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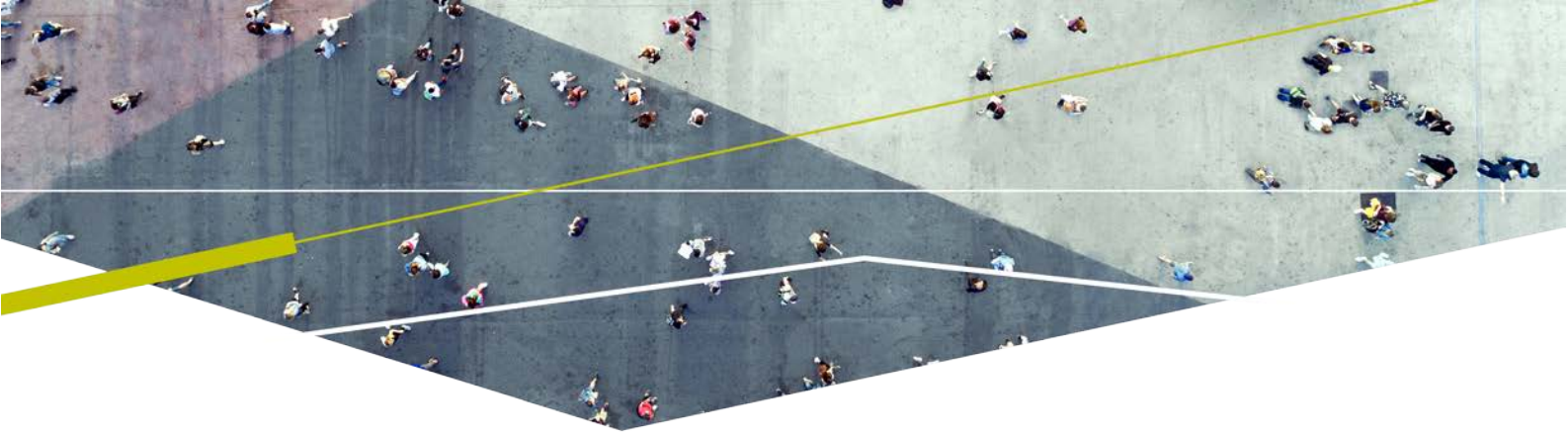
UniGR-CBS Thematic Issue 1/2018

Cross-Border Territorial Development – Challenges and Opportunities

TECHNISCHE UNIVERSITÄT KAISERSLAUTERN
Karina Pallagst, Beate Caesar (Ed.)

EDITORS

Beate Caesar and Karina Pallagst
Faculty of Spatial and Environmental Planning
Technische Universität Kaiserslautern
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UniGR-Center for Border Studies

CENTRE EUROPEEN D'ETUDES SUR LES FRONTIERES
EUROPÄISCHES ZENTRUM FÜR GRENZRAUMFORSCHUNG

EN The UniGR-CBS is a thematic cross-border network of approximately 80 researchers within the university grouping University of the Greater Region (UniGR) conducting research on borders, their meanings and challenges. Due to its geographical position in the “heart of Europe”, its expertise and disciplinary diversity, the UniGRCBS has the best prerequisites for becoming a European network of excellence. For the creation of a “European Center for Competence and Knowledge in Border Studies”, the Interreg VA Greater Region program provides the UniGR-CBS network with approximately EUR 2 million ERDF funding between 2018 and 2020. Within this project, the UniGR-CBS aims at developing harmonized research tools, embedding Border Studies in teaching, promoting the dialogue on cross-border challenges between academia and institutional actors and supporting the spatial development strategy of the Greater Region.

FR L’UniGR-CBS est un réseau transfrontalier et thématique qui réunit environ 80 chercheuses et chercheurs des universités membres de l’Université de la Grande Région (UniGR) spécialistes des études sur les frontières, leurs significations et enjeux. Grâce à sa position géographique au « cœur de l’Europe », à sa capacité d’expertise et à la diversité des disciplines participantes, l’UniGR-CBS revêt tous les atouts d’un réseau d’excellence européen. L’UniGR-CBS bénéficie d’un financement d’environ 2 M € FEDER pendant trois ans dans le cadre du programme INTERREG VA Grande Région pour mettre en place le Centre européen de ressources et de compétences en études sur les frontières. Via ce projet transfrontalier, le réseau scientifique UniGR-CBS créera des outils de recherche harmonisés. Il œuvre en outre à l’ancrage des Border Studies dans l’enseignement, développe le dialogue entre le monde scientifique et les acteurs institutionnels autour d’enjeux transfrontaliers et apporte son expertise à la stratégie de développement territorial de la Grande Région.

DE Das UniGR-CBS ist ein grenzüberschreitendes thematisches Netzwerk von rund 80 Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftlern der Mitgliedsuniversitäten des Verbunds Universität der Großregion (UniGR), die über Grenzen und ihre Bedeutungen sowie Grenzraumfragen forschen. Dank seiner geographischen Lage „im Herzen Europas“, hoher Fachkompetenz und disziplinärer Vielfalt verfügt das UniGR-CBS über alle Voraussetzungen für ein europäisches Exzellenz-Netzwerk. Für den Aufbau des Europäischen Kompetenz- und Wissenszentrums für Grenzraumforschung wird das Netzwerk UniGR-CBS drei Jahre lang mit knapp 2 Mio. Euro EFRE-Mitteln im Rahmen des INTERREG VA Großregion Programms gefördert. Im Laufe des Projekts stellt das UniGR-Netzwerk abgestimmte Forschungswerkzeuge bereit, verankert die Border Studies in der Lehre, entwickelt den Dialog zu grenzüberschreitenden Themen zwischen wissenschaftlichen und institutionellen Akteuren und trägt mit seiner Expertise zur Raumentwicklungsstrategie der Großregion bei.



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Foreword

Marie-Josée Vidal (MDDI Luxembourg)

For many years, border territories have been neglected and have suffered from a lack of development because they were seen as hostile barriers between citizens, cultures and languages. Following the introduction of the free movement of goods, services, capital and people (the “four freedoms”), new opportunities have appeared for the regions remaining so often on the margins of political interest and far away from national capitals. The flows of people and goods have offered new potentials for cooperation and development. Companies, for example, have been able to benefit from foreign expertise and broaden their recruitment pool as well as their catchment area, while citizens have the freedom to circulate and take advantage of cross-border opportunities in terms of jobs, vocational training or shopping.

Border regions can benefit from the economic and demographic dynamics of cities located on the other side of the border. The cooperation between Copenhagen and Malmö in the framework of Greater Copenhagen, for instance, is centered around a concerted effort towards mutually-beneficial cross-border economic development, allowing each side to take advantage of what the other has to offer: Copenhagen’s metropolitan area for head offices (higher prices and level of services) and Malmö for back office purposes (less expensive).

In more rural, less densely populated areas, cross-border cooperation provides a way to jointly tackle challenges and issues as part of a process of mutually-beneficial and common development, as illustrated by the examples of public services, such as schools, daycare centers or even water treatment plants. The most striking example is certainly the Hospital of Cerdanya, which is located on the border between Spain and France.

Greater cooperation within cross-border agglomerations and networked development can thus lead to an increased critical mass for regions and cities, from a demographic, economic or infrastructural perspective.

While some borders are opening up, others are being erected. Beyond the opportunities offered by the opening of borders, freedom of movement

also stirs up anxiety: migratory pressure, increased competition and socio-economic disparities. This, in turn, gives birth to a range of new obstacles of an administrative, legal, financial or institutional nature.

In order to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the opening of borders while finding a way to tackle these issues and obstacles, it becomes necessary to develop and implement integrated regional development strategies for cross-border functional areas that transcend administrative borders and put the citizen at the center stage.

In this context, it is essential to develop a shared understanding of these challenges and define common objectives for territorial development within cross-border areas. However, cultural differences from an administrative, political or even institutional point of view, in conjunction with linguistic barriers, can be considerable, preventing such strategies from materializing.

The first step often involves the establishment of joint information, exchange and discussion platforms, with the purpose of getting to know each other, developing an understanding of each other and overcoming any sense of reticence.

With regards to the Greater Region (Grande Région, Großregion), increased cooperation in the domain of spatial development began in 2009, based on the commitment to create a polycentric cross-border metropolitan region. Launched as part of the ESPON METROBORDER project, this political objective is now pursued via the INTERREG V A Greater Region project “Territorial Development Concept of the Greater Region”, whose goal is to devise a common territorial development strategy for the entire region. This project brings together scientific, political and technical stakeholders from all levels, and is carried out in cooperation with the UniGR Centre for Border Studies project in order to ensure a wide dissemination of acquired knowledge.

Despite the inclusion of the concept of territorial cohesion as a European Union objective in the Treaty of Lisbon, there are no binding provisions in EU law obliging Member States to cooperate or

exchange in the framework of territorial development strategies, similar to what currently happens with regards to environmental issues.

Cross-border cooperation and territorial development are voluntary and inherently fragile. As such, it is vital to raise awareness, to provide information and to exchange with all relevant parties - be they public or private institutions, or even citizens themselves - about the opportunities offered by cross-border regional development.

The UniGR-Center for Border Studies embraces this dynamic by enabling a wider public to get to know the different facets of borders.

“Coming together is a beginning; keeping together is progress; working together is success.”

Henry Ford, Industrialist and business magnate (1863 - 1947).

I wish you pleasant reading.

Marie-Josée Vidal

Conseiller de Gouvernement
Coordinatrice générale adjointe
Ministère du Développement durable et des Infrastructures
Département de l'aménagement du territoire

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Editorial

Karina Pallagst, Beate Caesar

This is the first thematic issue of the new series of *Borders in perspective* of the University of the Greater Region (UniGR). It invited interested scientists to submit papers that relate to the topic *Cross-border Territorial Development - Challenges and Opportunities*. The new series are developed within the INTERREG project *UniGR Center for Border Studies* (2018-2020). The University of Trier coordinates the whole process. The first issue was edited by the Technische Universität Kaiserslautern (TUK).

As stated above, this issue focuses on cross-border territorial development. The territorial development of places is influenced by trends which do not stop at national administrative borders such as climate change, demographic and structural change but shape the development of larger territories. Additionally, often functional and thematic interrelations exist across national borders that lead to frequent exchanges and interdependencies of territories and its citizens. However, the territorial development is steered by spatial planners whose competences are restricted to the domestic administrative boundaries. Therefore, in recent times it is often called for a coordination of domestic planning strategies and cooperation across borders. As spatial planning has been traditionally bound to domestic administrations, also the spatial planning approaches and understandings vary, including planning processes and instruments. Scientists even talk about the existence of different *planning cultures* (Knieling and Othengrafen 2009). All these differences - combined with general difficulties such as language barriers - challenge the coordination of the territorial development across national borders. However, the coordination and stronger integration of bordering territories – by preventing contradicting developments and by offering *infrastructural linkages* - open up new opportunities such as complements in the provision of *services of general interest*. Potential cooperation topics are manifold, i.e. the development of natural parks or commercial zones across borders. Different *cross-border planning instruments* have been designed so far to steer the territorial development across

borders such as the Common Vision Paper 2030 Germany-Polandⁱ. Besides that, the European Union has offered a *legal instrument* to simplify a coordinated cooperation of entities from different European countries: the European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation. Furthermore, the proposal of the Luxemburgish EU Council Presidency to introduce a European Cross-border Convention (ECBC) might ease the provision of cross-border services.

The papers of the issue were written partially by scientists of the University of the Greater Region but also other European scholars from the Politecnico di Torino, the Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg and the Europa-Universität Viadrina were invited.

In the first paper, Beate Caesar and **Karina Pallagst** investigate the application of spatial development concepts as a cross-border spatial planning instrument to coordinate the spatial development. It focuses on three case studies in the German borderlands.

The second contribution written by **Alys Solly**, **Erblin Berisha** and **Giancarlo Cotella** illuminates the effects of European Territorial Cooperation programs on non-EU countries, namely the cases of Albania and Switzerland.

In the third paper, **Kirsten Mangels** and **Robert Riethmüller** describe the opportunities and challenges in the provision of cross-border health services in rural parts of the Greater Region. The findings are based on the experiences of German regional and local authorities located at the French border and an analysis of implemented EU funded projects.

In the fourth paper, **Beate Caesar** addresses the challenges perceived in the German-Polish cross-border region Brandenburg-Lubuskie and presents an analysis of the political and practical attempts to enhance cross-border transport in this region.

In the fifth contribution **Tobias Chilla** and **Anna Heugel** pick out cross-border transport as a central theme as well in combination with cross-border spatial integration. They present the 'space-time-line'-methodology as a tool to measure

transport accessibility and illustrate its application in the Greater Region and the German-Czech cross-border region.

The sixth contribution written by **Peter Ulrich** presents the European legal tool European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation (EGTC) and analyses its application process at the German-Polish border, reporting from the foundation experiences of the planned TransOderana EGTC.

NOTES

ⁱ Original name: Gemeinsames Zukunftskonzept 2030 Deutschland-Polen.

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SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT CONCEPTS – A CROSS-BORDER PLANNING INSTRUMENT WITH A FUTURE?! Experiences from the German borderlands

Beate Caesar, Karina Pallagst

Spatial planning across borders is hampered by the barrier effect of administrative borders in the first place. Planning competences, the legal framework, and planning paradigms are only some of the elements bound to them. This paper investigates the application of 'spatial development concepts' in the German cross-border context as potentially helpful instruments for cross-border spatial planning. It illustrates the spatial development concepts of the German-Polish borderland and the EUREGIO, involving German and Dutch entities as well as the concept of the Greater Region Saar-Lor-Lux+, involving German, Luxemburgish, Belgian and French entities, which is under preparation. The paper is based on document analysis, expert interviews and the authors' own experiences from the involvement in the preparation process of a cross-border concept.

Spatial development concept, cross-border spatial planning, cross-border cooperation, German borderland, spatial planning instruments

RAUMENTWICKLUNGSKONZEPTE – EIN GRENZÜBERSCHREITENDES PLANUNGS-INSTRUMENT MIT ZUKUNFT?! Erfahrungen aus dem deutschen Grenzraum

DE Grenzüberschreitende Raumplanung wird in erster Linie erschwert durch Hemmnisse administrativer Grenzen. Planungskompetenzen, der rechtliche Rahmen und Planungsparadigmen sind nur einige Beispiele für Elemente die von diesen abhängig sind. Der Artikel untersucht die Anwendung von ‚Raumentwicklungskonzepten‘ im Kontext des deutschen Grenzraumes als potenziell hilfreiches Instrument für die grenzüberschreitende Raumplanung. Dazu werden die Raumentwicklungskonzepte des deutsch-polnischen Grenzraums, der EUREGIO, welche deutsche und niederländische Raumeinheiten integriert, sowie das sich in der Aufstellung befindliche Konzept der Großregion Saar- Lor-Lux+ mit deutschen, luxemburgischen, belgischen und französischen Teilräumen erläutert. Der Artikel basiert auf einer Dokumentenanalyse, Experteninterviews und eigenen Erfahrungen der Autoren im Rahmen ihrer Beteiligung im Aufstellungsprozess eines solchen Konzeptes.

Raumentwicklungskonzept, grenzüberschreitendes Raumplanung, grenzüberschreitende Kooperation, deutscher Grenzraum, Raumplanerische Instrumente

LES SCHÉMAS DE DÉVELOPPEMENT TERRITORIAL - UN INSTRUMENT D'AMÉNAGEMENT DU TERRITOIRE TRANSFRONTALIER D'AVENIR? Expériences de la région frontalière allemande

FR L'aménagement du territoire transfrontalier est principalement entravé par des obstacles aux frontières administratives. Les compétences en matière de planification, le cadre juridique et les paradigmes de planification ne sont que quelques exemples d'éléments qui en dépendent. L'article examine l'application des «schémas de développement territorial» dans le contexte de la zone frontalière allemande en tant qu'instrument potentiellement utile pour l'aménagement du territoire transfrontalier. L'article explique les schémas de développement territorial de la région frontalière germano-polonaise, l'EUREGIO qui intègre les unités spatiales allemandes et néerlandaises ainsi que le schéma de la Grande Région Saar-Lor-Lux+ avec ses sous-régions allemandes, luxembourgeoises, belges et françaises qui sont en préparation. L'article s'appuie sur une analyse documentaire des entretiens avec des experts et les expériences des auteurs dans le cadre de leur participation au processus d'élaboration d'un tel concept.

Schéma de développement territorial, aménagement du territoire transfrontalier, coopération transfrontalière, espace frontalier allemand, instruments d'aménagement du territoire

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Introduction

Germany is located centrally on the European continent and thus has many administrative land borders to other European countries. These administrative borders have often been artificially constructed. Borders are often drawn along natural barriers such as rivers or mountains (Rietveld, 1993, p.47). However, in other cases administrative borders cut comprehensive landscapes with similar characteristics.

The development of territories is steered by a multitude of stakeholders, but most prominently spatial planners. Their formal competences are restricted to the administrative boundaries and end at the national borders. Thus, the spatial development plans of border regions end at the national borders – often illustrating the neighboring territories across the border with only a white spot (Caesar and Pallagst, 2018).

Bordering territories of different countries are planned in a distinct manner based on different planning cultures, national objectives and priorities – just to name a few influential factors. This can lead to contradicting, competing and even conflicting spatial developments of bordering territories (ibid.). In order to avoid that, “soft spaces”, i.e. forms of governance which cross formal administrative boundaries (Walsh, 2015) and facilitate experimental development ideas (Haughton et al., 2010), in the form of cross-border regions have emerged. These shape border regions from different countries that are located at a shared border. The aim is to coordinate development and cooperate in the field of spatial planning. Such a cooperation can be more or less pronounced – containing an exchange of information and experiences or even the preparation of (informal) spatial plans and concepts to increase the attractiveness of the cross-border region (Ricq, 2006, p.107).

A coordination of formal spatial development plans with the neighboring countries is prescribed by the German planning law. This underlines the relevance of coordination. When neighboring countries are affected by a spatial plan to be established, they need to be informed and invited to participate in the planning process (§4a (5)BauGB), §10 (2) ROG).

In the course of this paper, three attempts to coordinate the spatial development of border regions in the German borderland with cross-border concepts are illuminated. The three cases differ in many respects, among others in terms of territorial scope and the concepts' age. Two of them are already published, the third is in preparation. With the three examples, the flexibility of the instrument and common traits are to be explored.

Spatial development concepts – characterizing a spatial planning instrument

A spatial development concept (*Raumentwicklungskonzept*) – according to the German understanding - is an **informal** spatial planning instrument which is used to define a development strategy or vision for a territory that is **not necessarily demarcated by an administrative boundary** (Federal Republic of Germany, 30.06.2009, §13).

Spatial development concepts integrate **various relevant aspects** for the region's development. They usually formulate **objectives** and **actions** based on the previously **analyzed existing and potential conditions** (Knieling and Weick, 2005, p.928).

The concepts can be established as guidelines for more detailed spatial plans and thus assist the **preparation of formal supralocal spatial plans** or contribute to the **implementation** of formal spatial plans' development objectives (Federal Republic of Germany, 30.06.2009, §13; Knieling and Weick, 2005, p.928).

In Germany, the instrument's experimental application was supported by the federal level (Knieling and Weick, 2005, p.929). They have been designed on the **regional** or cross-border regional level (*Regionale Entwicklungskonzepte*) – thus on a supralocal but mostly below state (*Länder*) level (ibid., p.928).

The elaborate process of developing a spatial development concept is **cooperative** and **communicative**, involving **public** administrations, social and economic partners as well as politicians and **private** partners, such as the interested public and enterprises. This broad involvement process contributes to a **harmonization** of the different stakeholders' **interests**, channels these interests into joint benefits, and ultimately increases the concept's probability of implementation (ibid., p.930). However, as the concepts are informal instruments, they are **not binding**. Because of their cooperative character, the content of spatial development concepts is usually based on consensus (ibid., p.931). To increase the implementation probability of defined objectives and actions, it is recommended to offer financial **incentives** (ibid.). The variety of existing regional development concepts in the German states (*Länder*) is high. However, most of them reflect to the above-described characteristics (ibid., p.929).

Spatial development concepts in the cross-border context

Besides this German perspective, a well known European example of spatial development concepts was established on supranational level in 1999: the **European Spatial Development Perspective** (ESDP). It was developed in a cooperation of the ministers responsible for spatial planning in the EU member states based on an awareness that **transboundary forces** such as climate change do not stop at national borders and should be jointly addressed. Therefore, comprehensive spatial objectives were defined for the whole territory of the EU (European Commission, 1991, p.3; Informal Council of Ministers responsible for Spatial Planning, 1999).

Additionally, spatial development concepts have been developed in a number of cross-border regions - on a smaller scale. Their characteristics vary. However, all of them are informal planning documents because of the transnational, non-administrative space, and because the competences of the involved stakeholders from different countries are not the same. In addition, there is no consistent terminology, which makes it difficult to research the existing examples¹.

Examples of cross-border spatial development concepts in the German borderland

This chapter presents two examples of existing cross-border spatial development concepts and compares them with the characteristics illustrated in the German definition.

