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The drafts of the papers of authors collected in this volume were discussed at length in the 'Border Futures – The future viability of cross-border cooperation' Subsection of the Hesse/Rhineland-Palatinate/Saarland Regional Working Group at the ARL (internal quality control). The manuscripts underwent peer review (external quality control), and after the referee's comments were taken into account, they were then submitted to the ARL HQ for further editing and publication. Academic responsibility for the papers rests with the authors.

Karina Pallagst, H. Peter Dörrenbächer, Thomas Weith

THEORIES OF CROSS-BORDER COOPERATION: EXPLANATORY APPROACHES FROM EUROPEAN INTEGRATION, REGIONALISM AND GOVERNANCE

Contents

Abstract

This paper describes an initial theoretical and conceptual approach relating cross-border cooperation to European spatial development and the associated theories, based on approaches from political science. This is discussed as a field of application for European spatial development, which is influenced by a number of factors. Of these, European integration, new regionalism and governance are discussed in detail.

Keywords

1   Introduction

The analysis and assessment of cross-border cooperation can be supported and characterised through the use of various theoretical anchor points. Cross-border cooperation is firstly examined in the context of European spatial development and related theories based on approaches from political science. This offers an initial theoretical and conceptual approach. Such cooperation is subsequently identified as a field of application of European spatial development, which is influenced by a number of factors. Of these, European integration, governance and new regionalism will be discussed in more detail. They are considered to be essential for the discussion of the key theme of 'Border Futures' for three reasons:

1   They address different policy areas related to European spatial development, which have an impact on the situation of border regions.

2   They raise questions about the capacity for action and steering in a regional and multi-level context, as manifested in all relevant fields of cooperation between border regions (mobility and transport, culture and tourism, etc.).

3   They define regions and borders not merely as processes but as social constructs. Particularly for large-scale structural and administrative border constructs, such as the Greater Region which is frequently used as an example in this volume, this phenomenon raises the question of the identity of border regions.

2   Cross-border cooperation as a field of application of European spatial development

When one considers cross-border cooperation in the context of spatial development, the former can be associated with European spatial development, where a comprehensive theoretical discourse has been ongoing since the 1990s. Based on studies by Sykes (2005), cross-border cooperation in spatial development can be defined as a field of application of European spatial development (see Fig. 1), which is characterised by four different lines of discourse: spatial planning *(Raumplanung)* and spatial development, political science, European integration and governance, and new regionalism and spatial steering.
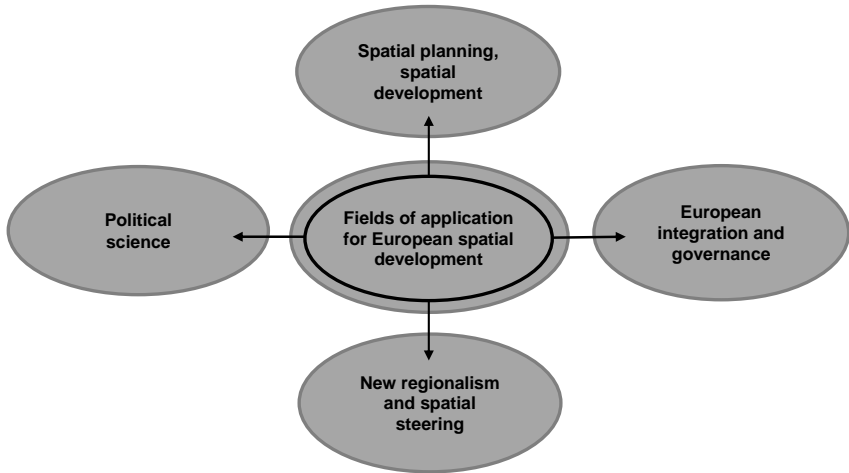
Fig. 1: Conceptualisation of European spatial development / Source: Pallagst, based on Sykes (2005)

3   European integration

For an approach from the perspective of European integration,[1] political science-based theories of international relations are of particular interest.[2] Two theoretical vantage points are particularly significant: the rationalist and constructivist approaches (Pollack 2001; Winn 1998; Jachtenfuchs 2002). At the same time, it must be taken into account that there is no single theory for European correlations; rather, there are a number of competing theories (Jachtenfuchs 2002; Pollack 2005).

