europe was characterised by nationalism ending up in Nazism, racism and anti-Semitism, and the emergence of the 'Iron Curtain' as one of its most extreme physical outcomes. Although it cannot be denied that these events are remembered very differently on the two sides of the 'Iron Curtain', and indeed between nation-states, it is *this* terrible history which Europeans share.

Hence, a shared overcoming of the failures of history by drawing emphasis on the different facets emerging from the different nation-states – in the sense different but equally important – is building up

collective memory⁹¹ which consequently assists in constructing a European Identity. Important here is to be aware that although it is often argued that the burdens of history may lose their weight with the passage of time and generational change, they remain a very sensitive issue throughout Europe as Jedlicki (2005) exemplifies on the Polish-German case. *'I was too optimistic when I wrote that the trauma of Nazi crimes had been overcome and their memory did not burden the Polish relations with Germany any more. [...] Unfortunately, in the recent years there were disturbing signals coming from some segments of the German society that stirred uneasy feelings in Poland. [These signals] arouse fear, distrust, and worst recollections of the wartime massive expulsions of the Polish population from the territories annexed to the Reich [...]. The healed wounds opened again. This is fully understandable, even if sometimes oversensitive response.'* (p.46). The Polish-German example raises two important points. On the one hand the building up of a collective memory is a very sensitive issue, which on the other hand needs to be reconstructed permanently, by retelling the common past. Accordingly also the building up of a collective identity is an ongoing process, within which individuals reshape their own collective memory, in relation to that of other relevant groups permanently.

If this were not problematic enough, there is the deeper question of popular myths and symbols. Building on Nora's (1984) path-breaking compilation of the *lieux de mémoire* (cf. chapter 2.2.1) it is often claimed that Europe is still deficient in establishing *lieux de mémoire* such as monuments, celebrations, myths, heroes, holidays (Kohli, 2000). This means that when it comes to the ritual and ceremony of collective identification, there is no European equivalent of national or religious community existing (so far). Smith (1992) assumes that the dilemma of Europe lies between *'unacceptable historical myths and memories on the one hand, and on the other a patchwork, memoryless scientific 'culture' held together solely by the political will and economic interest that are so often subject to change'* (p.74). But nonetheless some kind of *lieux de mémoire* have been established by the European Union, as for example *'the European [Union] flag which has become a popular symbol of unity permeating many layers of everyday life (including car license plates)'* (Kohli, 2000, p.121) or the Euro, the common currency of the European Union⁹², which through its practical advantages facilitates everyday life in Europe.

But what role does spatial planning play within the process of constructing a collective European Identity and consequently in the building up of territorial and social cohesion in Europe? Is spatial planning (and in particular European spatial planning) 'just' its beneficiary, or does it also play an active role within the whole process? Learning from the case-studies examined within this research and moreover from the fact that mutual antipathy and distrust are impeding the effectiveness of territorial cooperation in practice, it is assumed that both these factors are at play. On the one hand it is the process of building up collective memories (an essential pre-condition for identity), which provides the ground for mutual understanding and reciprocal trust across national borders and hence facilitates working together. On the other hand, only spatial planning at the supra-national scale can establish a knowledge base enabling all European citizens to share the same meanings for the same objects. This knowledge base would not only assist the

⁹¹ While history tries to draw up a neutral, objective and value-free picture of the past, 'collective memory' is a subjective reconstruct (of the past) shared, passed on and constructed by a particular social group or society, through personal (individual) experiences and traditions (Halbwachs, 1985).

⁹² The Euro became reality in 2002. Today it is the official currency in 16 European Member States.

emergence of the European Identity but also the activation of the so-called 'territorial capital' as mentioned in ESPON *et al.* (2006b).