Common Future Vision for the German-Polish Interaction Area – Horizon 2030

The Common Vision Paper of the German-Polish cross-border region is an **informal** spatial planning vision that integrates the large **German-Polish borderland** with approximately 160.000km² and 21 million inhabitants in its catchment, or “interaction”, area (see fig.1). The planned territory comprises the German states of Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, Brandenburg, Berlin, Saxony and the Polish voivodeships of Lower Silesia, Lubuskie, Zachodniopomorskie and Wielkopolska. This territory is bound together through networks between the largest cities and their functional

spaces (Ausschuss für Raumordnung der Deutsch-Polnischen Regierungskommission für regionale und grenznahe Zusammenarbeit, 2016, 5ff.). It combines a high number of regional administrative territories in two countries. These transcend the core area with all the functional interdependencies across borders. The concept was adopted in the end of 2016 after a two-year **preparation process** within the ‘German-Polish Spatial Development Committee’ⁱⁱ. The committee involves German and Polish **national** as well as **regional** administrative levels (Interview with Horst Sauer, Phone, 12.09.2016; Ausschuss für Raumordnung der Deutsch-Polnischen Regierungskommission für regionale und grenznahe Zusammenarbeit, 2016, p.5). An external consultant supported the committee in the preparation process (Ausschuss für Raumordnung der Deutsch-Polnischen Regierungskommission für regionale und grenznahe Zusammenarbeit, 2016, p.20). The **public** was involved twice: first in spring, 2016 for a discussion of the depiction of the framework conditions and proposed development objectives and second, in autumn, 2016 when the draft vision was ready. Comments were delivered mainly by state public institutions and the respective voivodeship authorities, as well as by some entities at the local level (ibid., 20f.). Additionally, in spring 2016, one Polish and one German university organized a **scientific symposium** on future trends in the German-Polish borderland until the year 2041. Researchers presented their current findings, ideas and projects that were of relevance for the future development of the borderland. The ‘German-Polish Spatial Development Committee’ and the public were invited as discussants (Hochschule Neubrandenburg and Uniwersytet Szczeciński, 2016, 2ff.). Private sector entities were not involved actively. The German-Polish cooperation builds on earlier exchange processes in the field of spatial planning (Ausschuss für Raumordnung der Deutsch-Polnischen Regierungskommission für regionale und grenznahe Zusammenarbeit, 2016, 5ff.). The concept, however, is the first spatial **strategy** to be developed for the whole German-Polish border area (Interview with Horst Sauer, Phone, 12.09.2016). It is based on the objectives of Polish and German spatial development documents from national and regional levels, such as the *Koncepcji Przestrzen-nego Zagospodarowania Kraju 2030* as well as the *Leitbilder der Raumentwicklung* as well as European documents (Ausschuss für Raumordnung der Deutsch-Polnischen Regierungskommission für regionale und grenznahe Zusammenarbeit, 2016, 5ff.).



Territorial boundaries of the Common Future Vision for the German Polish Interaction Area Fig. 1
 Source: *ibid.*, p.4

The document depicts **visions** of the status of the borderland in the year 2030 (*ibid.*, p.5) and demonstrates the current **challenges, opportunities** and development **potentials** of the borderland. Additionally, it compiles **planning principles** and **guidelines**. These are to be considered as recommendations. It does not define concrete binding actions or arrangements (Ausschuss für Raumordnung der Deutsch-Polnischen Regierungskommission für regionale und grenznahe Zusammenarbeit, 2016, p.5; Interview with Horst Sauer, Phone, 12.09.2016). Instead, the vision functions as a **political background paper** and **argumentation basis for more** concrete investment and planning decisions within the two countries (Interview with Horst Sauer, Phone, 12.09.2016; Ausschuss für Raumordnung der Deutsch-Polnischen Regierungskommission für regionale und grenznahe Zusammenarbeit, 2016, p.5). Hence, the concept influences new, more specific and binding domestic planning documents. Additionally, it contributes to the **relationship** between the two countries and encourages further

cross-border cooperation in the field of spatial planning. Furthermore, the document increases the borderland's visibility on national and European levels. It is even meant as an inspiration for the future priorities of the EU Cohesion Policy (Ausschuss für Raumordnung der Deutsch-Polnischen Regierungskommission für regionale und grenznahe Zusammenarbeit, 2016, p.5). Thus, the **external perception** and the potential to **influence** higher political spheres were important motivators for the development of the concept. The vision, which follows the objective to generate growth in the borderland, is structured around five **thematic action fields**. These are to be coordinated across borders (*ibid.*, p.9):

1. Polycentric settlement patterns
2. Transport
3. Human capital
4. Sustainable growth
5. Quality of life

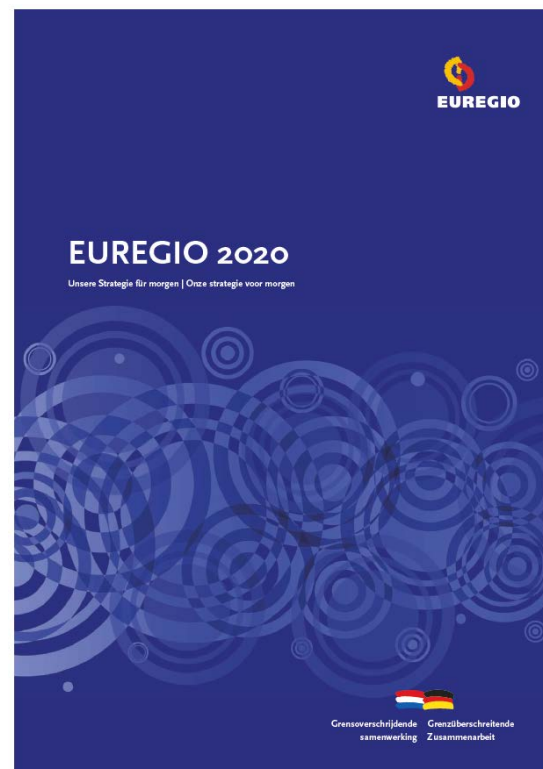
After a description of the envisioned status quo in 2030 and a depiction of the current initial situation on a map, these themes are concretized in four development guidelines each. The latter include further aspects such as demographic change, energy networks, competitiveness, culture, heritage, language, cooperation of universities, tourism, maritime governance and nature (ibid., 9ff.). Thus, this spatial development concept includes a broad variety of aspects considered to be relevant for the future development. Of course, not all of them can be effectively steered by spatial planners.

Cross-border regional stakeholders interviewed expected that the Vision Paper will primarily have a **soft** and **symbolic value** for the future cross-border spatial development; it will contribute to a common idea for development as it defines cross-border development objectives, e.g. in the field of transport (Interview with Ellen Kray, Phone, 02.09.2016). Additionally, the **joint development process** and **agreement** of the concept of Polish and German stakeholders are considered to have been very valuable for future cooperation (Interview with Horst Sauer, Phone, 12.09.2016). However, because the document is non-binding, concerns a very large cooperation area, and solely defines abstract and vague objectives, its **direct influence** on the spatial planning practice is considered to be **low**. German subregional planning authorities and cross-border authorities hope that the substance of the document will be realized. (Interview with Ellen Kray, Phone, 02.09.2016; Interview with Steffi Kramer, Frankfurt (Oder), 07.09.2016; Interview with Toralf Schiwietz, Frankfurt (Oder), 07.09.2016).

Euregio 2020: Our strategy for tomorrowⁱⁱⁱ

The strategic paper 2020 is an **informal** development strategy of the EUREGIO – a cross-border region between Germany and The Netherlands which was founded 60 years ago in 1958 (EUREGIO, 2018). Since 20 years it benefits from INTERREG funds (EUREGIO, 2012, p.7) and comprises a territory of 13.000km² with approximately 3,4 million inhabitants (EUREGIO, 2018). It is thus much smaller than the German-Polish borderland and solely involves parts of the German states of Lower Saxony and North-Rhine-Westphalia and the Dutch provinces Gelderland, Overijssel and Drenthe -but **not** their **whole regional administrative boundaries**. 129 municipalities or *Kreise* are members of the cross-border region (ibid.)The development strategy was published in 2012, before the new EU funding period (2013-2020) started, and covers a time horizon until 2020 (EUREGIO,

2012, 3ff.). The establishment of a cross-border strategy was justified by the need for a **coordinated** response to **global trends** such as climate and demographic change across borders by implementing the **vision** of a “**common supply zone**”^{iv} (ibid., p.3). The borders are to be weakened to increase the mutual exchange and benefit across borders and to make the cross-border region more competitive (ibid., p.8). As an incentive, the strategy illustrates the **potentials** of The development strategy was published in 2012, before the new EU funding period (2013-2020) started, and covers a time horizon until 2020 (EUREGIO, 2012, 3ff.). The establishment of a cross-border strategy was justified by the need for a **coordinated** response to **global trends** such as climate and demographic change across borders by implementing the **vision** of a “**common supply zone**”ⁱⁱⁱ (ibid., p.3). The borders are to be weakened to increase the mutual exchange and benefit across borders and to make the cross-border region more competitive (ibid., p.8). As an incentive, the strategy illustrates the **potentials** of an increased cross-border cooperation (ibid., p.39). an increased cross-border cooperation (ibid., p.39).



Cover of the Euregio 2020 strategy Fig.2
Source: ibid., p.1

The strategy was developed in a **cooperative process** involving all municipal and subregional members of the cross-border region and their existing development strategies, among others, spatial planning documents. Relevant common

thematic aspects, objectives, and opportunities due to the cross-border dimension were called out in this phase. Strategic objectives of the Europe 2020 strategy were also integrated (ibid., p.3).

Based on the identified common objectives, the EUREGIO office prepared a first draft document in autumn 2010, which was discussed among the board and its different thematic working groups. The strategy, representing the joint objectives of all members, was adopted one year later in November 2011 (ibid., p.4). No external public or private institutions were **involved** in the development of the strategy. However, the strategic paper is envisioned to **support the cooperation** of external municipal and national authorities as well as economic and social partners across borders (ibid., p.9) by defining relevant cooperation topics and facilitating contacts within its networks (ibid.). Furthermore, the **cross-border region's tasks** were defined as part of the strategy (ibid., p.10).

The **implementation** of the defined objectives in cross-border cooperation is facilitated by **financial incentives** of different programs such as INTERREG (ibid., p.9).

One important reason for the preparation of this strategy by the cooperation's members was the **community building** process and the increased **identification** with the cross-border region (ibid., p.4). The hope is also for the cross-border region to become more **competitive** compared to the neighboring regions (ibid., p.8).

The **strategy** aims at increasing economic growth and quality of life as well as the internal territorial integration. Therefore, three thematic **focal areas** were defined (ibid.):

1. Sustainable territorial development
2. Economic development
3. Societal development.

The territorial development **objectives** additionally comprise infrastructure, transport and energy related topics. In the economic and societal focal areas, the job market, innovations, tourism, culture, education, health and public safety belong to the strategic topics (ibid.). Thus, the strategy is not a pure spatial planning document but entails **broad thematic aspects**. The document shortly describes the **status quo** and **challenges** for each thematic field. Afterwards, **action proposals** are defined (ibid., 14ff.). In contrast to the vision of the German-Polish borderland, no **maps** were included in the strategy.

Since 2012, the goal has been to turn the strategy into a more detailed cross-border territorial development concept based on a statistical and SWOT analysis as well as more concrete action pro-

posals to increase the implementation plausibility. Such a concept was to be developed by the responsible authorities of both countries and to be used as a voluntary framework for domestic planning (ibid., 4 and 15). However, such a concept has not been published as of 2018. It remains to be seen if it will be established in the future.

A cross-border spatial development concept in the making: the Territorial Development Concept of the Greater Region

Background

The territorial context of the Greater Region brings together entities from Germany (states of Rhineland-Palatinate and Saarland), France (Région Grand Est), Belgium (German speaking Community of Belgium, Wallonia-Brussels Federation and the Walloon region), and Luxembourg (entire country). The cross-border region thus embraces a relatively large territory (65.401km²) with 11,5 million inhabitants (Gipfel der Großregion, n.y.). The spatial development concept of the Greater Region stands at the end of a long line of collaborations in spatial development in this particular cross-border space.

When considering spatial categories, this region belongs to the space type 'Metropolitan Border Regions' (Hartz, 2018). However, the Greater Region is not a homogeneous region. On the contrary, it is characterized by a number of regional disparities: the spaces involved differ in size, demographics (growth tendencies in Luxemburg versus decline in Saarland), and most prominently they differ in terms of their economic potential, with Luxemburg representing a strong job market and the Grand-Est with a weak job market (Pallagst and Hartz, 2018). As a consequence, this cross-border region is challenged by polarized settlement structures, disruptions in transport infrastructure, and the need for supplying cross-border educational infrastructure (ibid.).

From the perspective of spatial planning, the countries involved display different planning systems, yet they are united in the guiding principle of sustainability, which is showcased e.g. in all normative frameworks for the respective countries (ibid.). Nonetheless, a joint concept in form of a cross-border spatial development concept has been on the agenda for quite some time now.

It is clear that a complex spatial situation as faced by the Greater Region requires cross-border spatial planning of a certain extent. Many of the ongoing planning efforts are driven by the state of Luxemburg, which is as a small country dependent on linkages with its neighboring countries. In addition, due to its strong economic development, Luxemburg has to face pressure on land use and its existing transportation system. Thus, the idea of generating a joint framework for spatial planning took shape. First attempts were made in the frame of EU projects, creating the GIS-GR for spatial analysis and monitoring funded by INTERREG IV A, and the ESPON project *Metro-border*, outlining the potentials of the region as a cross-border metropolitan area. The subsequent stage is the making of the Territorial Development Concept of the Greater Region.

Objectives

Existing disparities e.g. in economic strength, employment, costs of housing, and size challenge the economic, social, ecological cohesion, and attractiveness of the Greater Region. Spatial planning has the potential to coordinate, steer and guide policies and actors in order to counter-balance these disparities utilizing cross-border tools such as spatial development concepts. Thus, chances and potentials of the border setting are envisaged to be leveraged by means of the cross-border development concept.

Challenges

The making of the cross-border Territorial Development Concept of the Greater Region proves to be a time-consuming process because of the size of the region, language barriers, and the multitude of actors involved. It is thus difficult to tackle short-term requirements and problems.

Moreover, administrative reforms in France in 2016 created a much larger administrative space in the French territory with the merger of the *départements* Alsace, Lorraine and Champagne-Ardennes into the new Région Grand Est (Harster and Clev, 2018).

Preparation process

As the Territorial Development Concept for the Greater Region is still work in progress (as of 2018), this paper will emphasize the process of creating this concept. The process comprises

three stages, initiated and steered by the 'Coordinating Committee for Territorial Development' of the Greater Region. The intent to develop the concept was also ratified by the Summit of the Greater Region. So far, two pre-study phases were carried out by external consultants, and, at present, the actual concept is being developed under the auspices of an INTERREG project (third phase).

Phase 1 (2013-2014): Cross-border pre-studies on selected topics analyzed the **existing conditions** and development **potential**: During this phase, three topical pre-studies were carried out in order to gather in-depth information on specific fields of relevance for the future development of the Greater Region.

1. The transportation projects of priority for the metropolitan development of the Greater Region (2013);
2. The metropolitan dimension of the Greater Region – part 1 of the Territorial Development Concept of the Greater Region (2013);
3. The pre-study for the part 'Economy' of the Territorial Development Concept of the Greater Region (2014).

Phase 2 (2015-2016): A transversal analysis of **planning documents** of the involved territories was conducted^v: By means of the transversal analysis, profound information on planning documents either on cross-border, national, state, regional, or inter-local levels was gathered and compared. This was done by means of a concise criteria-based analytical framework.

As a result, the transversal analysis shows that complexities in spatial development are deep, comprising spatial structures, normative frames, and also the duration and timeframe of existing plans and their scheduled updates. The French-German consulting team also identified an amalgamation of competitiveness and requirements of cooperation, framed under the notion of 'coopetition' – a term which seems a perfect fit for this specific border setting^{vi}.

On the basis of this phase, the scope and content of the spatial development concept were defined in cooperative processes. Several issues were discussed in **workshops**, and **interviews** with administrative and socio-economic stakeholders of the cross-border region were conducted. There was a consideration of whether the concept should take the shape of a vision (with a framework for anticipated development) or a concise set of goals and planning projects which should



Front page transversal analysis part 1 Fig.3
Source AGAPE et al., 2017.

be implemented in the planning documents of the countries involved. It was also a point of discussion if the aspect of economic development should be studied as a separate field. Moreover, given the large territorial shape of the region, there was discussion on whether the spatial development concept should be developed for the entire cross-border region or for a core area to be specified with Luxemburg at the center. The intent of the spatial development concept in its final phase of preparation is described in the following paragraphs.

Phase 3 (2017-2021): INTERREG project 'SDTGR/REKGR'^{vii}

In order to effectively pool resources for the concept, the spatial development concept is embedded as a project in the frame of INTERREG V A Greater Region under the axis 'Enhancing competitiveness and attractiveness of the Greater Region'. The proposal was developed and granted in the year 2017, and the duration of the project is from 2018 until 2021. The consortium mainly consists of members of the 'Coordinating Committee for Territorial Development' of the Greater Region, led by the Luxemburg *Ministère du Développement durable et des Infrastructures* (MDDI). Additionally, it involves, among others, a research institution and **universities**, which form a scientific

council. The EU project consists of many **workshops** with local stakeholders and thematic experts to prepare the concept in a **participative** process (Gouvernement du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg, n.y.).

The concept aims to be actively used by all spatial development actors of the Greater Region. **Challenges** and **opportunities** will be identified resulting from the socio-economic dynamics. From its nature, it represents an integrated polycentric and cross-border **strategy**. Its innovative character is of special importance.

Outlook

The development concept intends to steer the development of the entire region in a way so that national spatial planning administrations will utilize the concept as a **guideline** for their own spatial plans. The concept thus is intended to have a certain impact on domestic spatial development in the respective regional/local areas. In addition, it is a declared outcome of the INTERREG project to create a spatial monitoring system which will be in charge for a continuous spatial **observation** of the **concept's implementation**, thus guaranteeing the sustainability of the concept.

Conclusions: Cross-border spatial development concepts – where do we stand?

As outlined in the previous parts of this paper, for many years spatial development concepts have played a distinct role in shaping cross-border territories. In fact, they can be considered the main genuine cross-border planning instrument. This is demonstrated by the examples showcased in this paper. Yet the nature of the concepts can differ in a number of ways such as the preparation process, content and objectives.

The example of the German-Polish borderland demonstrates that cross-border spatial development concepts can comprise large territories and still be developed in a participative and open process.

With the spatial development concept in the German-Dutch EUREGIO cross-border region, an intrinsic preparation process was followed due to a different orientation. Only the members of the cross-border region were involved as the main objective was to strengthen the members' identity. Both existing concepts included a variety of focal areas that go beyond the competencies of spatial planners only.

Through investigating the making of the spatial development concepts of the German-Polish borderland and the Greater Region, it appears that the **journey is the goal**. In the Greater Region, a thorough investigation of the spatial situation em-

bedded in a three-stage process seemed necessary in order to define the path the concept would actually take. In general, this gives the actors the opportunity to engage in an in-depth learning process in terms of the spatial situation of the entire region. Given the different planning systems of Germany, France, Belgium and Luxemburg, this appears to be the necessary path. This was also acknowledged by stakeholders involved in the preparation process of the spatial development concept in the German-Polish borderland. The coordination process and the following joint agreement are considered to have a high value even though the strategic objectives are not legally binding.

All in all, cross-border spatial development concepts have demonstrated that, despite their informal character, they:

1. are a flexible, informal planning tool which can be targeted to the specific situation and specific cross-border territorial boundaries,
2. evoke a very communicative process and activate stakeholders
3. can be used as an occasion to analyze the statistical initial situation, including the potentials of a cross-border region,
4. offer concise background learning in the sphere of spatial planning for stakeholders involved in shaping cross border spatial planning, and
5. contribute to a harmonization of diverging regional objectives – shifting competition to cooperation.

NOTES

ⁱ Examples for the terminology in German language are for instance: *Raumentwicklungskonzept*; *Gemeinsames Zukunftskonzept Vision 2030*; *Zukunftsstrategie, EUREGIO 2020 Unsere Strategie für morgen*; *Masterplan kooperatives Raumkonzept*; *Strategie 2020* etc.

ⁱⁱ This committee is part of the German-Polish Governmental Commission for Regional and Border Cooperation (*Deutsch-Polnische Regierungskommission für regionale und grenznahe Zusammenarbeit*) and is an arena to discuss current topics of concern in the field of spatial development and prepare political decisions (*Deutsch-Polnisches Raumordnungsportal (n.y.)*).

ⁱⁱⁱ German official title: *Euregio 2020: Unsere Strategie für morgen*.

^{iv} The official German wording: *„ein Versorgungsgebiet“*.

^v This part is based on the authors' involvement as part of the French-German team of consultants.

^{vi} For more information please consult the project report: *AGAPE et al. (2017)*.

^{vii} The project acronym stands for *Territorial Development Concept of the Greater Region*

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ADDRESSES

Beate Caesar, Research assistant, Department International Planning Systems, Faculty of Spatial and Environmental Planning, Technische Universität Kaiserslautern, Pfaffenbergstr. 95, 67663 Kaiserslautern, Germany, Beate.caesar@ru.uni-kl.de

Karina Pallagst, Professor, Department International Planning Systems, Faculty of Spatial and Environmental Planning, Technische Universität Kaiserslautern, Pfaffenbergstr. 95, 67663 Kaiserslautern, Germany, Karina.pallagst@ru.uni-kl.de

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Dr.-Ing. **BEATE CAESAR** - is a Post-Doc researcher at the department of International Planning Systems, faculty of Spatial and Environmental Planning at Technische Universität Kaiserslautern, Germany. Her research focuses on European integration, European spatial development, cross-border cooperation within the European Union, soft spaces, cross-border transport and planning cultures. She is a member of the UniGR Center for Border Studies and the Landesarbeitsgemeinschaft Hessen/Rheinland-Pfalz/Saarland of the Academy for Spatial Research and Planning (ARL).