The rationalist approach, which was long the dominant model among the theories of international relations, proclaims that integration and cooperation are decisively driven by a cost-benefit analysis (Schimmelfennig/Sedelmayr 2002). This approach is generally based on methodological standards and empirical studies. As far as European integration and cooperation is concerned, rationalist approaches are limited in the sense that nation states are understood as 'unitary actors' (Hix 1998: 328) with a hierarchical system of values.

Constructivist approaches are based on post-modern theoretical notions. As they are almost never based on empirical findings, they are difficult to operationalise. In addition, constructivism is still on a quest to determine how this approach might

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1   According to Zandonella (2005), European integration means 'increasingly closer cooperation between European countries, the development of the Community from the European Coal and Steel Community (1952) all the way to the EU of today and the process of European unification, which is in principle not yet complete. European integration is characterised by a series of enlargements (accession of new member states) and intensifications (intensification of cooperation). It is based on supra-national and intergovernmental cooperation.'

2   This correlation becomes clear when taking the theoretical discourses on integration and EU expansion (see Schimmelfennig/Sedelmayer 2002) and reflections on European spatial development (Faludi 2002; Faludi/Waterhout 2002) into account.

deliver practically relevant results (Jachtenfuchs 2002: 652; Pollack 2005). One useful constructivist notion is, however, that institutions are understood within a broader framework and that an informal range of norms and regulations should be used to supplement the formal (rationalist) sets of rules. In the field of European spatial development, these issues all deal with conceptualisations, which accordingly allow for a stronger interpretable framework and which are not binding.

Although constructivist and rationalist approaches cannot always be clearly distinguished from each other, they both give rise to diverse spheres of influence for cross-border cooperation. EU structural policy, for example, which can be characterised as being rationalist in its approach, has the direct means to influence development in border areas. This occurs through the transfer of subsidies as part of a highly regulated process, which initially requires negotiation processes about legislative powers and regulations. This method is, however, highly incrementalist as it is operationalised through individual projects. Looking at cross-border cooperation, EU funding programmes, such as INTERREG, are a manifestation of rationalist approaches, the interactional spaces of which are at the same time constructed.

In the discussion on European integration in the context of border areas, it should not be overlooked that from an integration-theoretical perspective there are factors that can be viewed as countervailing forces to European integration (Niemann/Bergmann 2013). This is particularly important given the obstacles to cross-border cooperation, which this volume seeks to explore in the context of 'Border Futures'. Niemann and Bergmann (2013) refer in this regard to diverging domestic policy preferences and diversity between EU member states and each nation's understanding of sovereignty. In the context of European spatial development, this is examined in studies by Faludi (2010), who addressed the question of the legislative powers of nation states in regard to spatial planning, i.a. as an obstacle to integrative European spatial development endeavours.

In European spatial development and cross-border cooperation, the policy dimension, i.e. the process component that occurs in certain policy areas, must also be taken into account in each case. This includes also spatially effective or spatially relevant policies. Of significance in this regard is also the question of which legislative powers, objectives and normative regulations should apply. Ultimately, the regional dimension must not be neglected; its significance for border regions will be demonstrated below.

4   New regionalism and cross-border regions

As visualised in Figure 1, new regionalism offers one way of conceptualising European spatial development. What does this mean for cross-border cooperation? The notion of new regionalism has led to cross-border regions in Europe growing in significance in recent times. These regions are inseparably linked to the process of European integration: they are both the result of European institutionalisation and a constitutive element of the European integration process in the sense of territorial Europeanisation (cf. Chilla 2013). The significance of cross-border regions as an integral part of the European integration process is manifested to a not inconsider-

able extent by the fact that the INTERREG Community Initiative is not only the most significant of all EU Community Initiatives, but has even been identified as an independent objective of European regional policy since the seventh EU research framework programme.

As a special type of region, cross-border regions are best analysed by reference to the notion of the 'region' spatial category as developed in New Regional Geography (as part of the border studies developed, for example, by Paasi 2005 and 2011). In this regard, regions create a bridge between the superordinate national and international level, and the subordinate local scale level. They also play a key role in transnationalisation and transregionalisation processes in the tension between globalisation and localisation (e.g. Faist 2000; Bauböck/Faist 2010), which have been accurately and pointedly described by Swyngedouw (2004) as processes of glocalisation (on the charged relationship between space and place, see Tuan 1977).