But as Europe is characterised by its diversity it is by no means an easy exercise to create a 'true' shared knowledge base from the 'top-down', mirroring all different facets as experienced at the bottom (within each European nation-state). Some may argue that the solution could be found in the harmonisation and homogenisation of Europe's different planning traditions and cultures from a 'top-down' perspective. However, differences of planning cultures (*cf.* Nadin & Stead, 2008) are so great that there is little chance that such an approach would succeed. On the contrary a better approach may be to partly redefine and to renew the different country-specific planning approaches in order to enable them to deal with the pressing demands of the 21st century, whilst permitting them to retain their roots and origins in terms of planning traditions and planning cultures. A crucial foundation towards an effective future planning approach would imply at least the following two steps:

- a *harmonisation step* in the sense of harmonising the different terminology/languages of planning favouring the process of cultural exchange and semantic integration between the different planning traditions and cultures;
- an *innovative step*, in the sense of an 'official' recognition of the 'Euroregional' planning scale within the heavily crowded intermediate planning arena of Europe, favouring the building up of dynamic soft spaces of interaction in a trans-border context.

Projects carried out at the supra-national planning scale, like 'The Alpine Space'⁹³, 'VASAB'⁹⁴ or 'The European Green Belt'⁹⁵ – to mention just a few – have the potential to create *lieux de mémoire*, symbols allowing citizens throughout Europe to identify themselves with the *new* Europe of the 21st century. The value of these initiatives lies in the fact that a supra-national organisation enables people from different nation-states (even if they do not know each other) to take collective concerns emerging from their common history (the 'Iron Curtain') but also from common natural elements shaping their everyday's life (the Alps, the Baltic Sea) as a starting point for reshaping Europe. Doing so, they assist in building up collective memories and hence overcoming historically-rooted barriers by establishing a set of new identity layers within the overall European Identity.

The ability of spatial planning to activate and harness these potentials, by enabling context-sensitive and innovative approaches to flourish – such as the construction of a collective European Identity – must be strongly appreciated.

⁹³ The Alpine Space Programme brings together all Alpine regions of Europe (from seven different nation-states). In the frame of this supra-national project all Alpine residents were enabled to develop a common future vision (including competitiveness and attractiveness, accessibility and connectivity or environment and risk prevention) for the Alpine area. See also <http://www.alpine-space.eu/>

⁹⁴ In the frame of the VASAB (Visions and Strategies around the Baltic) Project, founded in 1992, eleven nation-states are collaborating on spatial planning and development issues for the Baltic Sea Region. See also <http://www.vasab.org/>

⁹⁵ The European Green Belt is an ecological network, running from the Barents to the Black Sea (following more or less the track of the former 'Iron Curtain'). The project was launched in 2004 and has to be regarded as remarkable pan-European initiative for trans-border cooperation in nature conservation and sustainable development. See also <http://europeangreenbelt.org/>

EPILOGUE 'A NEW PLANNING GENERATION'⁹⁶

Is not it true that planning is fundamentally oriented towards attempting to influence and shape the future by regulating and guiding present activities? Self-evidently, this is the case. Thus, as a consequence the planning discipline might be characterised as innately optimistic and forward-looking. But on the other hand it is also true that present circumstances provoke a need for drawing evidence from history and past experiences. This thesis has therefore built on the lessons learnt from history in order to determine potential future pathways for Europe (by examining the impact of borders on territorial cohesion). Doing so historically rooted planning traditions and cultures as well as collective memories have been revealed, which in turn are responsible for creating the required knowledge base for examining the pressing issues of the 21st century, such as the building up of a European Identity.

Generally speaking it appears that challenges for the future of Europe lie in finding adequate ways for uniting the two elements – past/traditional practices and future/innovative perspectives – by which the planning discipline is characterised. However, it must be acknowledged that this is both a debate about uniting the people representing these two perspectives as well as concerning uniting people from different nation-states with different cultural backgrounds (a point been raised in this research) and people from different generations. This implies in other words that what Europe needs is a new generation of researchers and planners who understand these challenges and can mediate between them. This new planning generation has to involve on the one hand those current planners and researchers with experience of those historical and cultural lessons, as well as on the other hand those who will take the discipline of planning forward into the future. If we conceive of the generational issue as being a border between younger and more established academics, this suggests two pressing needs. First, we need to create activities that allow a shared language to develop so that common questions can be addressed. Second, we also need leaders within both generations to take forward this language building until we are ready to answer these underlying questions. Of course, it is important not to reify the generational gulf as a formal barrier, but to ensure that the academic process allows a more or less continual dialogue between professors and students.