Prof. Dr. **KARINA PALLAGST** - is professor for International Planning Systems at the Faculty of Spatial and Environmental Planning at Technische Universität Kaiserslautern in Germany. Previously she worked at UC Berkeley's center for Global Metropolitan Studies (GMS) and the Institute of Urban and Regional Development (IURD). Prior to this appointment, she was a senior research specialist at the Dresden-based Institute of Ecological and Regional Development (IOER). Prof. Pallagst holds a PhD from Technische Universität .



CROSS-BORDER TERRITORIAL COOPERATION IN NON-EU MEMBER COUNTRIES - Evidence from Albania and Switzerland

Alys Solly, Erblin Berisha, Giancarlo Cotella

In an age of political uncertainty, where the EU must come to terms with internal fragmentation pressures and external humanitarian emergencies, it is interesting to reflect upon the role that the European Territorial Cooperation objective can potentially play in softening such tensions. This paper explores the importance of territorial cooperation initiatives between the EU and non-member countries, with a special focus on cross-border cooperation. It does so by focusing on case studies of two countries, Albania and Switzerland, that occupy a rather different position in relation to the EU. The contribution argues that, since the 1990s, the EU has been active in promoting cooperation initiatives along its external borders by progressively involving candidate countries, whose candidature had still to be formulated, as well as countries whose application is not on the agenda. It shows how European Territorial Cooperation, especially through cross-border cooperation initiatives, strengthens the territorial dimension of the border relations among neighboring countries, thereby improving the chances for actual integration.

European Territorial Cooperation, cross-border cooperation, spatial planning, territorial governance, non-member states

GRENZÜBERSCHREITENDE ZUSAMMENARBEIT MIT NICHT-EU-MITGLIEDSTAATEN – Erkenntnisse aus Albanien und der Schweiz

DE In Zeiten der politischen Unsicherheit, in der sich die EU mit einem internen Fragmentierungsdruck und externen humanitären Notlagen auseinandersetzen muss, ist es interessant sich mit der Rolle der Europäischen Territorialen Zusammenarbeit bei der Abschwächung solcher Spannungen zu beschäftigen. Vor diesem Hintergrund untersucht der Beitrag die Bedeutung territorialer Kooperationsinitiativen zwischen der EU und Nicht-EU-Mitgliedsstaaten, wobei der Schwerpunkt auf der grenzübergreifenden Zusammenarbeit liegt. Dies geschieht durch die Fokussierung auf zwei Fallstudien, Albanien und die Schweiz, die in Bezug auf die EU eine unterschiedliche Position einnehmen. Der Beitrag vertritt die Ansicht, dass die EU seit den 1990er Jahren grenzüberschreitende Initiativen entlang ihrer Außengrenzen aktiv fördert, indem sie Beitrittskandidaten (z. B. die Visegrad-Länder), potenzielle Beitrittskandidaten (z. B. Albanien) und Länder, die sich aktuell nicht um eine Mitgliedschaft bewerben (z.B. Schweiz) schrittweise einbezieht. Es wird aufgezeigt, wie die Europäische Territoriale Zusammenarbeit und insbesondere grenzüberschreitende Initiativen den Grenzbeziehungen zwischen Nachbarländern eine stärkere territoriale Dimension zuweisen und so die Chancen einer tatsächlichen Integration verbessern.

Europäische Territoriale Zusammenarbeit, grenzüberschreitende Zusammenarbeit, Raumplanung, territoriale Governance, Nicht-EU-Mitgliedsstaaten

COOPÉRATION TERRITORIALE TRANSFRONTALIÈRE DANS LES ÉTATS NON-MEMBRES DE L'UE – Le cas de l'Albanie et de la Suisse

FR À une époque d'incertitude politique où l'UE doit faire face à des pressions internes en faveur de la fragmentation et des urgences humanitaires externes. Il est intéressant de réfléchir sur le rôle joué par la coopération territoriale européenne dans l'atténuation de ces tensions. C'est dans ce contexte particulier que cet article explore l'importance de la coopération territoriale entre l'UE et les pays non-membres, en mettant l'accent sur la coopération transfrontalière. L'article se concentre sur deux études de cas. Le cas de l'Albanie et le cas Suisse occupent une position assez différente par rapport à l'UE. L'article à la position que l'UE s'est efforcée de promouvoir les initiatives transfrontalières le long de ses frontières extérieures depuis les années 90 en impliquant progressivement les pays candidats (par exemple les pays du groupe de Visegrád) ceux dont les demandes devaient encore être formulées (par exemple l'Albanie) ainsi que les pays qui ne semblent pas particulièrement intéressés par une demande d'adhésion (par exemple la Suisse). Le texte montre comment la coopération territoriale européenne, en particulier les initiatives transfrontalières améliorent les relations frontalières entre les pays. Cela crée une dimension territoriale plus forte et par conséquent les chances d'une réelle intégration.

Coopération territoriale Européenne, coopération transfrontalière, aménagement du territoire, gouvernance territorial, états non-membres

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Introduction

Territorial cooperation has always been at the center of European Union (EU) policy (EPRS, 2016). First examples of transboundary cooperations in Europe date back to 1962 with the Conference of Regions of North West Europe (CRONWE). Similar initiatives were organized by the Benelux and Baltic Sea countries (Dühr, Stead and Zonneveld, 2007). However, it was only at the beginning of the 1990s that the EU started to dedicate greater attention to territorial cooperation initiatives beyond its external borders. Since then, European Territorial Cooperation (ETC) has evolved from a Community initiative to become one of the European Union's principal instruments for territorial development and a cornerstone of EU cohesion policy (EPRS, 2016).

Bearing this in mind, this paper investigates the role of ETC, in particular of cross-border cooperation (CBC), in two non-EU member countries: Albania and Switzerland. After looking at the relations between the EU and these two countries, it explores the main CBC programs that each of them deals with. In particular, it pays attention to those objectives with evident spatial implications. Secondly, it identifies some of the potential impacts of CBC on the territorial governance and spatial planning of these countries, showing how CBC programs can influence not only border regions, but also central administrations. Finally, a set of recommendations for future research are sketched out. These could pave the way towards a better understanding of the impact of ETC on the territorial governance and spatial planning of the non-member states. The paper thus aims to extend and share knowledge in a research area largely overlooked in the existing literature on ETC.

The role of the European Territorial Cooperation for non-EU member states

European Territorial Cooperation as an EU initiative dates back to the launch of the INTERREG Community Initiative in 1990. Since then, ETC has become the primary instrument for enhancing territorial cooperation among: (i) EU member states; (ii) EU member states and non-member states and; (iii) non-member states. Originally focused on existing gaps in transport infrastructure, the main investments of ETC currently deal with the environment, climate change, tourism, and cultural heritage. Even if ETC initially focused on

strengthening cooperation within the EU's internal borders, hence on the EU Member States (1990-1993), it later developed an external dimension by promoting cooperation initiatives among Member States and the countries of Central Eastern Europe – not belonging to the EU at that time. Over time, three strands of ETC have been institutionalized:

Cross-border cooperation (INTERREG A) encourages integrated regional development between neighboring land and maritime border regions.

Transnational cooperation (INTERREG B) strengthens cooperation over larger transnational territories according to priorities established by EU cohesion policy.

Interregional cooperation (INTERREG C) promotes exchanges of experience focusing on the design and implementation of operational programs, encouraging good practice in the area of sustainable (urban) development. (EPRS, 2016; Dühr, Stead and Zonneveld, 2007).

The first non-EU member states to benefit from ETC were the Central Eastern European countries in 1992, when ETC acquired a new external dimension with the PHARE (Poland and Hungary: Assistance for Restructuring their Economies) CBC Programme. However, only the establishment of the Instrument for Pre-Accession 2007-2013 (IPA), and in particular IPA II (2014-2020), led to a full extension of the logic of ETC to external countries. The aim was to allow those countries to improve their mutual relations, by reducing historical border divergences and thus reducing the territorial imbalance of borders.

State of the art: Albania and Switzerland along the process of integration

For the majority of European countries, the EU has always been seen as a window of opportunity, central to the political agenda. Historically, Switzerland's path towards integration was interrupted by the referendum held in 1992, while Albania started its first integration steps (1991). Since then, these countries have followed divergent paths. On the one hand, Switzerland, even if outside the EU, participates (with its own funds) in the majority of EU programs. On the other hand, since 2000 Albania has benefited from some EU programs, mainly those that seek to integrate extra-EU countries. In this regard, the section below explores in more detail the EU integration paths followed by each country.

Three decades of Albania's EU integration path

Despite the process of EU integration that started in 1999 with the Stabilization and Association Process Agreement, Albania is not yet a member of the EU. Political instability paralyzed the country between 1990 and 2000 and the major political, economic and social transformations have negatively affected the relationship with the EU for the past three decades. In any case, after the collapse of the totalitarian regime, several institutional agreements were signed between Albania and the EUⁱ (table 1).

Steps	Agreements	Albania
Pre-Adhesion Agreement	Stabilization and Association Process	1999
	Potential Candidate	2000
	Stabilization and Association Agreement (SAA)	2006-2009
	Program Signed (PHARE, OBONOVA, CARDS, IPRA, SAPARD, and IPA I-II)	1996-present
	Candidate Status	2014
Screening	Started Screening Step	2018
Negotiation	Chapters' discussion period	...
Adhesion	Treaty adhesion signed	...

Albanian main integration steps Tab.1

Source: authors' own elaboration, 2018.

An example is the Trade Agreement (signed in 1992) which allowed Albania to participate and to benefit from the PHARE Programme funds for the period 1992-2000, endorsing the EU to be one of the most important actors in the country. The new course of events inspired by the Albanian ambition to be part of the EU was interrupted later by the economic and political crises that caused the civil war of 1997 (Berisha, 2018). One of the consequences of the civil disorder was the new negative perception of the EU towards Albania, considered less stable than before. Only a few years later, the Stabilisation and Association Process (SAP) gave Albania the opportunity to near the EU again. By launching the SAP, the EU demonstrated its intention to establish a stronger relationship with all the Western Balkan Countries, almost foreshadowing that all of them would soon be "potential candidates" (Berisha et al., 2018). Being a "potential candidate" country meant that Albania was eligible for economic and financial support. At the time, the main economic assistance was the CARDS Programme that replaced the former PHARE and OBNOVA programs. Together, these programs contributed, through the allocation of funds, to the enhancement of Alba-

nia's ability to prepare for the EU prospect with numerous reforms. The introduction of the programming approach was certainly one of the main novelties introduced in the country, contributing to the alignment of the domestic policy documents to the EU programming periodⁱⁱ. In this context, it seems relevant to note the proliferation of the National Strategy, Action Plans (especially the National Strategy for Development and Integration 2014-2020) and cooperation programs (above all related to IPA programs).

In June 2006, Albania signed the Stabilisation and Association Agreement with the EU. This agreement was ratified and became effective in 2009. After years of important socio-economic progresses, Albania was granted "candidate status" in June 2014 in recognition of its reform efforts and the progress made in meeting the required conditions (Cotella & Berisha, 2016). According to the European Commission the country still needs to increase and consolidate the reform momentum and to focus its efforts on tackling the EU-integration challenges in a sustainable and inclusive way despite the achievement of the "candidate status" (European Commission, 2014). For this reason, Albania should continue participating actively in high-level dialog meetings, as well as in joint working groups on the five key priorities. These are democracy, public administration reform, rule of law, human rights, the protection of minorities and regional issues as well as international obligations (European Commission, 2015). These criteria need to be fulfilled continuously if Albania wants to approach the accession negotiations shortly (Berisha, 2018). Only recently, to recognize the efforts along the integration process (working on the identified five key prioritiesⁱⁱⁱ), the Commission has recommended to open the accession negotiation phase. Together with the new enlargement spirit, emerging from the EU strategy for the enlargement of the Western Balkan Region, called "A credible enlargement perspective for and enhanced EU engagement with the Western Balkans", Albania has never been so close to the EU before.

Switzerland and the EU

Switzerland is a European country, geopolitically situated in the heart of Europe. It is a federal country with highly independent cantons and significant cultural and linguistic diversity. In fact, three of the main European languages (French, German and Italian) are officially spoken in the country. However, although Switzerland is an important economic and political partner and is surrounded by EU Member States for historical and cultural reasons it does not belong to the European Union

(EU) - and does not seem to aspire to membership. In fact, on December 6th, 1992, the Swiss referendum to join the European Economic Area (EEA) was rejected by 50.3% of votes and the government had to suspend further negotiations to become part of the EU. In 2016, Switzerland formally withdrew its application for an EU membership. Thus, an accession strategy has never been carried out.

Nevertheless, Switzerland is involved in shared initiatives, such as the bilateral agreements and the EU programs in order to take part in the EU single market without becoming a “member state”. These shared initiatives and agreements enhance reciprocal cooperation and access to markets such as transport, energy and security. For example, the bilateral agreement on overland transport of 1999 opened up the market for the transport of persons and goods by road and rail between Switzerland and the EU. Consequently, in order to face the increasing traffic volumes, including those across borders, the Swiss national policy took the key European transport corridors (e.g. Trans-European Networks-Transport) into consideration. In December 2016 the 57 km long Gotthard Tunnel was opened to provide a high-speed rail link under the Swiss Alps between northern and southern Europe. Many bilateral agreements have been signed since the 1970s, and new agreements are being created in order to take into account the country’s needs and interests. For example, Switzerland negotiated with the EU on a bilateral agreement in the electricity sector to ensure cross-border electricity trade, a reliable supply of electricity and to open up new opportunities in the renewable energy market.

Apart from the existence of these shared initiatives, Switzerland seems to be indirectly influenced by the developments and decisions of the EU (Solly, 2018; Berisha et al., 2018). In fact, even though there is no legal conditionality pushing for the transposition of EU sectoral legislation in the Swiss legal system, a certain number of Swiss laws must be in line with EU policies, directives and agreements, in order to provide conformity and compatibility. Moreover, Switzerland contributes with its own funds to EU enlargement and EU Cohesion Policy.

The country’s choice to remain outside the EU and its declared intention to contribute actively to European policies seems to be a paradox. Nevertheless, as the Swiss Federal Office for Spatial Development (ARE) points out, it is essential for a small country such as Switzerland, whose needs are closely bound up with those of its European neighbors, to maintain a close dialog with partners outside its borders. Indeed, as Scholl (2008: 32) states, Switzerland cannot ignore initiatives of the EU Member States and will “increasingly

have to play a part in influencing the spatial development of transfrontier regions”.

European Territorial Cooperation in Albania and Switzerland: an opportunity for further integration?

Both countries participate, in some way, in the EU’s CBC framework. Albania principally benefits from the implementation of the second generation of INTERREG and IPA (2014-2020). The latter regulates territorial cooperation initiatives among EU and non-EU-member states. Meanwhile, Switzerland has a long tradition of participating in INTERREG programs (strands A, B, C), as illustrated in table 2. Indeed, in contrast to Albania, Switzerland has been actively involved since 2000 in several interregional cooperation programs, such as ESPON, URBACT, INTERACT, INTERREG EUROPE.

The role of European Territorial Cooperation for Albania

As we have seen, ETC plays an important role in the Western Balkan Region, and for Albania in particular, even though the countries are far from joining the EU. According to the new enlargement strategy launched by the EU, cooperation is certainly one of the main challenges for the region. Regional cooperation and good neighborly relations are at the top of the EU agenda for the Western Balkans. As such, Albania currently benefits from two strands of INTERREG, namely A and B. Concerning INTERREG A, both cycles of IPA CBC programs (2007-2013 and 2014-2020) focus on border areas that have been generally considered peripheral – physically, economically and politically – and often marginalized by the central government.

In this respect, the country is currently involved in five programs: (i) the INTERREG IPA – CBC launched among Italy, Albania and Montenegro; (ii) the IPA CBC that involves Montenegro and Albania; (iii) the INTERREG IPA - CBC between Greece and Albania; (iv) the IPA that includes Albania and Kosovo and; (v) the IPA between FYROM^{iv} and Albania. Each program deals with specific priorities. The INTERREG IPA CBC Italy-Albania-Montenegro focuses on small and medium enterprise competitiveness, tourism and cultural heritage, environment and climate change, and sustainable transport infrastructure.

European Territorial Cooperation (ETC)	Albania	Switzerland
Cross-Border Cooperation INTERREG (A)	INTERREG IPA CBC Italy-Albania-Montenegro (2007-2020)	INTERREG Italy - Switzerland (2014-2020)
	IPA CBC Montenegro - Albania (2007-2020)	
	INTERREG IPA CBC Greece - Albania (2007-2020)	INTERREG France - Switzerland (2014-2020)
	IPA CBC Albania - Kosovo (2007-2020)	INTERREG Germany-Austria-Switzerland-Liechtenstein "Alpine Rhine-Lake Constance-Upper Rhine" (2014-2020)
Transnational Cooperation INTERREG (B)	IPA CBC FYROM - Albania (2007-2020)	INTERREG France-Germany-Switzerland "Upper Rhine" (2014-2020)
	ADRION	Alpine Space (2000-2020)
	SEE - South East Europe Transnational (2007-2020)	
	EU Macro Region - EUSAIR (2014)	EU Macro Region - EUSALP (2015)
MED (2007-2020)	North-western Europe (2000-2020)	
Balkan-Mediterranean (2014-2020)		
Interregional Cooperation INTERREG (C)	n.a.	ESPON (2000-2020)
	n.a.	URBACT (2000-2020)
	n.a.	INTERACT (2000-2020)
	n.a.	INTERREG EUROPE (2000-2020)

European Territorial Cooperation programs involving Albania and Switzerland Tab.2

Source: authors' own elaboration, 2018.

Other CBC programs, such as the IPA between FYROM and Albania and IPA Albania-Kosovo, emphasize the need to improve the technical assistance in program management and project implementation.

In analyzing these programs, it is interesting to note their tendency to focus on territorial aspects (e.g. the question of environment, climate change and infrastructure) and societal challenges (e.g. economic development and reduction of social exclusion). By doing so, even if through different means, these programs position the role of border regions at the center of the public debate, highlighting the importance of reducing territorial disparities between border regions and the more central ones. Moreover, it is important that the Albanian National Strategy for Development and Integration 2014-2020 (NSDI) recognizes the priority to minimize the debilitating influence of borders on economic opportunities and to explore the potential for joint development initiatives on both sides of the borders (Council of Ministers, 2013). In this way, the NSDI affirms its reliance on the implementation of EU-funded cross border and territorial cooperation initiatives with neighboring countries. This is particularly important in light of the process of EU integration.

However, it is important to note that the country faces several implementation problems in relation to the ETC. Certainly one of the main challenges is to improve the coordination between the central and local administrative levels. As stated by Allkja (2017), the programming process is exclusively in the hands of the central government, while local authorities are eligible to be part of the

implementation phase. Other inhibiting factors limit the implementation capacity of CBC. These are: (i) the lack of co-financing funds (Allkja, 2017); (ii) the readiness of administrative staff to deal with such complex programs (Seferaj, 2014); (iii) the lack of coordinated participation of local stakeholders (Seferaj, 2014). However, according to Seferaj (2014), during the first cycle of IPA, despite several shortfalls, the CBC projects should be seen as a success story, since several local organizations had the opportunity to come into contact with EU programs, thus benefiting from economic and knowledge-related sources.

Under the umbrella of transnational cooperation (INTERREG B) Albania participates in other initiatives. In particular, the INTERREG V-B Adriatic-Ionian Cooperation Programme 2014-2020 (ADRION) includes thirty-one regions from four different Member States and four IPA Partner States. The overall objective of the ADRION Programme is to act as a policy driver and governance innovator to foster European integration among the Partner States^v. Thus, to benefit from the high quality natural, cultural and human resources and to enhance the economic, social and territorial cohesion in the area. Albania is also part of the South-East Europe 2020 Strategy (SEE 2020), launched by the Western Balkan Countries in 2011. SEE 2020 is strategy that acknowledges the importance of the need for close cooperation in accelerating the accomplishment of the EU Agenda 2020 goals. Inspired by the EU 2020 Strategy, the SEE 2020^{vi} provides guidance for the Western Balkan Countries to achieve a higher degree of convergence with the goals of EU Agenda

2020. Together with seven other Adriatic-Ionian countries, Albania participates in the EU Macro-Regional Strategy of the Adriatic and Ionian Region (EUSAIR), one of the four EU macro-regional strategies already adopted. The proposed strategy focuses on areas of (macro) regional mutual interest^{vii} with high relevance for the Adriatic and Ionian countries^{viii}. Additionally, Albania participates in the MED Programme, which is a transnational ETC program that improves the area's competitiveness and promotes territorial cohesion and environmental protection. Finally, Albania is also part of the Balkan-Mediterranean 2014-2020, an ETC program, bringing together Albania, Bulgaria, Cyprus, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Greece. Diversity and geography signify a strong cooperation potential that can focus on important concerns shared by all five participating countries (Berisha, 2018).