Regions – and thus also border regions – in the sense of glocalisation processes are therefore not established facts and circumstances but always in a process of becoming. According to Pred (1984; cf. also Gilbert 1988), they are dependent processes that act top-down and bottom-up in the context of social structuration.

Thus regions do not merely have an intermediary/spatial dimension but also a temporal and social connotation (Howitt 1993, 2003; Dörrenbächer 2003, 2009, 2010; cf. Pudup 1988). Regions are not merely the arenas and stages of social structuration – e.g. as part of Europeanisation processes in the case of cross-border regions – but they also find their constitutive bases in everyday regionalisation (Werlen 2007) in the context of social structuration (Giddens 1985, 1988). In so doing, they connect

> the spatial scale levels of 'space' and 'place' (Pred 1984; Tuan 1977),

> the temporal scale levels of 'long duration' (longue durée) (Braudel 1977) and event, or according to Storper (1988) 'big structure' and 'small events', and

> the social levels of 'structure' and 'agency' (Giddens 1985, 1988).
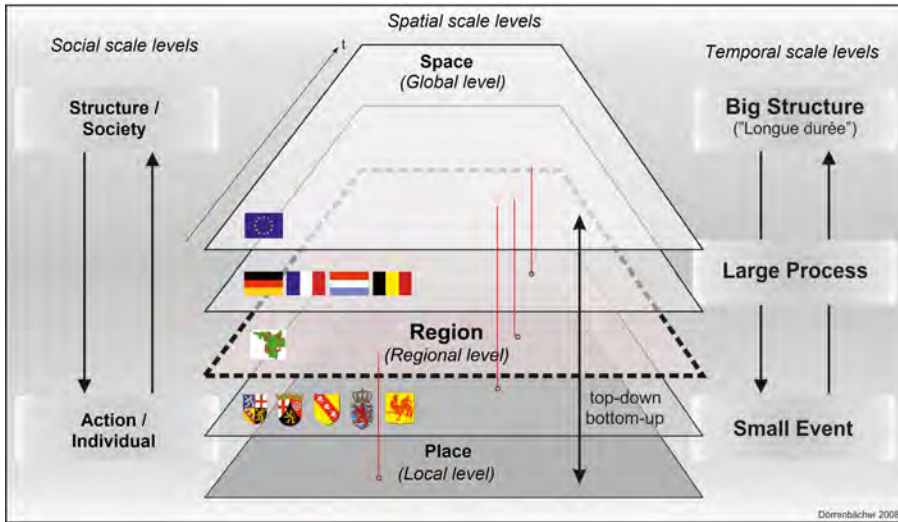
Fig. 2: Spatial, temporal and social scale levels of the institutionalisation of border regions, illustrated by the example of the Greater Region / Source: Dörrenbächer

Moreover, regions are manifestations of spatial institutionalisation processes (Paasi 1986; Dörrenbächer 2003; 2010), which are stabilising and identity-forming, but also incidental, and which are of special significance as part of transformation and Europeanisation processes.

5   Governance

Parallel to the discussion on 'European integration' and 'new regionalism', a debate on governance as a starting point for European and cross-border spatial development has emerged in recent years (see Fig. 1). Here, too, 'governance' is presumed to have a 'space-forming impact' (Kilper 2010b: 16). The complexity of governance results from various constellations of stakeholders, who act in a multi-layered structure, the multi-level system (Benz 2009). Cross-border governance is in this regard a specific form of 'steering', as it serves to supplement the interstate (horizontal) level in addition to the vertical structure (Leibenath/Korcelli-Olejniczak/Knippschild 2008).

In an EU context, governance also has substantial normative significance, as EU regulatory measures and the application of EU policies should show a clear measure of efficiency and quality (Commission of the European Communities 2001).

According to Benz (2001), the term 'governance' was already extensively used in the 1980s by institutional economics and later in comparative social research. The term found its way into political science and practical policymaking by the end of the 1990s at the latest (Benz 2001). It replaced the previously predominantly used term 'control'. While Mayntz (2005) was still concerned with the question of whether it was in fact merely a 'fashionable anglicism' (Mayntz 2005: 11), it has now become associated with a changed perception of steering in both theory and practice.