Nonetheless, the question remains of who speaks and who hears. To take the example of an international conference, for example, students and professors may both attend and hear one another's papers. But I am often struck how far professors dominate proceedings, and the extent to which students can be forced to the margins, not just scientifically, but also administratively, forced to stay in cheap hostels remote from the main conference hotel, forming their own defensive fringes while the 'real' scientific business is transacted among expensive gourmet dinners beyond their meagre budgets. From the perspective of building this inter-generational dialogue and reinforcing generational solidarity to the service of our disciplinary coherence, this is clearly a highly undesirable state of affairs. But is science not a conversation which builds knowledge – also inter-generationally?

⁹⁶ Essential parts of the arguments in this chapter are drawn from the article: Haselsberger, B. (2009) Back to the future: a new planning agenda? *Town Planning Review*, 80(6), pp.iii–viii.

Today's young academics need feedback from different experts globally; to exchange their ideas with more established planners in the field coming from different cultural backgrounds, and to learn the norms and rules of the planning discipline. On the other side, senior academics can also profit from this generational exchange in terms of insights into exciting 'fresh' research findings and ideas from new planners on the edge, who in a decade, will be the established names in the field. Mindful of the need for leaders within both communities to be committed to building these dialogues, can student-led conferences help to create spaces where the voice of the young academic can emerge more clearly, and on a parity with those of established academic voices, whilst simultaneously benefiting from the wisdom of experience?

Providing platforms for inter-generational scientific discussions is not always easy. In February 2009 I organised a conference – the Young Academics Meeting – for the Association of European Schools of Planning Young Academics Network. This conference held at the Vienna University of Technology (Austria) provided an example of the possibilities of this kind of activity. By bringing together young planning scholars of 24 nationalities from 29 different universities in 19 different countries globally, we offered a platform for building up peer networks of young planning scholars. However, an invaluable element of the conference was the support from leading lights of European planning, who attended, presented, chaired sessions, reviewed papers and challenged these young scholars. Thus, the planning concepts, theories, tools and techniques for tomorrow's planning were not being debated in a cultural void, but were simultaneously confronted with the challenges of historical context. Participation by these senior planning academics was absolutely vital in achieving the goals of the conference, to provide young planners with the certainty that their ideas would fit into the greater flow of planning ideas, and are a demonstration of the value of building an inter-generational dialogue. However, this conference was only an isolated activity, just 5 professors and 40 students who now have a better sense of mutual understanding and who can discuss productively in the future.

The question then becomes whether it is possible to reconfigure the other key moments of our academic community to be more welcoming to younger academics and valuable to the field as a whole. In 2008, I edited the 'regional-survey' of *Regions Vol.270* (the quarterly magazine of the Regional Studies Association) which presented findings from a previous Young Academics Network conference I co-organised, with the idea of bringing these 'fresh' ideas to a wider audience and getting them better heard within ongoing scientific conversations. Due to the overwhelming success of this issue I was invited to join the editorial team of *Regions* to take the idea further and to produce a special issue of this magazine – the *Regions Student Review* (published in summer 2009) building on the knowledge and material provided by students in the frame of the Association of European Schools of Planning Young Academics Meeting 2009 held in Vienna. Encouraged by the once again amazing success *Paul Benneworth, Paul Braidford, Gert-Jan Hospers* and I convinced the Regional Studies Association to launch a new permanent magazine/journal – *Regional Insights* – dedicated to research findings from early career researchers. The inaugural issue of *Regional Insights* will be published in summer 2010.

Once upon a time somebody told me that being at the top does not mean looking down at the others but using this position strategically to look forward and to support and guide the next generation. Hence I would like to articulate a personal dream of mine towards our 'scientific community'. If all of you enable us

young planning scholars to contribute more actively to the scientific discussion and moreover to help that the various activities and organs of big planning associations to become more appealing for these group of people the inter-generational scientific dialogue will become reality amongst the ever-growing family of planning scholars, policy-makers and practitioners. Now is the time for leaders from the established generation to come forward and value our contribution. It is our generation of researchers that knows the true secrets of the planning future. We eagerly await our invitations to come and tell you all about them!