At the same time, Albania is still excluded from benefiting from interregional cooperation initiatives such as ESPON, URBACT, INTERACT and INTERREG EUROPE, since the country does not yet have the status of an EU member state.

Over the years, Albania has benefited from a large amount of EU funds. Whereas in the past, the co-participation through domestic funds was rather low, with the introduction of IPA, higher co-financing rates are required (according to the IPA II regulation, the current rate of co-financing is 15%) (see table 3).

Co-financing can be covered by public funds (based on the central or local financial budget) and/or private investments. Even the management procedure has changed. During the implementation of the first generation of IPA (2007-2013), the EU adopted a direct management approach (formally called decentralized implementation system), with funds that were directly managed by EU institutions (usually establishing offices in each country). With IPA II, some funds are directly managed by the countries themselves (for Albania the body in charge is the National Fund Direction, which acts as the treasury for IPA funds). This is the case for the majority of IPA programs implemented in Albania, except for the common IPA-CBC established with Kosovo and FYROM. The latter is still managed by the EU offices located in Albania. Moreover, IPA funds are also used even if Albania (or another non-member state) participates in transnational cooperation initiatives like ADRION, EUSAIR etc. In fact, IPA is the only instrument that allows extra-EU countries to be part of, and hence to benefit from, the EU ETC initiatives.

What differentiates the programs is the way in which Albania participates in each of them. When the eligible area is the entire country (INTERREG IT-AL-ME, ADRION, EUSAIR etc.), the programs

are managed by central institutions; the local authorities are excluded from decision-making and participate only in the implementation). In all other cases (the majority of IPA CBC), Albania participates with local units (regions and municipalities), assisted by central government institutions.

In all cases, the common need is to involve not only institutional actors, but primarily civil society (NGOs, cultural institutions, SME networks), although this can prove challenging in practice (Allkja, 2017).

European Territorial Cooperation in Switzerland

In Switzerland, great attention is given to coordination across administrative borders and cross-border issues. This can be seen in the country's adoption and implementation of new cycles of European programs, such as INTERREG and URBACT, which has led to an increase in transnational cooperation and in the exchange of knowledge and experience, especially in the Swiss cross-border regions and municipalities.

In the 1990s, the participation of the Confederation and the cantons in European cross-border cooperation mainly pursued integration goals; later on, the interest shifted towards other objectives, such as the promotion of tourism, jobs and exchange programs (RegioSuisse, 2015).

Between 2014 and 2020 Switzerland participates in INTERREG V (A-B-C). Participation in the cross-border and interregional cooperation programs (strands A and C) is in the responsibility of the cantons, whereas the coordinates the participation of Switzerland in the transnational cooperation programs (strand B). Previously, the country participated in the 2007-2013 programming cycle, taking part in over 450 ETC projects, strengthening cross-border cooperation in order to face common challenges, such as natural risk management and sustainable development. As regards trans-European risk management, there are many interregional, cross-border disaster risk management projects involving cooperation between Italy and Switzerland (see e.g. Gillet et al., 2007). As explained on the ARE website^x, the Confederation is interested in a continuous trans-European collaboration, as the country's participation in the INTERREG programs seems to strengthen its competitiveness. However, because Switzerland is not a member of the EU and thus acts as an external partner, the country does not benefit from the EU structural funds. Instead, it finances its participation in the INTERREG initiatives itself.

ETC	Albania	Albania's participation	Funding support
INTERREG (A)	INTERREG IPA CBC Italy-Albania-Montenegro (2014-2020)	Albania is participating as a whole. Local authorities can only implement projects without being involved in the political decision making process. A key role is played by the Ministry of Integration, the Ministry of Finance and in particular by the National Fund Director.	The program is co-financed by each country and requires a minimum share of 15% (funds may be both public or private). For this period a total of 93 million EUR has been established. IPA II are managed according to the indirect mechanism that allows each country to manage funds.
	IPA CBC Montenegro – Albania (2014-2020)	Albania participates with local units (Region of Shkodra, Region of Lezhe and District of Tropoje) and the Ministry of Integration. In addition, in Shkoder the Antenna Office has been established, as the technical unit required for IPA-CBC.	The program is co-financed by each country and requires a minimum share of 15%. For this program an investment of around 14 million (12 by IPA funds and 2 based on co-financing rate) is foreseen. Indirect mechanism.
	INTERREG IPA CBC Greece – Albania (2014-2020)	Albania is participating with the Region of Vlorë, Gjirokastër, Korçë and Berat coordinated by the central level.	The general amount of the investments under this program is 36 million plus the co-financing rate at 15%. Indirect mechanism.
	IPA CBC Albania – Kosovo (2014-2020)	The participation in this program is restricted to Lezha and Kukës Region. As usual, the main authorities in the participating IPA II beneficiaries are the Ministry of European Integration assisted by the Joint Technical Secretariat established in Kukës.	Contrary to the other programs, the allocated funds (8.4 million) are managed directly by the EU through the Delegation of the European Union in Albania. The co-financing remains the same, 15%.
	IPA CBC FYROM – Albania (2014-2020)	The Albanian Regions involved in the program area are: Korce, Elbasan and Diber that cover twelve municipalities. Despite the institutional actors, great impulse has been given to the participation of civil society.	Similar to Kosovo, funds (14 million including co-financing) are directly managed by the EU.
INTERREG (B)	ADRION	Albania participates as a whole. The Unit for Cross Border and Transnational Cooperation is the national contact point.	According to the logic of the program, the total amount of the budget derives from ERDF and IPA II (for a total of 99.2 million) and co-financing 18.8 (15%).
	SEE - South East Europe Transnational (2007-2020)	The program covers the entire country.	As an IPA country, Albania participates through co-financing 15% of the budget with national funds. All transnational EU initiatives require a national budget contribution besides the majority of funds derived from ERDF and IPA II.
	EU Macro Region – EU-SAIR (2014)	Albania participates as one of the non-EU countries and is responsible for the Sustainable Tourism Pillar together with Croatia.	
	MED (2007-2020)	The contact point is the Ministry of Integration.	
	Balkan-Mediterranean (2014-2020)	The contact point is the Ministry of Integration.	
INTERREG (C)		n.a.	

Albania's participation in the main European Territorial Cooperation programs and related funding mechanisms Tab.3
Source: authors' own elaboration, 2018.

Since 2008, the cantons have been increasingly participating in the INTERREG programs, supporting cross-border initiatives and projects as part of the New Regional Policy (NRP). The NRP promotes ETC and supports the Swiss participation in the INTERREG, ESPON and URBACT programs. It provides financial assistance for programs, pro-

jects and initiatives, which contribute to the promotion of innovation, value creation and competitiveness in the various different regions. In 2004, the Swiss Secretary of State observed at a meeting on INTERREG that many of the innovative projects which have been initiated in cross-border

and interregional cooperation had a positive impact on the economic structure of the regions concerned (Gerber, 2004). For example, innovation promotion has become an important component of regional policy, strengthening its cross-border dimension. This could also lead to better technology transfer practices and to an increase in know-how exchange (see the CABEE and the NEUREX+ projects).

For the country's participation in the new programming period (2014-2020), the Confederation dedicated CHF 50-60 million of its Regional Development Fund. The cantons and the federal government pay for the financial assistance provided within the NRP framework in equal parts (table 4). The percentage of public funds in the total project volume has no limit. For projects to be eligible for funding, they must have an impact on border, rural or mountain regions. Those projects which are in line with ETC, are not subject to this rule and may be launched throughout Switzerland. Compared to the previous programming period, Swiss public contributions have increased considerably. Moreover, thanks to private, cantonal and national funding, projects relating to other sectoral areas and which do not necessarily pursue the objectives of the NRP can nowadays receive financial support as well (RegioSuisse, 2015: 9).

Since January 2008, the Confederation and the cantons have supported the Swiss participation in regional cross-border cooperation (INTERREG A) as part of the NRP and have participated in transnational (INTERREG B) and interregional programs (INTERREG Europe, URBACT, ESPON). In the implementation of the INTERREG projects, the cantons have room for maneuver, provided that federal funds and equivalent cantonal contributions are used for projects that are compatible with the regional policy objectives defined in the NRP. The cantons are free to participate in INTERREG V both inside and outside the NRP. As a result, they can also participate with their own resources in projects that do not obtain federal support. Swiss stakeholders can thus participate on their own initiative in projects that obtain only cantonal funding or that do not even obtain public funding. The thematic priorities, the application procedure, the evaluation and the selection criteria of projects vary depending on the type of program.

According to RegioSuisse, the platform for regional development in Switzerland^x, Swiss project partners taking part in an INTERREG, ESPON or URBACT project are generally not eligible for funding from the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF). However, the Swiss partners can request co-financing from the NRP. To be eligible for these federal funds, the projects have to be in line with the objectives of the NRP. There-

fore, they need to contribute to competitiveness and value creation in the respective region. Transnational projects can also be supported if they are of national strategic importance.

As regards CBC (strand A), Switzerland participates in four programs of the 2014-2020 programming period: Italy-Switzerland, France-Switzerland, Alpine Rhine-Lake Constance-Upper Rhine, and the Upper Rhine. The Italy-Switzerland cooperation program contributes to the common needs and objectives of the two countries. It is in line with both EU regulations and the NRP and aims to achieve the objectives of the EU2020 strategy. The France-Switzerland program is a joint cross-border strategy, which faces the current and future challenges of the economic development and the employment situation of the area. The Alpine Rhine-Lake Constance-Upper Rhine is an important European economic node, and the program aims to strengthen its competitiveness and innovation. The Upper Rhine Programme encourages collaboration in the field of training and research, promoting knowledge transferability and the mobility of workers. Moreover, Switzerland also participates in the Italy-France Alcotra Programme as an external partner.

Concerning transnational cooperation (strand B), Switzerland currently participates in the 2014-2020 Alpine Space Programme together with Austria, France, Germany, Italy, Liechtenstein and Slovenia. The Alpine Space Programme promotes cooperation between the European involved regions and aims at enhancing a sustainable development in the Alpine region, thus contributing to the EU2020 strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth. The country also participates in the 2014-2020 North-western Europe Programme, which endorses a sustainable and integrated development, in order to strengthen the whole region.

Since 2013, Switzerland has also been involved in the EU macro-region Strategy for the Alpine region (EUSALP), a new transnational instrument for the Alpine space. The macro-region aims to strengthen the cooperation between the Alpine regions and to address common challenges more effectively.

When it comes to interregional cooperation (strand C), Switzerland participates in INTERREG Europe, URBACT, ESPON and INTERACT programs. The cities of Basel, Lugano and Zurich have been participating in URBACT projects, improving and strengthening their partnership and cooperation with neighboring municipalities. Moreover, there has been an increase in strategic and supra-municipal CBC (see Solly, 2018). For example, as part of the Project de territoire Grand Genève 2016-2030, the French, Geneva and Vaud

partners decided on December 8th, 2016 to increase their cooperation and dialog. Another example is the plan for the Swiss-French metropolitan area of Geneva (Charte de l'agglomération Franco-Valdo-Genevoise), which promotes the implementation of urban planning policies and

the coordination of governance on a cross-border scale. Since 2002, Swiss research institutes have also been participating in various ESPON programs, improving scientific knowledge on territorial development across Europe and establishing networks with long-term international partners, showing a certain openness to the EU discourse

E T C	Switzerland	Swiss participation	Funding support
INTERREG (A)	INTERREG Italy - Switzerland (2014-2020)	Cantons provide support and advice to projects implemented in the Swiss territory while projects have to be coherent with what is promoted at the cantonal level (e.g. sectoral laws of reference).	Swiss project partners can apply for financial support from the Confederation and/or the canton, since they cannot obtain EU funds; projects funded by the Confederation need to pursue regional policy objectives promoted by the Confederation; cantons can participate in INTERREG A both within and outside the NRP; cantons can participate with their own means also in projects that are not supported by the Confederation.
	INTERREG France - Switzerland (2014-2020)	Both public and private actors can receive financial support; projects need the support of a partner from both sides of the border.	
	INTERREG Germany-Austria-Switzerland-Liechtenstein	Funds are conceived as a single initial contribution allowing the participation of private companies, organizations and public bodies as well as other associations and private citizens. In this view, projects must be implemented by at least two partners from different countries (one of which an EU Member State).	
	INTERREG France-Germany-Switzerland	Various actors can present project proposals; the Confederation and five cantons (Aargau, Basel-City, Basel-Campaign, Jura and Solothurn) provide funds for projects.	
INTERREG (B)	Alpine Space (2000-2020)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - institutions of all kinds can participate in the program - Swiss partners can also assume administrative responsibility for projects - the operational management of the program is assigned to the ARE 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - as for INTERREG A, Swiss project partners cannot apply for EU funds - under the NRP, the Confederation provides a national budget for Swiss project partners - the budget is administered by the ARE (Federal Office for Spatial Development)
	EU Macro Region - EUSALP (2015)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - no new legislation, no new funding, no new institutions - Switzerland is represented by the ARE and the CGCA (Confederation of Governments of the Alpine Cantons) 	
	North-western Europe (2000-2020)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - institutions of all kinds can participate in the program - the ARE acts as an interface for project partners and represents Switzerland within the program's steering committee 	
INTERREG (C)	ESPON (2000-2020)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Swiss research institutes can participate in ESPON projects - national, cantonal and private administrations can also participate in the program 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - project promoters from all cantons can participate - ESPON and URBACT programs allow the financing of only a part of the project costs; a substantial part of financing must be supported with own or third party funds
	URBACT (2000-2020)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Swiss cities can participate in a network as partners (also with research institutes and cantons) - the ARE (the Swiss contact point) is responsible for implementing the program, manages the partners' participation and supports Swiss cities that want to participate - Swiss participation in projects is part of the NRP framework 	
	INTERACT (2000-2020)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Switzerland participates in the program as a full member - the State Secretariat for Economic Affairs (SECO), the Swiss national contact point, is responsible for participation and makes an annual contribution under the NRP 	
	INTERREG EUROPE (2000-2020)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Swiss actors are admitted as project partners but not as lead partner; thus, they need to contact potential EU partners in advance - SECO (the national contact point) allocates funds to projects that implement regional policy measures 	

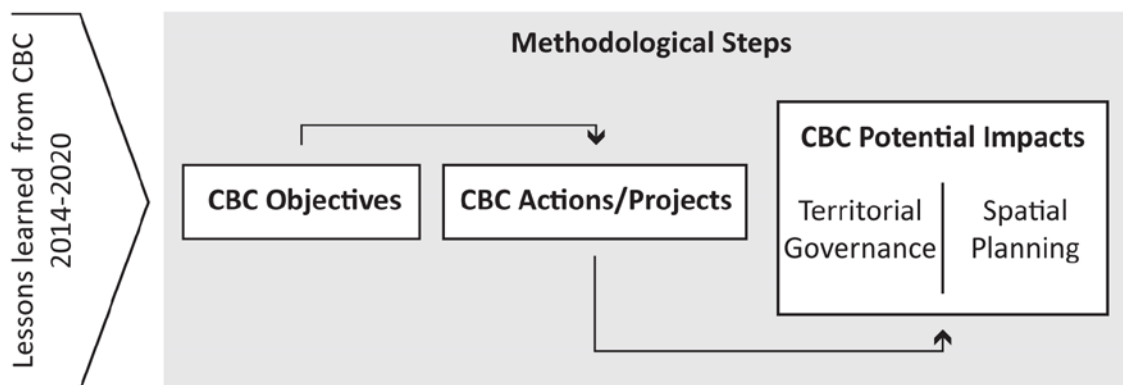
Switzerland's participation in the main European Territorial Cooperation programmes and related funding mechanisms Tab.4

Source: authors' own elaboration, 2018.

Potential impacts of Cross Border Cooperation on territorial governance and spatial planning systems in Albania and Switzerland

From the information presented in the section above, it is evident how both countries actively participate in ETC initiatives and, more especially, in CBC programs. Whereas the importance of CBC has been recognized by several actors, the impact of this special type of cooperation is still generally uninvestigated, and the impacts of CBC in influencing the evolution of domestic territorial governance and spatial planning are often underestimated. Although to make a thorough evaluation of these impacts would require a comprehensiveness of analysis beyond the scope of this contribution, a list of potential impacts of CBC in-

itiatives on territorial governance and spatial planning in Albania and Switzerland is proposed in this section for future testing and verification. Methodologically, each CBC program has been analyzed according to three different steps (figure 1). Firstly, those objectives of CBC programs with clear spatial implications and repercussions were identified. Secondly, the main financed actions/projects that may produce direct or indirect territorial governance and spatial planning impacts were highlighted. Thirdly, an attempt was made to elaborate on the potential impact(s) that the implementation of these actions can produce on territorial governance and spatial planning. In this regard, the impact on territorial governance and spatial planning has been analyzed by using four different analytical categories (see Cotella and Janin Riolin, 2015). These are the following: (i) the actors involved in the process; (ii) the spatial planning tools and their introduction or modification; (iii) the practices in the implementation of these tools and, more in general, in the overall functioning of the system; and (iv) the formal and informal debate concerning territorial governance and spatial planning.



Lessons learned from CBC 2014-2020 Fig.1
Source: authors' own elaboration, 2018.

By looking more carefully at each domestic context, several questions need to be addressed. As already mentioned, Albania participates in five CBC programs (table 5). Each program identifies its main objectives, priorities and actions by trying to answer the existing local needs and challenges. The majority of Albania's borders are characterized by great economic and social disparity. However, the rationalization of natural resources and cultural heritage are generally considered as key drivers for enhancing territorial development. Observing the sectoral aspects of CBC, tourism, environment and transport are certainly the main recurrent issues in the programs. Interestingly, there is a substantial convergence and synergy when it comes to the definition of the

objectives to achieve (often inspired by the EU) and the future challenges to be addressed (with place-based evidence).

One of the main impacts of these kinds of programs is the changing relationship between local authorities and other stakeholders, with respect to the implementation of projects and strategies. In this regard, all the programs foresee important changes in the existing territorial governance system. They envisage the introduction of new institutional and non-institutional actors (NGOs, CSOs, etc.) and the establishment of networks and partnerships between local government and stakeholders within and across the borders. To achieve this, new procedures are needed. Differently from

the past, it seems fundamental to improve the vertical coordination (within the country) and the horizontal coordination (between countries and sectors) of the institutional activity. This may involve not only specific sectors, but also the entirety of the institutional and social arrangements dealing with territorial management. This paradigmatic shift in territorial governance principles is progressively contributing to overcoming the tendency towards institutional fragmentation, thus leading towards a more collaborative approach. Even if it is too early to effectively evaluate the consequences of CBC, it should be noted that a multi-level and cross-border governance ap-

proach is becoming part of the administrative and political discourse. Concerning the potential impacts of CBC on spatial planning, it seems that spatial planning can be indirectly influenced by the introduction of sectoral feasibility studies, strategies, plans and action plans. Indeed, all the programs in some way entail the drafting of sectoral strategies and action plans concerning the environment, tourism, other stakeholders, the preservation of cultural heritage, energy, infrastructure, transport etc. Additional potential impacts might also be due to the introduction of EU discourse and the implementation of sectoral plans.

2014-2020	Objectives	Actions	Potential impacts on TG and SP
INTERREG-IPA IT - AL - ME	Encouraging tourism; conservation of cultural and natural heritage; protecting the environment and promoting climate change adaptation and mitigation; promoting sustainable transport and improving public infrastructures.	Developing common models and plans for sustainable tourism management; promoting actions for protection and quality of the environment; developing a Web-GIS Observatory Network; cross-border exchange of regional/national good practices; development of local sustainable energy action plans.	Actors: increasing involvement of local authorities for implementing projects and strategies; Discourse: intraregional connectivity, sustainable development, bottom-up community-led approach, integrated territorial investment; integrated actions for sustainable urban development; Tools: improvement of sectoral plans (i.e. transport), energy action plans); improvement of vertical (within the country) and horizontal coordination (among countries); Practice: implementation of sectoral plans (concerning transport and infrastructure).
IPA CBC ME - AL	The protection of the environmental, climate change adaption and mitigation, risk prevention and management; encouraging tourism and cultural and natural heritage.	Establishing cross-border synergies for the management of the protected areas located, support for reduction of pollution and management of sensitive ecosystems, integrated environmental monitoring systems.	Actors: rise of new institutional and non-intuitional actors, establishment of partnerships between local governments and local stakeholders; Discourse: local/regional governance, multi-level and cross-border governance; Tools: sectoral strategies and actions plans (environment, tourism, cultural heritage); Practice: readiness of authorities to deal with cross-cutting principles (transparency, participation etc.) and improvement of vertical and horizontal) coordination
INTERREG-IPA EL - AL	Increase the capacity of cross-border infrastructures; the effectiveness of environmental protection and sustainable use of natural resources; effectiveness of risk prevention and disaster management.	Planning, construction and rehabilitation of border crossings of road network; joint initiatives for environmental protection; introduction of maritime plans improving the planning, cooperation and response capacity for disaster management.	Actors: inclusion of new non-institutional actors (NGOs, CSOs, etc.); Discourse: regional integration; inter-governmental and collaborative approach; Tools: definition of planning priorities and principles concerning sectoral plans (exchange of data in the field of transport, infrastructure, energy and environment); Practice: cross-fertilization and inclusive mechanism in dealing with territorial and cross-border regional development, improvement of vertical coordination and horizontal of institutional activity.
IPA AL - XK	Promoting sustainable use of natural resources, renewable energy sources and the shift towards a safe and sustainable low-carbon economy; joint actions to encourage tourism and promote cultural and natural heritage.	Preparation of strategies and action plans for, prevention and mitigation of manmade hazards and natural disasters, introducing cross-border mapping and integrated environmental monitoring systems;	Actors: transnational collaboration between different multi-level territorial systems for improving services networking and encourage the emergence of common strategies; Discourse: cross-border visions and strategies; sustainable development; Tools: site-specific sectoral plans concerning tourism, environment etc.; Practice: increasing capacity of local actors to deal with EU funds, programs and strategies, improvement of vertical coordination and horizontal of institutional activity.
IPA FYROM - AL	Encouraging tourism, culture and natural heritage, protecting the environment, promoting climate change adaptation and mitigation, risk prevention and management.	Development and promotion of joint tourism products and services; restoration and preservation of cultural and historical sites and associated built environment; promoting and supporting sustainable use of natural resources and environment.	Actors: more involvement of different groups of stakeholders; Discourse: multi-level and cross-border governance; Tools: potential influence on the new local plans priorities according to CBC objectives; Practice: cross-fertilisation and inclusive mechanism in dealing with territorial and cross-border regional development improvement of vertical coordination and horizontal of institutional activity.