The use of the term reflects a changed perspective on public actions and, moreover, on the context and nature of consultation processes in democratically legitimised societies. If the (nation) state had been perceived in the past as the (presumptive) key player and the primary actor capable of exercising control, the focus of interest is now on a diverse range of different actors and their interactions. Hence, it amounts to a redefinition of the state function and can at the same time be understood as an institutional response to changing relations (cf. Willke 1983; Rhodes 1997).

In particular in Central Europe and specifically in Germany, a changed perception of the state has emerged over the course of several decades, evolving 'from a police state, via the constitutional and social state, to a modern "steering" state'; this process can be described 'as a path of successive expansion of the competences of the state' (Heidbrink/Hirsch 2007: 12, translation of the original German quote). Heidbrink/Hirsch elaborate that in this changed perception of the state, 'the unilateral responsibility for performance is replaced by a multi-dimensional responsibility to guarantee and regulate, which aims to involve non-public powers in public decision-making processes, regulates the transfer of tasks and costs in social sectors and guarantees the protection of individual fundamental rights and the provision of essential public services' (Heidbrink/Hirsch 2007: 15, translation of the original German quote). The key task of state action in this regard is the 'political advancement and support for collective problem-resolving resources' (Heidbrink/Hirsch 2007: 19, translation of the original German quote) to absorb un-certainties about regulatory structures. Some authors describe this development less positively as the erosion of the nation state for the benefit of neo-liberal glob-alisation (cf. Larner 2011).

The literature now offers a variety of definitions of the term. According to Benz/Lütz/Schmiank et al. (2007: 13, translation of the original German quote), 'governance is the umbrella term for all existing patterns for managing interdependencies between states and between public and social stakeholders, and hierarchy in the sense of government must be understood as one such pattern alongside others.' According to Fürst (2001: 371), it means that 'stakeholders/organisations should be linked to each other and their actions should be coordinated in such a way that shared or even jointly developed objectives can be effectively pursued.' Accordingly, the entire organisational and regulatory system, which coordinates the interactions between state and non-state stakeholders of all kinds, is considered. 'It is ... about how we establish goals, how we define rules for reaching the defined goals, and finally how we control outcomes following from the use of these rules' (Vatn 2010). In so doing, conflicts are to be minimised and shared objectives achieved.

What is therefore essential are (cf. Fürst 2007: 357; Benz/Dose 2010: 25 et seq.):

> existing institutionalised regulatory systems that steer the actions of stakeholders,

> patterns of interaction and coordination as well as modes of collective action,

> practical orientations (action logic of institutions/stakeholders),

> processes that as a rule extend across the boundaries of organisations (with public and non-public stakeholders acting collaboratively),

> orientation toward results (evidence, output).

Since the mid-2000s at the latest, this discussion, which is associated with a stronger theoretical orientation in the spatial sciences, has also been adapted to German spatial planning (cf. e.g. Pütz 2004; Fürst 2007; Kilper 2010a). In this context, the term 'governance' is used time and again by some authors as a normative setting in the sense of the development of effective, democratic structures and processes and the application of multi-stakeholder perspectives. This is in contrast to the concept which describes new dimensions of analysis.

The term 'governance' is now used in multiple ways and in multifaceted contexts. Examples include regional governance, multi-level governance, territorial governance, functional governance, place governance, metropolitan governance, urban governance or neighbourhood governance. Like the term 'cross-border governance', which is described in more detail below, they focus on specific, section-like aspects, yet convey at the same time, as an 'add-on' so to speak, the outlined changed perception of the notion of control or steering and the analytical approach.

In the earlier analyses of cross-border cooperation in the field of spatial planning in the 1970s, there was still a primary focus on the administrative and organisational structures in Europe (Malchus 1975) or on specific subspaces, such as the German-French border area (Kistenmacher/Gust 1983). Only from the 1990s was the spotlight increasingly on specific steering aspects (Blatter 2001). These include constellations of stakeholders, their interests, resources and institutional frameworks and forms of cooperation. Case studies often serve as an investigative approach with a focus on Europe and North America (Blatter 1997, 2001, 2003, 2004; Perkmann 1999, 2003, 2007). At the same time, the term 'cross-border cooperation' has gradually expanded in the international literature since the 1990s through the term 'cross-border governance'. In the German-language discussion, however, the terms *'grenzüberschreitende Zusammenarbeit'* (cross-border collaboration) or *'grenzüberschreitende Kooperation'* (cross-border cooperation) are still in use (cf. e.g. Scherhag 2008).