APPENDIX

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Curriculum Vitae

Personal information

First name / Surname

Beatrix HASELSBERGER

Address

Warmbaderstraße 72, 9500 Villach, Austria
Spittelauer Lände 9/23b, 1090 Vienna, Austria

Telephone(s)

+43(0)4242-31522 Mobile: +43(0)660-7342000
+43(0)1-3100624

E-mail

Beatrix.Haselsberger@tuwien.ac.at; Beatrix.Haselsberger@boku.ac.at

Nationality

Austrian

Date of birth

12.02.1979

Gender

Female

Selected publications

Haselsberger, B.; Benneworth, P. (2010) Cross-border Communities or Cross-border Proximity? Perspectives from the Austrian-Slovakian Border Region. In: Adams, N; et al. (Eds.) Territorial Development, Cohesion and Spatial Planning. Building on EU Enlargement. London: Routledge, pp.471–516.

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Academic accomplishments

- Editor of the Journal 'Regional Insights' (Regional Studies Association) – 2009–to date
- Editor of the Regions Student Review 'Inter-generational Scientific Dialogue: Dream or Reality?' Special Issue 2009 (Regional Studies Association)
- Guest-Editor of the Regional Survey 'New Thinking about Regional Planning in Regions Vol. 270, 2008 (Regional Studies Association)
- Reviewer of an international planning journal – 2009–to date
- Reviewer of an international planning publisher – 2009–to date
- Executive Committee Member of AESOP (Association of European Schools of Planning) – 2009
- Chair of the international AESOP Young Academics Network – 2008–2009
- Guest Lecturer at the Università della Valle d'Aosta (Italy) – March, 2009
- Guest Lecturer at the London South Bank University (UK) – October, 2008
- Prize Winner of the Austrian Research Award 'Theodor Körner Preis' 2007

Work experience	
Dates	2009–to date
Occupation or position held	Research Assistant
Main activities and responsibilities	Providing of a comprehensive regional profile for the Bezirk Freistadt in Upper Austria. Developing of scenarios for a sustainable regional energy system, based on renewable energy according to the regional resources available, by taking account on the demand of the industrial parks within the district. Identifying potential trans-national cooperation activities with the neighbouring nation-state (Czech Republic).
Name and address of employer	University of Natural Resources and Applied Life Sciences, Vienna (Austria) Department of Spatial-, Landscape- and Infrastructure Sciences Institute of Spatial Planning and Rural Development 1190 Vienna, Peter-Jordan-Straße 82
Dates	2009–2010
Occupation or position held	Lecturer
Main activities and responsibilities	Teaching Masters' course (city and regional planning). Topic: The impact of the crisis on spatial planning. Outcome: Scientific articles published in journal.
Name and address of employer	Vienna University of Technology (Austria) Department of Spatial Development, Infrastructure and Environmental Planning Centre of Regional Planning and Regional Development 1040 Vienna, Operngasse 11
Dates	2007–2009
Occupation or position held	Guest-Researcher and Guest-Lecturer
Main activities and responsibilities	Examining the planning systems of Austria and Italy (in theory and practise). Comparative analysis of different planning approaches and planning cultures in Italy and Austria. Analysing of the impact of European spatial planning on country-specific planning approaches.
Name and address of employer	Università degli Studi di Udine (Italy) Dipartimento di Ingegneria Civile 33100 Udine, Via delle Scienze 208
Dates	2005–2007
Occupation or position held	Researcher
Main activities and responsibilities	Feasibility-Study of the potential application of the trans-border cooperation instrument 'European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation' on the concrete trans-border Euroregion 'Weinviertel (Austria) – Südmähren (Czech Republic) – Westslowakei (Slovakia)'. Developing academic course on renewable energy in Central and Eastern Europe.
Name and address of employer	Mecca Environmental Consulting (Vienna) 1130 Vienna, Hochwiese 27a