Synoptic table: main cross-border cooperation in which Albania is involved Tab.5

Source: authors' own elaboration, 2018.

2014-2020	Objectives	Actions	Potential impacts on TG and SP
INTERREG IT – CH	The protection and promotion of natural and cultural heritage; the development and promotion of environmentally sustainable means of transportation; the promotion of social inclusion.	Promotion of the natural and cultural heritage; integrated and sustainable mobility; services for the integration of communities; strengthening cross-border governance.	Actors: additional public sector staff involved in initiatives which enhance the administrative capacity at a cross-border level; Discourse: public participation, sustainability, cross-border governance; Tools: harmonization of CBC projects to cantonal sectoral strategies, plans and political actions; Practice: more involvement of institutions in the strategic planning of transports and water management initiatives, promotion of the institutional and administrative cooperation, improving the relationship between citizens and institutions.
INTERREG FR – CH	Maintain and reinstate the weakened ecosystems and to put in place new sustainable land use bodies; increase the use of sustainable transport for cross-border travel and improve access to the regions.	Bringing organisations closer together for innovation and supporting innovative projects; protecting and making the most of cultural and natural heritage; encouraging sustainable transport.	Actors: emergence of sustainable land use bodies; Discourse: innovation promotion which derives from the EU2020 strategy, cross-border governance; Tools: increased number of coordinated land-use planning initiatives; Practice: emergence of innovative projects and planning initiatives, improved CBC, the development of local services.
INTERREG DE-AT-CH-LI	Improve energy efficiency and the use of renewable energy in public infrastructure and in the housing sector; increase the attractiveness of the common natural and cultural heritage; conserving and improving biodiversity, reducing air pollution.	Competitiveness, innovation, employment and education; environment, energy and transport; cooperation of administrations and civic commitment.	Actors: improved quality of cross-border administrations and institutions; Discourse: participation, innovative approach which derives from the EU2020 strategy, multi-level and cross-border governance, integrated border region; Tools: fostering of renewable energy and natural heritage issues in sectoral and cross-border plans; Practice: more bottom-up participation and civic commitment in the implementation of cross-border strategies and plans, improved cooperation between the institutions.
INTERREG FR-DE-CH	Improve the protection of plant and animal species; reduce the environmental impact of the economic development; increase the share of transport of people and goods with a lower environmental impact.	Smart growth; sustainable growth; inclusive growth; territorial cohesion.	Actors: more attention to sustainability issues, identification of stakeholders and citizens with the Upper Rhine Region; Discourse: sustainability, environmental protection, cross-border governance, territorial cohesion, EU2020 strategy; Tools: increase of attention on sectoral plans linked to environmental issues; Practice: improvement of the quality of cross-border services, of administrations and institutions; promotion of territorial cohesion and cross-border cooperation between administrations and citizens.

Synoptic table: main cross-border cooperation in which Switzerland is involved Tab.6

Source: authors' own elaboration, 2018.

As explained previously, Switzerland participates in four CBC programs. As for Albania, it is too soon to fully evaluate the impact of the 2014-2020 CBC programs in Switzerland, but it is possible to make some preliminary observations. As can be seen in table 6, the CBC programs which have a spatial impact in Switzerland are mainly those related to the protection of the environment, the development of sustainable means of transportation and the promotion of cultural heritage. These programs seem to enhance horizontal coordination and the sectoral policy fields impacting on the country's territorial governance and spatial planning. Similarly to what is happening in Albania, CBC programs could lead to the establishment of new roles for actors and institutions, and the reinforcement of networks between

the various governmental levels and beyond administrative borders. Moreover, these programs also enhance the country's vertical and cross-border coordination and cooperation, as well as promote multi-level governance.

In general, it seems that in Switzerland administrative structures at the national, cantonal and local level adapt quite well to CBC projects and policies. It also seems that the high autonomy of the cantons enables them to develop cross-border relations with sub-state entities more effectively (Saint-Ouen, 2013: 8). For RegioSuisse, the paradigm shift that characterizes the 2014-2020 programming period of the EU regional policy, namely EU Cohesion Policy, seems to converge and create synergies with the Swiss New Regional Policy, the NRP. Furthermore, the current ESPON project on Action Areas (ACTAREA) has

been exploring the added value and potential advantages of new forms of cooperation areas, also looking at the Swiss experience of the 'action areas'.

Conclusions and Recommendations

As this paper has shown, ETC is one of the main objectives of the EU not only within its territory, but also among EU Member States and external countries. Focusing more on the latter, the importance of ETC and in particular of CBC is evident. Indeed, thanks to the CBC, Switzerland has had the opportunity to effectively integrate its spatial development within the main EU spatial strategies. Similarly, but at a slower pace, Albania tries to position its territorial transformation within the scope of EU development by improving the collaboration among neighboring countries as recognized by the National Strategy for Development and Integration 2014-2020.

One outcome of this process of territorial integration is the potential redefinition of domestic territorial governance and spatial planning. As has been demonstrated in the past, participating in ETC (and especially in CBC initiatives) has allowed border areas to be much more integrated, increasing their competitiveness and attractiveness (Dühr, Stead and Zonneveld, 2007). From the point of view of territorial governance and spatial planning, it is interesting to note how the territorial governance changes in terms of the actors involved, as well as the procedures and principles. Whereas the spatial planning changes thanks to the cross-fertilization of spatial planning tools, practices and discourse. In this regard, the present paper stresses the idea of the mutual cross-fertilization of territorial governance and spatial planning, not only to target the border areas directly interested by CBC programs, but also the

central level institutions where the decision-making usually takes place (this is particularly true for Albania, less so for Switzerland).

To further explore the impacts of ETC, and in particular of CBC programs, on territorial governance and spatial planning in Albania and Switzerland – and, more in general, in other non-member countries – on the basis of the collected evidence it is possible to make the following recommendations:

To focus further on the *role of actors*, both institutional and non-institutional, and the nature/quality of their involvement in the implementation of actions and projects and the establishment of networks and partnerships between local government and local stakeholders within and across the border;

To analyze the changes in *spatial planning tools*, in terms of the introduction of new documents and strategies, as well as the coordination between spatial planning and programming activities;

To evaluate the changing mechanisms in *relational procedures* in terms of the improvement of vertical (within the various territorial levels) and horizontal (between countries, administrative units as well as sectors of interventions) coordination, together with the *practices* that characterize the making and implementation of spatial planning and development tools;

To explore the evolution of domestic *spatial planning discourse* through the introduction and/or consolidation of new territorial governance paradigms and spatial planning concepts inspired by the EU's spatial planning discourse (e.g. polycentrism, urban-rural relations, functional regions etc.).

Overall, the evidence presented in this contribution shows how relevant ETC initiatives, especially CBC programs, can be for the future of European integration, and in particular for providing the border relations among neighboring countries with a stronger territorial dimension.

NOTES

ⁱ In 1991 the EU and Albania started diplomatic contacts, and Albania was therefore ahead of the other countries. Until that time, no economic and political relations existed. In 1992, the Trade and Cooperation Agreement, about trade exchanges, commercial and economic cooperation was signed between the EU and Albania (Goxha, 2016).

ⁱⁱ In this regard, the National Strategy for Development and Integration 2014-2020 represents an example of how the country is being aligned to the EU.

ⁱⁱⁱ In the EU Report on Albania (2015), the European Commission addresses five key priorities: 1 - establishment of a professional and depoliticized administration; 2 - enhance the impartiality of the judiciary; 3 - strengthen the fight against organized crime; 4 - strengthen the fight against corruption; 5- reinforce protection of human rights.

^{iv} FYROM stands for Former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia. Currently, the use of the acronym is under debate by the Macedonian and Greek parliaments.

^v *ADRION includes: Albania, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Croatia, Greece, Italy, Montenegro, Serbia, Slovenia.*

^{vi} *The Strategy SEE 2020 identifies five goals: (i) Integrated Growth - Trade and Investment; (ii) Smart Growth - Education and Innovation; (iii) Sustainable Growth - Infrastructure and Environment; (iv) Inclusive Growth - Job Growth; (v) Governance for Growth- Good Governance.*

^{vii} *The EUSAIR identifies four thematic pillars: (i) Driving innovative maritime and marine growth; (ii) Connecting the regions; (iii) Preserving, protecting and improving the quality of the environment; (iv) Increasing regional attractiveness.*

^{viii} *The EUSAIR includes four Member States – Croatia, Greece, Italy, Slovenia and four extra-EU states namely Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia.*

^{ix} *<https://www.admin.ch/gov/it/pagina-iniziale/documentazione/comunicati-stampa.msg-id-1139.html>*

^x *<https://regiosuisse.ch/it/politica-regionale-dellue-2014-2020>*

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ADDRESSES

Alys Solly, Research Fellow, DIST, Politecnico di Torino, Viale Mattioli, 39 - 10125 Turin, Italy, alys.solly@polito.it

Erblin Berisha, Research Fellow, DIST, Politecnico di Torino, Viale Mattioli, 39 - 10125 Turin, Italy, erblin.berisha@polito.it

Giancarlo Cotella, Associate Professor, DIST, Politecnico di Torino, Viale Mattioli, 39 - 10125 Turin, Italy, giancarlo.cotella@polito.it

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

ALYS SOLLY – is a Research Fellow at the Politecnico di Torino where she recently completed her PhD in Urban and Regional Development. Her research interests concern spatial planning and territorial governance, focusing on recent trends and developments, as well as their correlations with well-being and sustainability. In 2012 she spent an Erasmus semester at the Royal Institute of Technology (KTH) in Stockholm and in 2014 she was a Blue Book trainee at the European Commission in Brussels. Since 2014 she has also collaborated at ITHACA (Information Technology for Humanitarian Assistance, Cooperation and Action), a non-profit research institute based in Torino. She participated in the ESPON COMPASS 2016-2018 project, which focused on the comparative analysis of territorial governance and spatial planning in Europe, and was responsible for the section on Switzerland.

ERBLIN BERISHA – is a Research Fellow at Politecnico di Torino where he holds a PhD in Urban and Regional Development. His interests and research activities focus on exploring the main drivers of change of spatial planning and territorial governance in the Western Balkans Region. As part of the DIST - Interuniversity Department of Regional and Urban Studies and Planning research team, he participated in ESPON COMPASS, co-author of the Additional Countries Feasibility Study. Currently, he is the coordinator of Balkans Spatial Perspective, a new research platform focuses on spatial planning, urban development and socio-spatial transformations in the Western Balkan Region.

GIANCARLO COTELLA – is Associate Professor at Politecnico di Torino. His research focuses on EU territorial governance and the Europeanization of spatial planning in the member states. In particular, his work targeted central and eastern European countries and, more recently, the western Balkan region. He coordinated or participated to several international research projects (among which: MILESECURE-2050, ESPON COMPASS, ESPON ReSSI, ESPON URRUC, ESPON TANGO, ESPON Smart-Ist, ESPON 2.3.2 Governance, ESPON 2.3.1 ESDP) and published widely in the international literature. He has been visiting professor at various European and international universities and institutions, and actively participates in the activities of the Association of European Schools of Planning.

SAFEGUARDING SERVICES IN HEALTH PROVISION AND HEALTH CARE IN RURAL BORDER AREAS.

An investigation using the example of the Greater Region

Kirsten Mangels, Robert Riethmüller

In the context of demographic change and the associated shrinking and aging of the population, the safeguarding of basic public services in rural areas faces great challenges. Rural border areas find themselves in a special situation due to their spatial position and must overcome additional challenges if they want to cooperate with their neighbors in the provision of basic public services.

The article investigates cross-border cooperation in the field of basic public services in rural sub-spaces of the Greater Region. The study area comprises the German local authorities on the German-French border within the Greater Region. A concise inventory of the health services, a written survey of German regional corporations in the German-French border area, and case studies of projects (e.g. INTERREG A projects) are used to demonstrate the successes, challenges and opportunities of cross-border approaches in the field of health provision.

Demographic change – safeguarding services of general interest – rural border areas – cross-border approaches and projects – cross-border cooperation – Greater Region

SICHERUNG DER GESUNDHEITSDASEINSVORSORGE IN LÄNDLICHEN GRENZREGIONEN. Eine Untersuchung am Beispiel der Großregion

DE Die Sicherung der Daseinsvorsorge in ländlichen Räumen steht vor dem Hintergrund des demografischen Wandels und der damit verbundenen Schrumpfung und Alterung der Bevölkerung vor großen Herausforderungen. Ländliche Grenzräume stellen hierbei auf Grund ihrer räumlichen Lage eine besondere Situation dar und haben zusätzliche Herausforderungen zu meistern, wenn sie mit ihren Nachbarn im Bereich der Daseinsvorsorge kooperieren möchten.

Der Artikel untersucht die grenzüberschreitende Zusammenarbeit im Bereich der Gesundheitsvorsorge in ländlichen Teilräumen der Großregion. Der Untersuchungsraum umfasst die deutschen Gebietskörperschaften die an der deutsch-französischen Grenze innerhalb der Großregion liegen. Anhand einer knappen Bestandsaufnahme des Daseinsvorsorgebereichs Gesundheit, einer schriftlichen Befragung der deutschen Gebietskörperschaften im deutsch-französischen Grenzraum sowie anhand von Projektbeispielen (bspw. INTERREG A - Projekten), sollen Erfolge, Hemmnisse und Chancen grenzüberschreitender Ansätze aufgezeigt werden.

Demografischer Wandel – Sicherung der Daseinsvorsorge – ländliche Grenzräume – grenzüberschreitende Ansätze und Projekte – grenzüberschreitende Zusammenarbeit – Großregion

ASSURER DES SERVICES DE SANTÉ DANS LES ZONES FRONTALIÈRES RURALES – une étude en utilisant l'exemple de la Grande Région

FR La sécurisation des services publics dans les zones rurales représente un défi important dans le contexte du changement démographique, de la contraction et du vieillissement de la population qui en suivent. En raison de leur situation géographique, les zones frontalières rurales ont une situation particulière et doivent faire face à des défis supplémentaires si elles veulent coopérer avec leurs voisins dans le domaine des services d'intérêt général. L'article examine la coopération transfrontalière dans le domaine de la santé dans les zones rurales de la Grande Région. Les autorités régionales allemandes à la frontière franco-allemande au sein de la Grande Région servent de zone d'étude. Les succès, les obstacles et les opportunités des approches transfrontalières y sont présentés sur la base de la discussion des responsabilités et des ententes d'intérêt général entre la France et l'Allemagne, d'une brève enquête sur la santé générale dans la zone d'intérêt et d'une interrogation des autorités allemandes dans la zone frontalière franco-allemande tout en utilisant des exemples de projets (par exemple INTERREG A - Projets).

Changement démographique - sauvegarde des services d'intérêt général - zones frontalières rurales - approches et projets transfrontaliers - coopération transfrontalière - Grande Région

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Introduction: Problems in the provision of basic public services in border areas

The cross-border region of Lorraine, Luxembourg, the Saarland and Rhineland-Palatinate shares a number of historical features that distinguish it from other cross-border regions. As the nucleus of the European idea, the SarLorLux region looks back on a long period of cross-border cooperation based on close economic and cultural links and interdependencies. Triggered by the crisis of the steel industry in the 1970s, the region has undergone a diversified structural change process, manifested very differently in the individual sub-regions. Areas with an expanding tertiary sector and a growing population, such as in Luxembourg, contrast with parts of Lorraine still facing a painful economic adjustment process since the loss of classic employment opportunities in the steel industry and plagued by high youth unemployment rates. Likewise, the more rural German border areas of Saarland and Rhineland-Palatinate are characterized by a pronounced demographic aging process of the population and continuous outmigration of young people and families. This confronts them with specific challenges to economic development and the safeguarding of basic public services. Basic public services or 'Services of General Interest' (SGI) - the politico-normative term used in the EU and EC context - are generally understood as the "arrangements, tasks and functions assumed to be of essential importance to citizen welfare, quality of life and participation as well as providing the basic infrastructure requirements for businesses to function successfully." (ESPON 2013: 11)

In a region characterized by a high percentage of cross-border commuters, access to health services across the border without severe financial or bureaucratic stepping stones for employees and dependents is essential for the creation of adequate living conditions and equal opportunities¹. Since the 1970s, migrant workers and cross-border commuters have had the same rights as the citizens of their respective place of work. The introduction of the Euro, the Schengen Agreement and the European regulations on the coordination of social security systems (Regulation EC 883/2004 and 987/2009) as well as the European Directive on patient mobility (2011/24/EU) have generally led to a simplification of the cross-border use of health services. (cf. Funk, I. 2015).

The EU's multi-level governance goals in cross-border healthcare are to improve patient care and to prevent duplication of health infrastructures,

hence fostering a better utilization of the facilities. Catchment areas restricted by national borders could thereby be better serviced, especially regarding the accessibility and viability of specialized facilities. The shortage of skilled workers in the healthcare sector, which is already noticeable today and will become even more acute in the future, also increases the pressure to find, test, and apply new approaches and solutions through cross-border cooperation initiatives and projects. Towns and municipalities have to adapt to a changing demand for infrastructures and services and secure the future of the community with new concepts and cooperation models for providing public services.

A special situation arises for rural border regions when it comes to safeguarding their public services. Border communities with a declining total resident population but an increasing number of less mobile senior citizens face a difficult scenario in maintaining the present status quo of their health services. The enlargement of health service catchment areas across the border and the avoidance of expensive health infrastructure facilities on both sides of the border in theory offer potential solutions to save costs and improve health service efficiency. However, in reality, cooperation efforts across borders in the provision of services of general interest are often hampered by different administrative state systems and language barriers.

Objectives and methodology of the health care study

The study area for this assessment of general health services and the future challenges in light of changing demands for basic medical services comprises the German local authorities located at the Franco-German border of the Greater Region (see figure 2). Existing and planned concepts and projects for securing basic services and approaches to cross-border cooperation as well as the local authorities' views on particular obstacles, opportunities, and challenges of cross-border projects were examined.

A written survey was conducted to assess the existing and planned strategies and projects for securing basic public services of the study area's local and regional authorities. In addition, already implemented cross-border projects supported in the Greater Region INTERREG IV A program (2007-2013) with the objective to safeguard health services were evaluated.

Building on this, challenges and opportunities for cross-border cooperation projects to secure basic public services in border regions will be dis-

cussed and funding opportunities will be identified within the framework of the Operational Programme for the Greater Region 2014-2020.

Although France is less affected by aging processes in the context of demographic change than Germany, the French state is pursuing a strategy of territorial cohesion to ensure a balanced development of the territorial structure. The focus here is on the regional economic revitalization, the stimulation of entrepreneurial investment and population inflows, and the creation of an improved quality of life and environment, especially in rural areas. In France, too, the public provision of basic public services in the health sector, especially in sparsely populated rural areas, is reaching its limits.

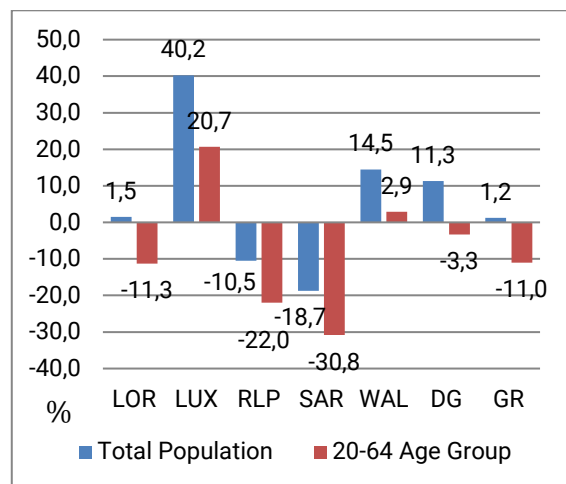
Current and future challenges for securing health care in the Franco-German border region of the Greater Region

Safeguarding basic public services must generally be analyzed in the context of demographic and economic structural change. Declining population figures endanger the economic viability of basic public services, and an aging population presents new demands and thus the need for adaptive health care facilities.