The change in terminology visible in the international literature explicitly reflects the outlined change in the notion of steering, as also comes into play in the international discourse on spatial research (cf. Healy/Cars/Madanipour et al. 2002; Salet/Thornley/Kreukels 2003; Kramsch/Hooper 2004). This means that new stakeholders emerge and come into view in border areas (e.g. civil society), that the specific problems of multi-level policies are addressed and disparities between functional and territorial activities are illuminated. This is beneficial for the analysis of different spatial constellations, e.g. in the region of Basel and Strasbourg (Reitel 2006), Helsinki and Tallinn (Pikner 2008) or the German-Austrian border area (Deppisch 2007). This stronger regional focus also reflects in particular the greater political significance of regions (cf. Swyngedouw 1997; Gualini 2003, 2006) and thus simultaneously ad-

dresses the regionalisation debate outlined above. In this context, the term 'regional governance' serves to place a greater spotlight on the stakeholders and their spatial interactions at this level (Blatter 2001; Gualini 2003; Fürst 2007).

The specific analytical dimensions that are used in this connection differ from one author to the next. Paasi, for example, differentiated between four stages of cross-border institutionalisation: *territorial shape, conceptual and symbolic shape, development of institutions, and development of a regional unit with its own identity (establishment)* in 1986 and 1991 (Paasi 1986 and 1991; cf. also Fig. 2), with the term stage possibly having a temporal, spatial as well as hierarchical dimension (Dörrenbächer 2003, 2010). Gualini took up the discussion and developed three analytical dimensions: the *'political-economic dimension', 'institutional dimension'* and *'symbolic-cognitive dimension'* (Gualini 2003: 44). The political-economic dimension focuses on developing paradigms for political legitimation and political action as well as on the process of strategically selecting approaches to action to steer the results. The institutional dimension emphasises the significance of organisational structures and supra-organisational institutional settings in their mutual interactions. This also includes the development of the institutional framework. The symbolic-cognitive dimension encompasses the development of territorial identities and the projection of shared development spaces.

Spatial planning and regional development play a particularly decisive role in the institutional dimension (cf. also Gualini 2003). This is also repeatedly emphasised in the institutional analyses of 'cross-border governance' by Blatter (Blatter 2003, 2004). Key influential factors are, accordingly, in particular the stakeholders and their objectives, the levels of interaction, multi-level policies, the practical shaping of policies, the relationship between territorial and functional governance, the strategies and instruments as well as the available resources (cf. Blatter 2003, 2004; see also Gualini 2003).

From the perspective of the spatial sciences, what is just as important are the current issues to be addressed (e.g. demographic change, climate change), the problems that are to be resolved on a sectoral or supra-sectoral level, and whether they are applicable or transferable only to a locally limited extent. Hence, new planning philosophies (post-growth, new prosperity models) as well as changed guiding principles (the perforated city, post-industrial landscape) and superordinate strategies (multifunctionality) or even only individual instruments can thus be specifically examined. Approaches that connect processes of change and innovation, such as the transition management approach, can be of particular interest in this regard (IASS 2011; cf. also Minsch/Feindt/Meister et al. 1998; Schwarz/Birke/Beerheide 2010; Kristof 2010). They can be combined with more recent discussions on forms of governance, such as elements of an 'adaptive governance' (Pisano 2012).

6   Conclusions

From the ideal or typical approaches outlined here, which are, however, in fact frequently interlinked in planning practice, key aspects can be derived for the following discussions of 'Border Futures', which are reflected in the subsequent articles in this volume:

> Border areas have been shown to be embedded in European spatial development, and can thus be viewed as fields of application for European spatial development.

> With reference to European integration theories, it becomes clear that both the opportunities and barriers to integration should be addressed and discussed. These are elaborated in more detail in connection with cross-border cooperation in several papers in this volume.

> An analysis of different fields of action that are relevant for cross-border cooperation, regardless of whether they are INTERREG programmes and projects or informal instruments of spatial development, is important. Here, too, it appears opportune to examine some of these policies by way of an example.

> The use of governance concepts for border areas is becoming increasingly relevant both for the analysis and the shaping of future policies and planning. This provides new opportunities for understanding and shaping cross-border interaction, from the local to the European level.

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