Dates	2003–2007
Occupation or position held	Project Assistant
Main activities and responsibilities	<p>Estimation of interaction potentials and cooperative trends among 14 Austrian border-communities next to the capital of Slovakia (Bratislava) based on multi-level governance working.</p> <p>Successful implementation of a trans-border region – the KOBRA Region.</p> <p>Development of a strategic regional development concept for the KOBRA Region, based on the stabilisation, activation and use of already existing potential.</p> <p>Identification and fostering of 14 local identities within an overall regional identity.</p> <p>Development of a trans-border master plan comprising the KOBRA Region as well as the capital of Slovakia. Proposal of several trans-border key-projects.</p>
Name and address of employer	<p>Vienna University of Technology (Austria)</p> <p>Department of Spatial Development, Infrastructure and Environmental Planning</p> <p>Centre of Regional Planning and Regional Development</p> <p>1040 Vienna, Operngasse 11</p>
Dates	2002–2003
Occupation or position held	Researcher
Main activities and responsibilities	<p>Feasibility-Study 'Integrated sub-national land-use planning in Kärnten' drafting of a comprehensive visualisation of all potential (also conflicting) land uses of the whole territory of Kärnten.</p> <p>Compatibility-Study – Analysis of different street-variants for sustainable, economic, ecological, settlement as well as traffic aspects – for a new major traffic axis in Kärnten.</p> <p>Land Use Planning for several Carinthian municipalities: covering the whole working process from field-research, elaboration of local land-use plans, defending of these plans in the local and sub-national planning administrations.</p>
Name and address of employer	<p>LWK - Lagler, Wurzer, Knappinger Consulting (Austria)</p> <p>9500 Villach, Europastraße 8</p>
Education and training	
Dates	2005
Title of qualification awarded	Master in City and Regional Planning (Dipl.-Ing.)
Principal subjects/occupational skills covered	<p>Thesis Title: <i>Übernahmewürdigkeit von Gemeindestraßen in das Landesstraßennetz am Beispiel Kärnten. In Hinblick auf nachhaltige, räumliche, wirtschaftliche, umweltverträgliche und verkehrliche Aspekte.</i></p> <p>Empirical research on environmental impacts caused by different street-types</p>
Name and type of organisation providing education and training	Vienna University of Technology (Austria)
Dates	2001–to date
Title of qualification awarded	Master Candidate in Romanistic – Italian
Principal subjects/occupational skills covered	<p>Italian Language</p> <p>Italian Linguistics; Italian Literature; Italian Media; Italian Culture and Traditions</p>
Name and type of organisation providing education and training	University of Vienna (Austria)

Personal skills and competences

Mother tongue

German

Other languages

Self-assessment

European level ()*

English

Italian

French

Understanding				Speaking				Writing	
Listening		Reading		Spoken interaction		Spoken production			
C2	Proficient user	C2	Proficient user	C2	Proficient user	C2	Proficient user	C2	Proficient user
B2	Independent user	B1	Independent user	B2	Independent user	B2	Independent user	B2	Independent user
A1	Basic user	A1	Basic user	A1	Basic user	A1	Basic user	A1	Basic user

() Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*

Social skills and competences

- Teamworking
- International networking (within international planning organisations)
- Mediation experience (in particular between young and senior academics)
- Moderator and Discussant in the frame of international planning congresses (2009 AESOP Congress Liverpool, 2008 ACSP / AESOP joint Congress in Chicago, 2007 AESOP Congress in Naples)

Organisational skills and competences

- Member of the Organising Committee of the PhD Workshop – Manchester, July 2009
- Chair of the Organising Committee of the international planning conference '*Planning as Rear View Mirror or Crystal Ball? Diversities of Planning Cultures, Traditions, Identities*' – Vienna, February 2009
- Member of the Organising Committee of the international planning conference '*Looking Beyond One's Nose. Planning, Policies and Institutions for Integration*' – St. Petersburg, February 2008
- Organisation of Roundtables and Social Receptions in the frame of international planning congresses (2009 AESOP Congress Liverpool, 2008 ACSP / AESOP joint Congress in Chicago, 2007 AESOP Congress in Naples)

Other skills and competences

- Diploma and Work Experience in
- Event Management
 - Food & Beverage Management
 - Hotel-Management
 - Travel-Agency

Active member of traditional and cultural local organisations (on a voluntary basis)

Driving licence

Category A, B