The population development in the national sub-regions of the Greater Region has developed very differently in recent years. Population growth of over 23% in the prospering economic region of Luxembourg is offset by a significant decline of between 5% and 8% in the border districts of the Saarland and Rhineland-Palatinate (Geoportal Großregion 2017). In contrast to the German border region, Lorraine shows a slightly positive growth. The differences in demographic development can be partially explained by a tendency towards higher birth rates in France and Luxembourg. More important, however, are the migratory movements that explain the increase in the population of Luxembourg.

The population forecast for 2030 shows a slight population decline of 2.5% for Lorraine, while the population decline in the German communities of the border region is expected to be more severe. The effects of a rising life expectancy and a continuing decline or stagnation of natural birth rates will have a profound impact on the region's age and employment structure and hence the future tasks of securing health service provisions.

In the Greater Region, a further increase in the number of people aged 60 to 79 and over 80 is forecasted in the future (25% of those aged 60 to



Population change forecast in % by region 2010 – 2040 Fig.1

Source: Geoportal Greater Region https://www.sig-gr.eu/de/cartes-thematiques/demographie/projection-population/Projection_population_totale_population_age_actif_2010-2040.html

79 and 7% of those over 80 in 2030) with a further decline in the number of people under 20 years (20% in 2030) (IBA/OIE 2014: 26).

The demographic situation and the anticipated developments in the Franco-German border region are as follows:

- Basically, two different area categories can be differentiated: Areas where the population is expected to decline and is increasingly affected by a shrinking working age population (Saarland and Rhineland-Palatinate) and areas where the total population is slightly growing while the working population is also declining (Lorraine).

- While the population development on the French side was relatively stable between 2000 and 2013, with a slight growth of 1.4 %, the German population shrank by up to 9.6 % during this period, despite migration gains on the Rhineland-Palatinate side. By 2030, a population loss of 2.5% is also predicted for the French border regions, as well as up to 9.7 % in the German border regions.

- The declining population trend will cause problems with regard to the sustainability of public services, especially in areas with already low population densities (e.g. in the district of Southwest Palatinate and in the French arrondissement of Sarreguemines).

- The aging of the population will require an adjustment of health care facilities on both the French and German sides and the demographic forecast will have an impact on the planning of medical care facilities and services of the inhabitants.

- These developments also present numerous challenges for other areas of public services, such as mobility, education and the local supply and retail services.

Analysis of health care services in the Franco-German border region

The analysis of the current status of community-based social services is based on an inventory and localization of general practitioners and general hospitals. In order to preserve local communities as attractive places to live and work, these facilities should be available close to the place of residence and throughout the country.

The provision of primary care (by general practitioners or internists) and the accessibility of primary care hospitals vary in the border region. With the exception of the concentration of doctor's offices and inpatient treatment facilities in and around the city of Saarbrücken, the density of general practitioners and hospitals in the more rural areas is relatively low, especially in the eastern part of the study area. Another problem for future basic medical care is the high average age of practicing physicians and the resulting unsecured need for replacement staff (Mangels, Wohland 2018).

A survey of the location of general practitioners and hospitals in the French border communities along the Rhineland-Palatinate-French border, shows that this problem situation is similar in the much more sparsely populated French part of the border region. Therefore, new forms of cooperation in cross-border medical emergency care and the utilization of basic medical services must be intensified in the future.

People insured in Germany have the right to receive medical treatment in another EU member state, e.g. France (according to Regulation 883/2004, Regulation 987/2009 and Directive 2011/24/EU). For persons with statutory health insurance, two procedures are possible: to request either a health insurance pre-approval for treatment or to pay for the services up front and request reimbursement. Both variants have advantages and disadvantagesⁱⁱ, which will not be discussed further here.

For a theoretically possible treatment in another Member State, however, there are certain hurdles for the patient: if necessary, the patient may only be entitled to benefits after prior authorization has been granted by the health insurance company, a contract service provider must be sought in the country of treatment, administrative lump sums must be paid by the health insurance company or translation costs for invoices, etc. Moreover, in the German-French border region in particular, there are often language problems not only with regard to the patient interview, but also with regard to the patient file. It is also unclear to what extent people living in the border region are aware of the possibility of having planned treatment abroad.

Assessment of the health care situation and general service provision projects by German local authorities at the Franco-German border region

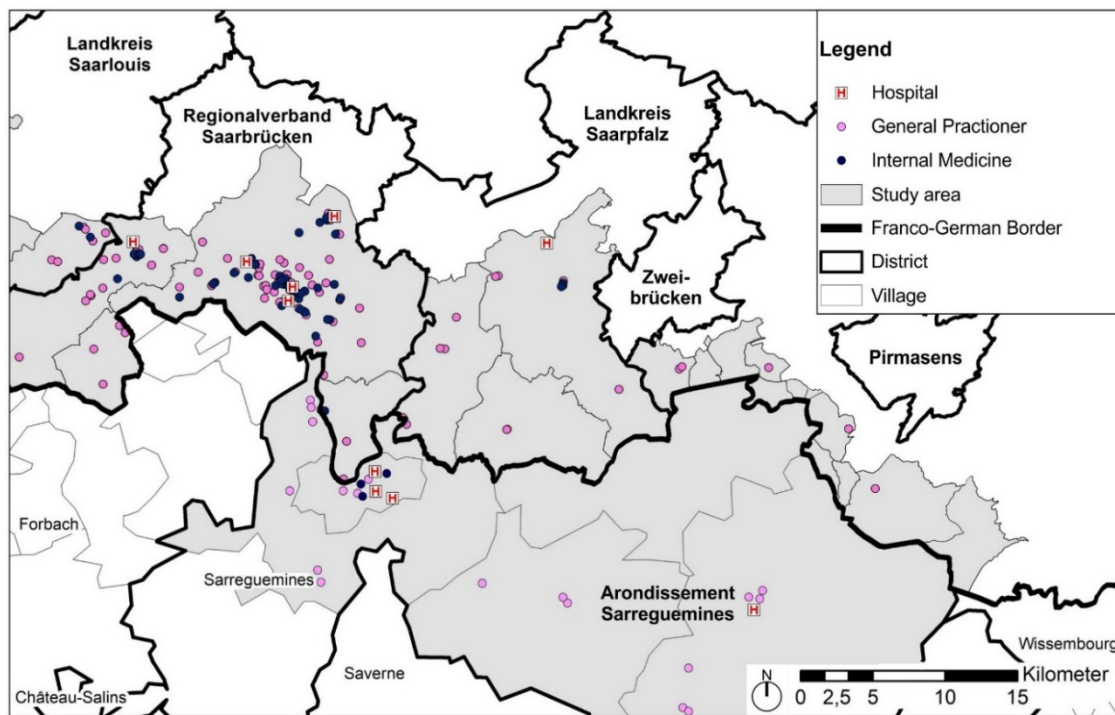
In order to assess the existing and future situation of basic public services in the health sector as well as existing and planned strategies, concepts and projects, 32 German local and regional authorities along the border were interviewed in writing between July and August 2015. The survey included questions on ongoing, completed and envisaged projects to improve basic health services through cross border cooperation. The response rate of the open questionnaires was around 40% (Mangels, Wohland 2018). Due to time and cost considerations the survey had to be confined to the German side of the border.

More than three quarters of the local authorities surveyed expressed already existing problems in securing basic public services. This problematic situation is expected to increase in the future. Half of the local authorities surveyed expect increasing problems with primary health care. In addition, the situation was exacerbated by almost all local authorities reporting problems for people with limited mobility and a lack of public transport connections, so that the accessibility of primary health care facilities is also viewed to be critical in the future.

The local authorities' assessment of securing accessible future basic health service provision close to patients' places of residence reflects the above mentioned demographic development trends and the already existing deficits in accessibility of primary health care services in some more rural areas, especially in the district of the Südwestpfalz.

In principle, all local authorities have a pronounced awareness of the problems involved in providing basic social services. This assessment is also confirmed by the fact that more than three-quarters of local authorities have already developed or are preparing concepts to safeguard basic public services. These are mainly integrated or sectorial development concepts on topics such as local retail facilities, climate protection, transport planning and urban development. Concepts and strategies explicitly concerned with securing basic social services in view of demographic change however are relatively rare.

The survey showed that more than half of the local authorities already had projects and initiatives to safeguard basic public services, and three more are planned. The projects cover a wide range of services of general interest, such as retail and supply, medical care in rural areas, management of building gaps and occupancy vacan-



Distribution of Doctors and Hospitals Fig.2

Source: authors' own compilation based on website information of local authorities in study area.

cies and education provision by merging primary schools and community schools. Other noticeable projects are to secure mobility, such as market buses, transport services and call collection taxis, as well as the expansion of broadband digital connections.

In contrast to the large number of projects within the local authorities, however, cross-border projects to secure basic public services hardly play a role. Only four local authorities mentioned being involved in such projects: a cross-border water supply and a cross-border flood-water protection partnership for the Mosel river; improved public transport connections to France through the establishment and maintenance of cross-border bus lines, car-sharing and park-and-ride areas; an agreement on emergency medical care between clinics; and the SaarMoselle Eurodistrict's action program with various cross-border projects and studies in the fields of transport, education and health.

While in most of the surveyed local authorities' concepts and projects to secure basic public services in future existed already, hardly any further projects were mentioned to be planned and initiated.

It would be interesting to carry out a similar survey and evaluation among the French communities along the border region to determine their general awareness and assessment of the problem situation and to identify location, nature and

extent of existing and planned activities to improve and secure general service provision on that part of the border. This would help to further explore possible options for cross-border cooperation in problem areas of health care.

The Operational Programme (OP) for the Greater Region (INTERREG A) has made it possible to support cross-border cooperation projects in the field of health cooperation in the framework of the European Territorial Cooperation (ETC) during the programming period 2007-2013. In the health sector, there were four projects with Franco-German participation in the INTERREG funding period 2007-2013. These were: prevention and promotion in the field of mental health (PPSM project), a drug prevention project for youth (MAG-NET 2), a project for improved nutrition (NESCAV) and the SANTRANSFOR project, which aims to improve the general frame conditions for a trans-border access to medical health services throughout the Greater Region.

The main focus of INTERREG A project activities in the health care sector was the further education and training of medical personnel and the development of joint programs and strategies for prevention. However, it is striking that no project for the direct provision of basic medical care had been funded or applied for and that no municipal partners were involved in any project. For the local authorities, the prospects of financial support for cross-border cooperation in the health sector were apparently unattractive in order to develop

innovative solutions for the future security of health services.

Reasons for this could be that the duration of INTERREG projects is limited and that the partnerships tend to be reorganized and restructured continuously, while medium to long-term partnership solutions are generally needed as a basis of continuity in cross-border projects in the field of service provision of general interest. It is also conceivable that national formats, such as national inter-municipal cooperation or pilot projects in regional planning, are currently still chosen as exchange and innovation platforms, since the same or similar legal bases, standards, instruments, etc. can be used. Another reason for the low level of participation in cross-border cooperation projects could also have been the restrictive effect of limited staffing resources of municipalities, associations of municipalities and districts.

Barriers and opportunities for cross-border projects to secure basic public services in rural border areas

Experience with cross-border cooperation projects in the field of health care in various EU member states has been available for more than 30 years. A thorough overview and analysis of the experience with cross-border cooperation projects in German Euregio regions for example has been provided in a dissertation by Wolf. (Wolf, U. 2008) A recent study of all 423 EU funded projects between 2007 and 2016/17 EU (European Union 2018) confirms that cross-border cooperation is most likely to be established in cross-border regions with similar welfare traditions and historical ties (e.g. Scandinavian countries or Italy-Austria and Italy-Slovenia) and in communities in close proximity to both sides of a border. In terms of content, half of the projects examined focused on the exchange of knowledge between health authorities and hospitals, 23% of the projects on improving treatment and diagnosis, and 12% on staff training. The lowest project focus areas were cross-border emergency services (6%), the mutual use of highly specialized capital investments (5%) and science and research (4%). The authors of the study point out that there is generally only scarce information and data available on questions of effectiveness and sustainability of current cooperation in cross-border health care and that there is a corresponding need for research in this direction.

In the authors' survey of German local authorities in the Franco-German border region of the Greater Region, the language barriers and different legislations and responsibilities were highlighted as

specific obstacles to cross-border cooperation. Cross-border care in outpatient health care often fails due to the low bilingualism of both patients and health care staff. The full coverage of costs by health insurance companies in the case of cross-border health care service provision was also still assessed as difficult or uncertain. Another problem field mentioned was the shortage of specialists in nursing and the shortage of doctors. Astonishingly, even the cross-border networking and coordination of rescue forces and missions was partially regarded as problematic. In general, the survey revealed very different opinions and assessments of cross-border projects. While two local authorities criticized the lack of project partners and one unsuccessful project, other local authorities gave a more positive assessment of the prospects for successful cooperation.

The willingness for cross-border cooperation only increases with increasing problem pressure. As long as, for example, problems of the sustainability of municipal infrastructure can be solved through cooperation with neighboring municipalities in the same administrative system or use of language, cross-border cooperation is unlikely to be sought as an alternative due to a much higher coordination and organizational effort level.

In local politics, securing the location of health care facilities is very important and often stands in the way of the search for innovative solutions, e.g. in the form of cooperation with adjacent communities.

Cross-border cooperation requires a high level of personal commitment on the part of the cooperation partners and rather stable interpersonal working relationships over a longer period of time among the involved cooperation partners and institutions. Successful examples of other projects and initiatives of cross-border cooperation in Central Europe confirm the importance of long-term personal commitment, a common understanding of the problem situation and relatively non-bureaucratic access to resources in order to develop, try out and finally establish sustainable concepts for the improvement of local service provision of general interest (European Union, 2018).

Kochskämper points out that despite obvious advantages in terms of potential efficiency gains and the reduction of underutilized health infrastructure facilities the current organization of national health systems have many in-built features that prevent cross-border cooperation in basic health provision and the utilization of health services across the border. National health systems are organized in a strongly national frame, there is a lack of information for patients about extent and costs of the health service catalogues and

the implicit rationing as a commonly used tool to keep the costs of health care systems under control. Additionally the tax financing of medical infrastructure conflicts with cross-border cooperation (cf. Kochskämper 2017).

The opportunities for cross-border cooperation to secure services of general interest arise, on one hand, from an enlargement of the catchment area of health facilities. On the other hand, the range of services can be optimized or expanded through pooling available resources and facilities. One prerequisite for this is the establishment of an administrative zone of cross-border access to health services (ZOAST). For the creation of such a trans-border health service access zone the important framework directives have already been created within the EU. In a number of border areas, such zonal cooperation agreements have been in place for several years. They are giving the border population access to geographically more conveniently located health care and outpatient treatment across the border without having to fear administrative or financial obstacles. (e.g. ZOAST LUXLORSAN, ZOAST LORLUX; ZOAST Eifel). The framework conditions for "borderless" medical care are currently also becoming operational for the German-French border region in the EGTC Eurodistrict SaarMoselle. In the entire Greater Region, there are already a number of cooperation projects in the health sector (Krumm 2017), which relate in particular to the cross-border use of ambulances, rescue helicopters and emergency doctors, vocational training in the health sector, scientific cooperation agreements on the bilateral use of large-scale technical equipment, but also to conduct studies to analyze the situation and draw comparisons in different border regions. However, in the Rhineland-Palatinate-French border region, no activities in this direction are currently known.

The existing cooperation agreements enable, for example, that emergency care is to be organized cooperatively and accident victims near the border can be cared for by the emergency service, which can reach the scene of the accident most quickly and transport injured persons to the facility with the necessary special treatment facilities needed. The equipment of the regional hospitals can thus be organized to a certain degree according to a "division of labor" principle. Further advantages are that large pieces of medical equipment can be used across borders and joint strategies against the shortage of skilled personnel in the border region's health care system can be developed.

There is also always an opportunity to evaluate projects that have already been implemented in other, similarly structured border regions, to learn

from good and bad examples, to exchange experiences and to be involved in cross-border projects with their own very specific problems or questions.

An interesting cooperation project in the German-Polish border region of the EUROREGION POMERANIA has for example established a telemedicine network over the last 15 years (cf. EU 2017). Funds from the Interreg IV Mecklenburg-Vorpommern / Brandenburg-West Pomerania program enabled a total of 22 German and 15 Polish hospitals to participate in the telemedicine network in the period 2007-2013. Background of the project are common problems on both sides of the border where in a very sparsely populated area the population is rapidly aging and associated health problems are constantly advancing. However, this rural area is not very attractive for young doctors. Particularly specialists prefer jobs in urban areas with large health structures and access to technology and a stimulating environment. Access to specialist medical diagnosis and care therefore requires more and more time-consuming and costly trips to distant hospitals and medical centers. This also applies to medical samples taken on site. The isolated situation of many communities becomes problematic when rapid access to diagnosis and treatment is vital in the event of cardiovascular problems or strokes. In these circumstances, the telemedicine project aims to ensure an improved access to health services and infrastructure.

Through the project, hospitals with their own pathological infrastructure, for example, supported hospitals without the appropriate equipment in tissue analysis. A second area is tele-radiology, which is used for second opinions, emergencies or temporary closure of a local radiology center during holiday periods. Video conferences allow complex patient cases to be discussed in interdisciplinary sessions. Similarly, through telemedical cooperation, the local doctor treating patients along the border can obtain a second opinion from a specialist. Overall, the project has helped to effectively alleviate the difficulties typical of isolated regions, such as reduced mobility or the lack of medical specialists, and to establish a basis for professional cooperation between German and Polish physicians.

The current INTERREG V A 2014-2020 program also opens up new project funding opportunities. The total budget for cross-border cooperation projects in the Greater Region for the programming period is € 139.8 million (INTERREG-Grande Région / Greater Region European Union 2015: 96).

Specific objectives of funding priority 3 are an "improved coordinated range of health and preven-

tion services" and an "improved cross-border provision of socially inclusive services and facilities". This funding priority supports projects: strengthening cooperation between health actors to optimize the use of infrastructures, improve treatment and enable balanced cross-border care planning.

Improving the coordination of care and support facilities through a joint monitoring center to assess the needs and supply of care facilities for people in need of care and support.

supporting the sharing and access to social facilities and services, in particular a coordinated cross-border provision of childcare, but also legal and administrative studies in the field of social security and social support, as well as pilot projects on cross-border disease prevention.

Beneficiaries of the funding may be public administrations and institutions of public interest, hospitals, health insurances, companies and private individuals as well as associations of health professionals or associations.

The Greater Region's INTERREG V A cooperation program thus offers a wide range of possibilities for initiating cross-border projects to safeguard basic public services, including in the area of health care, networking actors across borders and providing financial support for the implementation of the projects. However, interest and applications in the field of health care have so far been rather sluggish. As of June 2018, only one project has been approved (out of a total of more than 50 projects in different cross-border cooperation application fields and themes). This is a cooperation project between the *Centre Hospitalier de Sarreguemines* and the SHG clinics of Völklingen aiming to intensify the long-standing cooperation in nursing training in order to improve the employability of French nursing graduates in particular on the cross-border labor market. While the unemployment rate of nursing graduates in the Moselle region is around 15%, there is a strong demand for skilled nursing staff on the German side. The recruitment of French nursing graduates in Germany has been limited so far by differences in health systems and language barriers. The project therefore organizes job-oriented language courses, internships and joint events for the exchange of experience and best practice. (INTERREG V A Greater Region 2018).

Conclusion and outlook

Securing health care at the Franco-German border region of the Greater Region under study is made more difficult by the border situation, different understandings and responsibilities of public provi-

sion in Germany and France, and language barriers. The current situation in the area of primary health care in the German border region is still quite good, although there are already gaps in some areas. These will become even more acute as the population ages.

The German actors at municipal level in the investigation area are aware of the problem. There are numerous strategies and projects to safeguard and improve basic public services. However, there are - also due to the problems identified - hardly any initiatives and cross-border projects in the field of health care. Even in the last funding period of the INTERREG funding program, only a few projects have dealt with this challenge. Support should be given to an increase in cross-border projects, which may open up new opportunities to secure services of general interest.

Therefore, it is recommended to work on the following aspects and questions more intensively:

Expansion of spatial monitoring: The availability of comparable data on both sides of the border is of great importance for securing services of general interest. This is the only way to identify (double) structures, interdependencies and deficits on both sides of the border and to draw appropriate conclusions for cross-border cooperation in the area of services of general interest. Particularly important are data on population development and prognosis, population density, age structure, settlement structure (residential areas, vacancy), migration, commuter networks, infrastructure and accessibility on a small-scale basis, which are systematically prepared and made available at the geoportal of the Greater Region, especially for use by local authorities. Critical socio-economic and demographic data are not available or accessible in a more detailed higher resolution at the community level.

Impact of territorial reform in France: The implementation and impact of territorial reform must also be further monitored and examined in order to draw conclusions on the security of public services.

Deepening and expanding the site investigation of basic health care service provision in the Franco-German border region: The site investigation should be continued with a higher degree of detail. In addition, accessibility models could be developed and the situation in French local authorities along the border could be examined in more detail. This would entail a survey on the state of art and the local assessment of basic service provision among the local and regional authorities on the French side of the border. Thus, the situation for securing health care can be better assessed and duplicate structures as well as possible interdependencies and deficits can be better recognized.

Extended survey of stakeholders: A more detailed survey of German local authorities regarding the implementation of concepts and projects as well as the basis for assessments of future problem areas etc. can lead to interesting findings. It would also be instructive to carry out a survey of French local authorities along the border. In this regard, further formal problems of cross-border cooperation, particularly in the area of securing services of general interest, could also be uncovered and solution strategies developed. A household survey on the German and French

sides could also provide information on how citizens assess the situation, whether the possibilities of medical treatment in the neighboring country and the corresponding procedures for clarifying the assumption of costs by the health insurance carriers are known.

Cross-border model project: A cross-border model would be useful to further investigate the development of cross-border strategies and projects to secure services of general interest and to develop solution strategies.

NOTES

ⁱ In 2017 a total of 232,000 persons commuted across the border within the Greater Region. The majority of these cross border employees (78%) worked in Luxembourg while the share of the Saarland was 7%. About 16,300 persons live in Lorraine but work in the Saarland. The second highest number of cross-border commuters - approx. 88,300 - live in Lorraine and work in Luxembourg. Source: www.iba-oie.eu.

ⁱⁱ See internet portal of the National Contact Point for Cross-Border Health Care: https://eu-patienten.de/de/behandlung_ausland/behandlung_im_eu_ausland.jsp

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ADDRESSES

Kirsten Mangels, Research Associate, Department Regional Development and Spatial Planning, Faculty of Spatial and Environmental Planning, Technische Universität Kaiserslautern, Pfaffenbergstr. 95, 67663 Kaiserslautern, Germany, kirsten.mangels@ru.uni-kl.de

Robert Riethmüller, Research Associate, Department Regional Development and Spatial Planning, Faculty of Spatial and Environmental Planning, Technische Universität Kaiserslautern, Pfaffenbergstr. 95, 67663 Kaiserslautern, Germany, robert.riethmueller@ru.uni-kl.de

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Dr.-Ing. **KIRSTEN MANGELS** (*1965), Kaiserslautern, studied spatial- and environmental planning at the Technische Universität Kaiserslautern (TUK). She has been employed at different positions at the TUK since 1992. From 2003 to 2006 she worked as scientific project manager at the Development Agency of Rhineland-Palatinate. In 2006 Kirsten Mangels obtained her PhD at the TUK with a thesis on "Evaluation of Planning Documents and Planning Processes in spatial planning in regards to efficiency and spatial development control and steering impact" Since 2006 she is working at the Department of Regional Development and Spatial Planning specializing in spatial planning, demographic change processes European structural policies and European territorial development. She also coordinates international research projects of the Department.

Dr rer.nat **ROBERT RIETHMÜLLER** (*1954), Kaiserslautern, studied Geography and Economics at the Justus Liebig University of Giessen. He enrolled in post-graduate courses in agricultural economic development at the Technical University of Berlin and remote sensing and GIS at the ITC Enschede, Netherlands. From 1986 to 2007 he worked in different German development projects of GIZ (German Agency for International Development Cooperation) in the Philippines, Sri Lanka and Vietnam as advisor for spatial planning and integrated rural development. From 2010 to 2017 he worked as Assistant Professor at the Namibian University of Science and Technology (NUST) in Windhoek, Namibia, teaching spatial planning and local economic development. In 2018 he joined the Department of Regional Development and Spatial Planning at the Technische Universität Kaiserslautern as research associate.



STEERING THE CROSS-BORDER TRANSPORT DEVELOPMENT in the cross-border region between Brandenburg and Lubuskie

Beate Caesar

A high inner European interconnectedness is expected to contribute to the increase of European cohesion – one of the basic aims of the European Union.

This paper addresses the challenging transport situation at the national border between the German state Brandenburg and the Polish voivodeship Lubuskie and analyses the attempts to make cross-border transport more effective. For this purpose, the promotion of cross-border transport in national, regional, and cross-border transport planning policies is explored. In addition, the policies' effectiveness is evaluated based on the experiences of planning practitioners and stakeholders managing cross-border cooperation. The analysis shows that domestic policies solely define concrete projects in their own territory. The Polish policy documents promote cross-border transport related objectives to a stronger and more concrete degree than the German ones. Policies developed in cross-border cooperation bring a particularly soft added value which can contribute to the implementation of the formulated objectives in the long-run.

Cross-border transport, cross-border cooperation, transport, policy analysis, European cohesion

STEUERUNG DES GRENZÜBERSCHREITENDEN VERKEHRS in der grenzüberschreitenden Region zwischen Brandenburg und Woiwodschaft Lebus

DE Eine stärkere innereuropäische Verknüpfung soll zur weiteren Europäischen Kohäsion – eines der grundlegenden Ziele der Europäischen Union - beitragen.

Dieses Paper befasst sich mit der herausfordernden Verkehrssituation an der nationalen Grenze zwischen dem deutschen Bundesland Brandenburg und der polnischen Woiwodschaft Lubuskie und analysiert deren Bestrebungen den grenzüberschreitenden Verkehr effektiver zu gestalten. Dazu wird die Förderung des grenzüberschreitenden Verkehrs in nationalen, regionalen und grenzüberschreitenden Verkehrsplanungsdokumenten untersucht. Zusätzlich wird die Effektivität der Politikdokumente anhand Erfahrungen von Planungspraktikern und Akteuren, welche die grenzüberschreitende Zusammenarbeit koordinieren, bewertet. Die Analyse zeigt, dass nationale Politikdokumente nur konkrete Projekte auf eigenem nationalem Boden definieren. Die polnischen Politikdokumente bewerben grenzüberschreitende Verkehrsziele stärker und mit konkreteren Aussagen als die deutschen. Grenzüberschreitende Politikdokumente generieren insbesondere einen weichen Mehrwert, welcher langfristig zur Umsetzung von formulierten Zielen beitragen kann.

Grenzüberschreitender Verkehr, Grenzüberschreitende Kooperation, Verkehr, Politikfeldanalyse, Europäische Kohäsion

GESTION DES TRANSPORTS TRANSFRONTALIERS dans la région transfrontalière entre le Brandebourg et la Voïvodie de Lubuskie

FR Un renforcement des liens intra-européens devrait contribuer au renforcement de la cohésion dans l'espace communautaire, objectif majeur de l'Union européenne.

Cet article traite la situation difficile du trafic à la frontière germano-polonaise, entre le Land de Brandebourg et la Voïvodie de Lubuskie, et analyse les efforts mutuels mis en œuvre afin de le fluidifier. Ainsi, les actions de promotion du transport transfrontalier, inscrites dans les plans de déplacements nationaux, régionaux et internationaux sont examinées. En outre, l'efficacité des plans est évaluée sur la base des expériences vécues tant par les planificateurs que les acteurs de la coopération. Cette étude montre clairement un cantonnement des documents nationaux à des projets strictement étatiques. Il apparaît également que les documents polonais encouragent davantage les transports transfrontaliers que ceux allemands. Il est, enfin, évident que les stratégies transfrontalières génèrent en particulier une valeur ajoutée douce, qui peut contribuer à la réalisation des objectifs partagés sur le long terme.

Transport transfrontalier, coopération transfrontalière, transport, analyse des politiques, cohésion européenne

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1 European cohesion and transport

The European Union (EU) seeks to enhance European cohesion, i.e. minimize barriers and disparities between the member states and increase European integration (Commission of the European Communities, 2008). The Schengen Agreement has allowed the free movement of passengers and goods within the EU and reduced the division effects between its member states (EC, 2009). The abolishment of border controls led to more frequent cross-border transport flows (Sohn, 2014). Border regions – formerly situated on the national fringes – have benefitted from their more strategic and central location since then: new opportunities and interdependencies of places close to the border have arisen (Ruidisch, 2013; Sohn, 2014). At the same time the competition between border regions has been increased (Leibenath et al., 2008).

The linkage of the national transport networks has a high relevance in a social, economic and territorial concern. Transport mobility embraces both passenger and freight transport. Its quality is influenced by the offer of services and infrastructures. Efficient and direct connections are expected to facilitate the exchange between the member states. A facilitated cross-border mobility and exchange shall in turn contribute to a higher cohesion (Spierings and Velde, 2013). Thus, cohesion and cross-border transport mutually condition themselves.

Despite the opening of the inner European borders for cross-border traffic, the administrative and legal differences, linked to the member states' boundaries, remain. The member states' transport planning competences are limited to their territories. This has hampered coordination attempts in the field of transport. Besides, transport services of different countries are often not efficiently linked which reduces the attractiveness of cross-border public transport (Ricq, 2006). Natural borders like rivers or mountains that cut CBRs, additionally hamper a smooth transport across borders (Rietveld, 1993).

Transport belongs to the shared competence between the EU and its member states (EU, 01.12.2009, art.2c). According to the principle of subsidiarity, the EU can develop transport objectives as long as it is necessary. Concrete planning, however, remains in the competence of the member states. Therefore, transport planning needs to be coordinated individually with the neighboring countries if a cross-border regional territory is concerned (Caesar, 2018).

Thus, cross-border cooperation is very relevant to sustainably steer the linkage of the EU member states' transport systems.

The EU fosters cooperation in cross-border regions (CBR) to contribute to further European cohesion and integration (Cappellin and Batey, 1993) and to increase the implementation of its policies (Perkmann, 2007). In this context, the inner European borders are seen as bridges (Deppisch, 2007) and contact opportunities (Ratti, 1993) between the member states. Cross-border regions can then be considered as policy spaces (Dörry and Decoville, 2016) and "laboratories [...] of the European integration process" (Houtum, 2000) as they test multi-level governance policy-making in a transnational context with a high number of different stakeholders (ibid.). This situation opens up opportunities but makes the processes more complex and difficult. The different division of competences in the countries involved, for instance, challenges a fast and easy decision-making in the steering of cross-border transport development (Giorgi et al., 1999).

2 Cross-border region Germany/ Brandenburg-Polandⁱ

This chapter presents the case study of a CBR in the German-Polish borderland. The territory of the CBR is demarcated by the INTERREG A boundaries and is crossed by the Trans-European Transport Networks (TEN-T) North Sea-Baltic core network corridorⁱⁱ.

As the initial situation of the CBR is considered to be decisive when analyzing the implementation of policies (Jordan, 1999; Hartlapp and Falkner, 2009), first, the most relevant structural facts of the CBR region will be presented, followed by more details on its cross-border transport situation, based on statistical data and elite interviews. Then, an analytical overview of Polish and German national, regional and cross-border policies, which attempt to steer the transport development, and their contribution to cross-border transport will be given. The analysis is complemented by experiences and opinions of planners and stakeholders involved in cross-border cooperation.

2.1 Demarcation and characteristics of the cross-border region

The CBR Brandenburg-Lubuskie involves the whole administrative territory of the Polish voivodeship Lubuskie and parts of the German state Brandenburg, namely the *Landkreise* Märkisch-Oderland, Oder-Spree and Spree-Neisse and the two cities Frankfurt (Oder) and Cottbus (see fig. 1).

The border between Poland and Germany was moved very often in the past. After World War II, the rivers Oder and Neisse were used as a demarcation for the current border line (Mildenberger, 2007). In 1991, a cooperation contract was concluded between the two countries (ibid.).

The territory of the CBR was defined in the year 2000 due to the start of the first INTERREG program. Since 1993, cross-border cooperation has existed in the form of two Euroregions ('Pro Europa Viadrina' and 'Spree-Neisse-Bober') (BB, 2008).

Germany is among the founding member states of the EU, whereas Poland did not join the EU before 2004. Thus, an external border separated the two countries for a certain time with the consequence of different living and infrastructural standards (Mildenberger, 2007).

The first cooperation attempts in the Euroregions were developed from bottom-up. The current boundaries of the CBR, however, are not backed-up with further cross-border regional institutions – except of the INTERREG secretariat – and thus seem to have been arranged artificially in a top-down approach. Different from those two Euroregions, cross-border institutions such as the Oder-Partnership, the German-Polish Governmental Commission for Regional and Border Cooperation and the German-Polish Spatial Planning Committeeⁱⁱⁱ cover the whole German-Polish borderland which comprises a much larger territory.

The CBR's territory of 20.341km² (MdJEV, 2015) is divided by the border rivers Oder and Neisse and is sparsely populated (84 inhabitants per m²) (BB, 2008). The cross-border region is expected to lose population in the future because of strong out-migration – especially of the younger population in the rural areas. The biggest cities are Cottbus and Frankfurt (Oder) in Germany as well as Gorzów Wielkopolskie and Zielona Góra on the Polish side (MdJEV, 2015, 8f.). Apart from Frankfurt (Oder) – Słubice, there is another twin city in the south, located directly at the border: Guben-Gubin (INTERREG IIIA BB/PL, 2004). In 2007, Poland

joined the Schengen Agreement and the border controls were abolished (bpb, 2011).

Brandenburg and Lubuskie have a lower GDP and higher unemployment rate than their national averages. The GDP on the Polish side is much lower than in Germany (EUROSTAT, n.y.a; n.y.b; n.y.c). (MdJEV, 2015). In Brandenburg the available household income is much higher than in Lubuskie (EUROSTAT, n.y.a; n.y.b). This represents a decisive incentive for Polish citizens to work in Brandenburg. Some of them regularly commute to Brandenburg and keep their place of residence in Poland. Less Germans work in Lubuskie (statistik-bbb, 2017; DIK UMWL, 2015, p.139; Interview with Ralf Ullrich, Phone, 23.09.2016; Interview with Egbert Neumann, Phone, 21.11.2016). Besides that, the CBR's inhabitants cross the border for shopping and leisure reasons. Most of the commuter flows exist in the north of the CBR (Interview with Kathleen Markus, Phone, 20.10.2016).

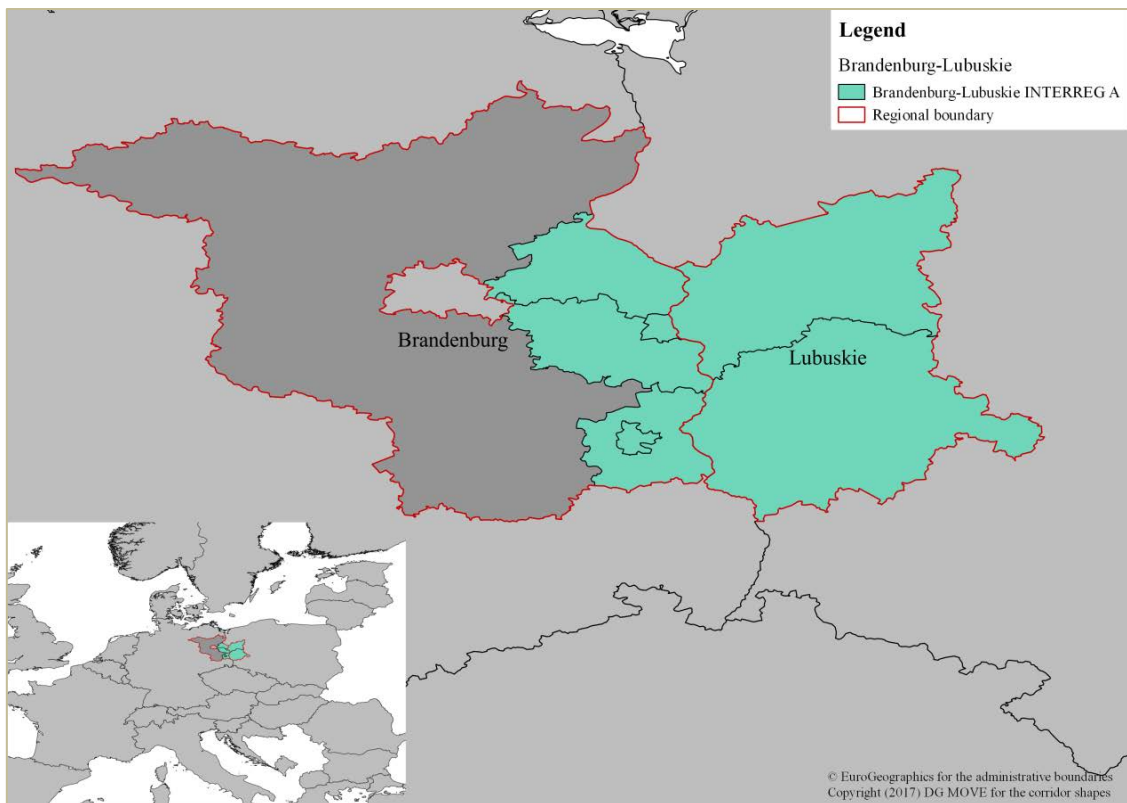
2.2 Transport situation in the cross-border region

Many Polish citizens of the CBR commute three to six days per week to the agglomeration of Berlin – situated outside the CBR –. In doing so, they cross the CBR and influence its transport flows (DIK UMWL, 2015).

As the CBR is divided by natural barriers – the two rivers Oder and Neisse – the cross-border transport is limited to certain crossing points that provide the necessary infrastructure. Seven road **bridges** and four rail bridges connect the two countries at the 200km long internal border of the CBR (MdJEV, 2015). The maintenance of the bridges is regulated in the Polish-German governmental agreements of 2000 and 2008 (SWL, 2012). In addition to the bridges, some ferries facilitate the crossing of the rivers for cars.

According to interviewed stakeholders, the Polish infrastructure is in a worse condition than the German one. This applies to both, railways and roads (Interview with Maciej Nowicki, Phone, 03.11.2016; Interview with Kathleen Markus, Phone, 20.10.2016).

Recent investments in the underdeveloped Polish **road** infrastructure, however, were reported to have contributed to an improved accessibility of the CBR (MdJEV, 2015, p.10). Strong freight flows across the CBR stress this primary road infrastructure (SWL, 2012, p.136). Some bottlenecks exist between regional



Territorial boundaries of the cross-border region Germany/Brandenburg-Poland Fig.1

Source: Caesar, 2018, p.361.

roads across borders, e.g. between Küstrin-Kiez and Kostrzyn (ZWL, 2015; Interview with Egbert Neumann, Phone, 21.11.2016; Interview with Toralf Schiwietz, Frankfurt (Oder), 07.09.2016). However, the strongest need of improvement concerns the attractiveness of cross-border **rail** services (Interview with Toralf Schiwietz, Frankfurt (Oder), 07.09.2016; Interview with Ellen Kray, Phone, 02.09.2016; Interview with Horst Sauer, Phone, 12.09.2016; Interview with Ralf Ullrich, Phone, 23.09.2016). The trains offered have a low utilization rate by people that actually cross the border with the train (Interview with Thomas Dill, Phone, 05.12.2016). To make the offer more attractive rail infrastructures need to be renewed (MdJEV, 2015). Only some long distance connections are fully developed on both sides of the border (DIK UMWL, 2015). Poland and Germany apply different voltages on their trains. Vehicles used for cross-border train connections thus need special and expensive dual equipment, which allows driving on both voltage systems, or the locomotives need to be adapted at the border (DIK UMWL, 2015). New trains, which roll on both sides of the border, need to be registered formally in both countries in long lasting procedures (Interview with Jens Kurnol, Phone, 21.09.2016). Besides these infrastructural challenges, the timetables of Polish and German trains at the

border stations are not coordinated well because of different national standards and non-frequent connections (DIK UMWL, 2015; Interview with Thomas Dill, Phone, 05.12.2016). The lack of available funds aggravates the situation of several connections. Some internal stops were removed, other connections were cancelled completely. Often the national levels do not consider cross-border transport as a priority (DIK UMWL, 2015).

Special cross-border rail tickets are available for Polish commuters that live less than 120 kilometers away from the German border, based on a cooperation between the German and Polish regional public transport providers. Short track tickets across the border, however, are relatively expensive compared to the Polish internal ticket prices. Expensive high speed train tickets are not frequently used for CBR internal transport flows (DIK UMWL, 2015).

Within the CBR there used to be only one public cross-border bus line which connects Frankfurt (Oder) and Słubice (Interview with Ellen Kray, Phone, 02.09.2016). In June 2018, a new bus line that connects the twin city Guben-Gubin was installed (Stadt Guben, 2018).

Overall, transport and spatial planners as well as experts working in the field of cross-border cooperation consider the cross-border transport system of the CBR not to be good. The

majority evaluates it to be ok. Still several stakeholders think that it is not satisfactory (Caesar, 2018).

The next section analyses attempts to enhance the status quo of cross-border transport in the CBR expressed in the planning policy documents.

2.3 Policy objectives and planning tools regarding cross-border transport

This section analyses and compares the rhetoric of German and Polish planning documents from the national and regional administrative levels and cross-border regional policy documents that aim at influencing cross-border transport.

GERMANY AND POLAND

In Germany the legal and technical framework for the national infrastructure and regional public transport is defined on the national level (BMVI, 2017). The national level is formally responsible for the national roads and railroads (BMVI, 2016). However, the regional level maintains and constructs the roads on behalf of the national level and is involved in the definition of priorities (Interview with Gerhard Harmeling, Phone, 03.11.2016). Besides that, long distance rail connections are coordinated by the national level. The national railroads are owned and maintained by the DB AG (Interview with Gerhard Harmeling, Phone, 03.11.2016; Interview with Andrea Ludwig, Phone, 19.10.2016). However, the national government mainly finances rail investments. The TEN-T development is organized on the national level as well (BMVI, n.y.).

In Poland the national government decides about the spatial and transport development of the country. It is also primarily responsible for cross-border cooperation in these fields (MR, 2014). National roads and motorways as well as all railroads are maintained and established by the national level (Ahrens and Schöne, 2008). As in Germany, the TEN-T development is coordinated by the national level as well (MIB, n.y.). Besides that, the supraregional rail and bus connections of Poland are also defined on the national level (VBB, 2011). According to the competences, policy documents are developed. The most relevant policies of the two countries for transport planning are briefly presented in the following.

The German national level defines *Leitbilder und Handlungsstrategien für die Raumentwicklung* - guidelines for the territorial development of Germany. Spatial and sectoral plans of the lower administrative levels need to take these into account (MKRO, 2016). The guidelines call to increase cross-border cooperation in spatial planning and monitoring. Cross-border linkages shall be taken into account in the field of logistics. It shall be benefitted from the TEN-T and the corridors should be linked to the residual network. Furthermore, existing bottlenecks within cross-border metropolitan regions are to be removed. An incorporated map depicts the CBR to be situated within a cross-border integration area^{iv} along the North Sea – Baltic TEN-T corridor (MKRO, 2016).

Another policy document, the *Raumordnungsbericht* of 2011, analyzing spatial trends, refers to the transport development and defines broad action requirements for the future development. Among others, the document calls to develop the cross-border long-distance infrastructure to the neighboring Eastern European member states and to link the German infrastructures better to the TEN-T (BBSR, 2012).

The German national infrastructure investment priorities for the national road, railroad and waterways are defined in the *Bundesverkehrswegeplan* (Interview with Gerhard Harmeling, Phone, 03.11.2016). The plan does neither refer to the TEN-T, nor does it promote the improvement of cross-border transport. Still, as the only German national document, it names concrete projects that lead to the German national borders and are thus of relevance for cross-border transport. It, however, does hardly relate to the neighboring countries. Based on the latter plan, *Bedarfspläne* with concrete priorities are developed for each of the concerned transport modes. In addition, the *Investitionsrahmenplan* defines infrastructural investment needs for a duration of five years.

In Poland, a high number of general development concepts and strategies that relate to the transport development are developed on the national level. The *Krajowa Strategia Rozwoju Regionalnego 2010-2020* of 2010 defines coordination principles for sectoral policies, such as transport, that have a territorial impact. Additionally, cross-border cooperation is to be increased. Furthermore, it is called to establish efficient road and rail connections between important Polish and international cities. Poland shall be linked better to the residual European transport system. Cross-border connections across rivers and those on local level shall be expanded. Public cross-border transport ser-

vices are to be developed. Cross-border twin cities should develop common city centers to strengthen their position. The document names two concrete cross-border projects (MRR, 2010)

The *Konceptcja Przestrzennego Zagospodarowania Kraju 2030* is a spatial development concept with a vision for 2030. It promotes cross-border cooperation to a strong degree. According to the document, European planning strategies shall be implemented in the Polish planning system. The transport and spatial development should be planned across borders within CBRs. Rural and urban areas, located on the German-Polish border, should improve the transport connections to facilitate functional areas. Cross-border twin cities are encouraged to establish cross-border development plans. Transport bottlenecks on the border are to be removed and cross-border transport services to be developed. Important railway connections to Germany are to be established. Besides that, the external and internal transport accessibility of Poland is to be improved. Additionally, the TEN-T are promoted and said to be relevant for the Polish spatial development. The Polish network should be linked to it and thereby to the residual EU. It shall be made use of the TEN-T funds. Cross-border freight transport should be made safer and more efficient (MRR, 2012).

The Polish transport development strategy (*Strategia Rozwoju Transportu Do 2020 Roku*) of 2013 defines objectives for different transport modes and the general development with the aim to make the transport system more efficient until 2020 (MR, 2014). Among others, the linkage of the Polish transport network to the TEN-T shall contribute to minimize the infrastructural deficits. Furthermore, the train speed is to be accelerated – among others in the freight and passenger trains to Frankfurt (Oder). Further cross-border rail service connections to Germany are to be enhanced. It calls to implement the European technical rail standards in the TEN-T corridor to increase the European interoperability. Cross-border transport connections are to be made more efficient (MIR, 2013). Thus, the document clearly promotes the relevance of cross-border transport.

The *Polityka transportowa państwa na lata 2005-2025* of 2005 is more concrete than the latter strategy and defines specific projects to contribute to a modernization of the Polish transport system, as a reaction on the EU accession and implementation of EU policy. Among others, the train stations at the national borders are to be modernized and Polish transport providers are to be supported in the expansion of their offers across borders. Furthermore, it is

called to harmonize and coordinate the transport policies of bordering countries which are located at European transport corridors. Thereby, the coherence of the transport systems is to be enlarged (MI, 2005).

Investment priorities for motorways, national and fast roads, including new constructions and maintenance, are defined in the *Program Budowy Dróg Krajowych na lata 2014-2023* - a multiannual national road construction program of 2015. It aims at integrating the Polish national roads in the TEN-T. The TEN-T network in Poland shall be completed and bottlenecks removed. The corridors are said to be of high relevance for cross-border transport. EU funds shall be used to minimize existing disparities between the Polish and residual European transport infrastructure (MIB, 2015).

Investments in the railway infrastructures are determined in the multiannual *Krajowy Program Kolejowy do 2023 roku*. The program aims at enhancing cross-border freight transport. Additionally, the international accessibility of the Polish cities is to be facilitated by investing in rail infrastructure and making the connections more efficient (MIB, 2016).

The **IPPON study** focuses on the integration of the German-Polish borderland into Polish policy documents and defines objectives for the spatial development of the borderland. The study was developed in a cooperation of the Polish national level and the concerned Polish voivodeships. Among others, the territorial development of the German-Polish border cities is to be coordinated better across borders. Furthermore, the TEN-T expansion and integration in the Polish transport system is promoted. It calls to modernize the Polish transport infrastructure and harmonize it with the neighboring countries. Cross-border transport barriers concerning infrastructures and services are to be removed. In this context, a high number of concrete projects is defined. The introduction of cross-border tickets is proposed (MR, 2014, 27ff.).

Figure 2 gives an overview on how many of the analyzed national policy documents of Germany and Poland^v refer to the cross-border transport related objectives, 'enhancing cross-border infrastructures', 'enhancing cross-border services' and 'enhancing TEN-T connections'. As can be seen, the Polish national policy documents frequently define the enhancement of cross-border transport more (51,1%) as a policy objective than the German ones (25%). Particularly the expansion of cross-border infrastructures and TEN-T connections is promoted frequently in 10 respectively nine of 15 analyzed

Polish national policy documents. On the German national level, however, these objectives are mentioned solely in five, respectively four, of 12 analyzed policy documents. The German *Bundesverkehrswegeplan* of 2016, for instance, which is very important in terms of investments, does not define the connection to its neighboring member states as a priority (BMVI, 2016).

Cross-border transport objectives	% of Policy documents	
	DE (n=12)	PL (n=15)
CB infrastructures	42%	67%
CB services	8,3%	27%
TEN-T connections	33%	60%
CB transport objectives on average	25%	51,1%

Relevance of cross-border transport objectives in the German and Polish national policy documents Fig.2

Source: authors' own elaboration, 2018, based on Caesar, 2018.

Besides that, the document analysis showed that in both countries few national policy documents define concrete projects. In comparison, the Polish documents define concrete cross-border projects more frequently (27%) than the German policies (8,3%).

BRANDENBURG AND LUBUSKIE

When looking at the regional administrative levels, a strong interrelation between the German national and regional level can be explored. The German region Brandenburg proposes prioritized national transport infrastructure investments on its territory to be integrated in the national *Bundesverkehrswegeplan*. Furthermore, Brandenburg implements the national road projects and maintains the existing national roads in the region funded by the national level. The development of the regional roads and the regional public passenger transport of Brandenburg is under the full responsibility of the region (Interview with Horst Sauer, Phone, 12.09.2016; Interview with Egbert Neumann, Phone, 21.11.2016). The rail infrastructure and vehicles are maintained by the railway companies that provide the services on behalf of Brandenburg (Interview with Thomas Dill, Phone, 05.12.2016; MIL, 2012). The *Verkehrsverbund Berlin Brandenburg* coordinates the development of the regional public transport of the whole region, including Berlin, for all territorial entities involved, communicates with the transport providers and develops schedules (Interview with Thomas Dill, Phone, 05.12.2016). Local bus transport is

organized directly by the cities and *Kreise* (Interview with Egbert Neumann, Phone, 21.11.2016). In Poland, the voivodeships establish and maintain the regional roads. Besides that, they manage the regional rail transport in cooperation with the national level (Jansen et al., 2010).

Representatives of the national level ensure the implementation of the national spatial planning documents in the voivodeships. In addition, Lubuskie is responsible for spatial planning on the regional level. It develops its own spatial plans (Ebert et al., 2012). Local bus and tram services are managed by the cities and counties or on their behalf by transport associations (Ahrens and Schöne, 2008)

The voivodeships organize and finance the regional rail transport. Trans-regional rail connections which cross more than two regions, however, are managed by the national level (Ahrens and Schöne, 2008; Interview with Thomas Dill, Phone, 05.12.2016).

When it comes to the most relevant **transport related planning documents**, Brandenburg developed the *Mobilitätsstrategie 2030* in 2017 that defines mobility targets for the year 2030 by referring to different transport modes. This strategy also relates to cross-border transport to Poland – the cooperation between the countries shall be enhanced. Additionally, it formulates the objective to link the TEN-T network to the region's internal infrastructure in order to increase the international accessibility. Additionally, the rail connections between Germany and Brandenburg are to be expanded and coordinated better. Thus, the strategy strongly promotes the enhancement of cross-border transport. Additionally, it proposes to make use of the EU financial support in this concern (BB, 2017b, 1ff.; Interview with Egbert Neumann, Phone, 21.11.2016).

The *Landesentwicklungsplan Berlin-Brandenburg* defines spatial planning principles and spatial development objectives for the region. Some objectives defined in the current valid plan of 2009 also relate to transport development and Poland, e.g. define required infrastructures and railway connections to ensure the accessibility of the Polish cities Szczecin, Poznan and Wrocław. In addition, the plan defines superordinate spaces for road and rail connections and transnational transport corridors, however, no concrete tracks. It is stated that the rail connections to Poland are to be improved. The European regions are to be connected better (HR BBB, 2009; Interview with Egbert Neumann, Phone, 21.11.2016).

More concrete details on regional road development are defined in the sectoral *Landesstraßenbedarfsplan*. It contains the most

urgent investment needs within the region. The current plan dates of 2010 and does not refer to cross-border transport or the TEN-T at all (LS, 2010).

The *Landesnahverkehrsplan* regulates the regional public rail^v transport offer by defining the necessary service connections. It is the basis for negotiations on cross-border transport connections with the Polish public transport providers and promotes the coordination across borders. As the plan defines concrete public transport and infrastructure projects across borders the plan is said to have a decisive influence on cross-border transport. Additionally, the plan calls to expand the TEN-T and link the corridors to the residual infrastructure (Interview with Egbert Neumann, Phone, 21.11.2016; MIL, 2012). The plan of 2012 has been under revision since 2017 (BB, 2017a).

The Polish development strategy *Strategia Rozwoju Województwa Lubuskiego 2020* contains key investments for Lubuskie. In addition, it promotes cross-border cooperation (MR, 2014; ZWL, 2012). It states that Zielona Góra and Górzow should be connected better to Berlin via road and railways. Also further road and rail connections from Lubuskie to Germany are to be established by constructing new bridges. Additionally, the document promotes the linkage of the TEN-T to the residual transport infrastructure of Lubuskie (MR, 2014). Moreover, the strategy names a high number of concrete cross-border public transport connections and transport infrastructures that are to be improved and upgraded. The infrastructural improvements solely concern the Polish side (MR, 2014).

Comparable to the *Landesentwicklungsplan* the **Voivodeship Spatial Development Plan of Lubuskie** of 2012 defines objectives for the spatial and transport development of the region. For instance, the external accessibility of the regional transport system shall be increased. In addition, it defines requirements for cross-border linkages and acknowledges that the cooperation in the Euroregions should be maintained. The plan defines concrete cross-border projects, such as the modernization of a cross-border railway line between Miłkowice and Forst (MR, 2014) and the high speed railway axis between Berlin and Warsaw which crosses Lubuskie. Besides that, further cross-border connections are proposed to be established to increase the cross-border mobility of Polish border cities (SWL, 2012).

The *Program Rozwoju Transportu Województwa Lubuskiego* of 2016 defines necessary transport infrastructure investments and concrete cross-border projects for the future development of Lubuskie (UMWL, 2016). According

to the program, the CBR should be linked better to the residual EU- and TEN-T network. Polish TEN-T roads should be modernized. Additionally, cross-border logistics are to be enhanced and bottlenecks removed. In this context, the road connections to the neighboring regions are to be strengthened and the existing rail infrastructure is to be maintained. The attractiveness of cross-border service connections is to be increased to reduce the motorized individual transport. It shall be invested in railway vehicles that can be run on the German and Polish system (ZWL, 2016). The decision to introduce infrastructure charges on German motorways led to an articulation of worries in this Polish program. It was feared that cross-border transport could be downgraded and hampered because of the tolls (ZWL, 2016). This shows that the Polish region is aware of the transport related discourse in Germany and Brandenburg.

The regional public transport of Lubuskie is organized in the *Planu zrównoważonego publicznego transportu zbiorowego na sieci komunikacyjnej w wojewódzkich przewozach pasażerskich*. It defines public transport principles as well as needs and coordinates the necessary infrastructure with the respective services. The Polish infrastructure on the TEN-T corridors is to be upgraded to increase the travel speed (DIK UMWL, 2015). The document is considered to be very relevant for cross-border transport because the objective to improve the connections across borders is promoted strongly (Interview with Andrzej Klauza, in written, 15.12.2016) and many concrete projects are defined such as the development of a park & ride infrastructure and an upgrade of rail tracks. The accessibility of larger cities of the neighboring countries is to be increased and missing cross-border connections are to be installed. Ticket prices should become cheaper and comparable to Polish inland connection prices. A cross-border ticket is to be created (DIK UMWL, 2015).

Figure 3 gives an overview on how many of the analyzed regional policy documents of Germany and Poland^{vii} refer to the three cross-border transport related objectives.

When comparing the frequency of the promotion of cross-border transport in the regional Polish and German policy documents (see fig.3) it can be seen that, on average, the Polish policy documents promote cross-border transport related objectives more often (75%) than the German ones (43,6%). Particularly cross-border infrastructures are mentioned in all Polish regional policy document. In contrast

Cross-border transport objectives	% of Policy documents	
	DE (n=12)	PL (n=15)
CB infrastructures	46%	100%
CB services	31%	63%
TEN-T connections	54%	63%
CB transport objectives on average	43,6%	75%

Relevance of cross-border transport objectives in the German and Polish regional policy documents Fig.3

Source: authors' own elaboration, 2018, based on Caesar, 2018.

only six of 13 German regional policy documents define this objective. For the German regional policies the most relevant cross-border transport related objective is the enhancement of the TEN-T connections (54%). Still, this objective is more frequently pronounced in Polish regional policies (63%). In both countries, the regional policies support the improvement of cross-border services more frequently than the national policies.

Additionally, the policy document analysis showed that the regional level's policies of both countries define more concrete cross-border transport projects than the national policies. In comparison, the Polish documents do so more frequently (75%), than the German ones (27%). Most of the German policies solely define broad and imprecise objectives for the enhancement of cross-border transport.

COMPARISON BETWEEN GERMANY AND POLAND: DIVISION OF COMPETENCES AND PROMOTION OF CROSS-BORDER TRANSPORT

The two countries distribute the **responsibilities** in the field of transport in a different way. In Poland the development of most infrastructures is steered centrally on national level whereas in Germany several competences are shared between the national and regional level. The responsibilities for transport services are rather similar in the two countries. Only small differences exist in the management of regional trains and busses.

The different state organizations challenge the coordination and cooperation across borders. They lead to confusions and hamper a fast making of contacts with the responsible counterparts across the border (Interview with Steffi Kramer, Frankfurt (Oder), 07.09.2016; Interview with Ralf Ullrich, Phone, 23.09.2016).

The comparison of the **policy documents** on the national and regional levels of Poland and Ger-

many shows that cross-border transport is promoted more frequently in Polish policy documents. The latter also define concrete cross-border projects the most. Besides that, in both countries the regional policy documents more often promote cross-border transport and more often define concrete cross-border projects than the national policy documents. However, in both countries, the national levels decide about investments in national cross-border infrastructures, i.e. motorways and long distance connections. Thus, they can overrule regional interests. The definition of concrete investments in **cross-border projects** in the domestic planning documents is challenged because the countries can solely determine binding investments within their own territory. This is the reason for the establishment of extra policy documents in a cooperation between the neighboring countries. Hereby national investments can be coordinated. Examples of these policies are presented in the following.

CROSS-BORDER REGION

Several policy documents were developed in the German-Polish borderland such as development and action concepts, visions, studies and integrated transport concepts which relate to cross-border transport. Thus, transport is a very relevant issue in the cross-border relations between Poland and Germany. Because of its missing institutionalization (see chapter 2.1), the CBR itself did not develop own policy documents besides those, mandatory for the INTERREG funding. Instead the two Euroregions located at the CBR's territory, developed some. Besides that, policies were developed which concern the whole German-Polish borderland.

The creation of cross-border policies has been **challenged** by the differing initial situations and needs of the two domestic transport systems. Additionally, different planning cultures and paradigms led to distinct investment priorities. Therefore, different objectives were pursued, and consensus could only be reached on the lowest common denominator (Interview with Maciej Nowicki, Phone, 03.11.2016; Interview with Kathleen Markus, Phone, 20.10.2016; Interview with Toralf Schiwietz, Frankfurt (Oder), 07.09.2016; Interview with Egbert Neumann, Phone, 21.11.2016). Moreover, the differences in terms of responsibilities in the two countries, described above, complicate the coordination across borders. In this context, sometimes lower administrative levels were excluded from the coordination process (Interview with Ralf Ullrich, Phone, 23.09.2016).

In the following, examples for different kinds of published cross-border policies are given.

The *Weißbuch Öffentliche Personenverkehre zwischen dem Verkehrsverbund Berlin-Brandenburg und Westpolen* is a white paper on public transport in the German-Polish borderland. It calls to expand and accelerate existing connections and to establish or revitalize missing links. A number of concrete projects is named. Direct cross-border connections are to be offered without changing of trains. Additionally, the schedule, tariffs and travel information are to be coordinated. Thereby public transport across borders shall become more attractive. Also investments in the rail infrastructure are proposed to facilitate passenger and freight transport. Intermodal logistic platforms are to be established (VBB, 2011).

The *Gemeinsames Zukunftskonzept 2030 Deutschland Polen*^{viii} is a vision paper on the German-Polish borderland and thus involves further German and Polish regions apart from Brandenburg and Lubuskie. Among others, it formulates the objective to enhance the transport connections between the two countries. Both long distance- and local cross-border transport are to be improved by providing attractive rail connections between the cities. Bus connections shall complement the train connections across borders. On tracks with a high demand, offered services shall be expanded. To contribute to a better coordination, cross-border tickets should be developed on popular connections. Infrastructural bottlenecks shall be removed and missing roads shall be developed. The document also calls to develop a concept on the navigation of heavy goods traffic and a common marketing strategy on the logistic offer and cross-border transport connections. Besides that, the TEN-T network in both countries shall be implemented (AR DE-PL RK, 2016). Thus the vision paper acknowledges joint objectives for the future transport development (Interview with Ellen Kray, Phone, 02.09.2016). No concrete projects are defined, thus a certain skepticism was articulated towards the document's implementation into practice (Interview with Steffi Kramer, Frankfurt (Oder), 07.09.2016; Interview with Toralf Schiwietz, Frankfurt (Oder), 07.09.2016). However, the vision itself is to be considered as a argumentation basis for future concrete investments (Interview with Horst Sauer, Phone, 12.09.2016).

The *Integriertes Verkehrskonzept Euroregion Pro Europa Viadrina* of 2008 focuses on the upgrading of the transport infrastructure between Zielona Góra and Cottbus and defines several concrete projects. The rail and bus connections across borders are to be expanded, accelerated

and coordinated multimodally. The stations are to be renovated. Besides that, the international accessibility of the Euroregion is to be improved by linking it to European transport corridors and larger cities. Furthermore, the concept defines national investments in the vicinity of the border. Additionally, a cross-border public transport information and marketing system is to be developed. This includes the development of cross-border ticket prices. Moreover, the bicycle network across borders is to be expanded further (Helland et al., 2008). Also the Euroregion Spree-Neisse-Bober developed a similar concept in 2008 (ER SNB, 2006).

The *Grenzüberschreitendes Entwicklungs- und Handlungskonzept der Euroregion Spree-Neiße-Bober / Sprewa-Nysa-Bóbr 2014-2020* of 2013 deals with different development axes of the Euroregion, among others, transport. It focuses on the increase of the public transport service offer across borders and the connection of existing local services. New vehicles should be bought and it should be cooperated in terms of common timetables, travel information and marketing. Also rail and bicycle transport infrastructures should be expanded and modernized. Cross-border freight flows should be jointly managed (IU and LIBI, 2013). A similar concept was developed in the Euroregion Pro Europa Viadrina (ER PEV, 2013)

The analysis shows that cross-border policies, established on the cross-border local level, name **concrete projects** more frequently whereas the policies developed on a larger scale are less concrete and define broad objectives. However, both types of cross-border policies are not binding because the creators do not have the necessary **competences**. Still these policies can be used to formulate a **common agenda** for future actions. Furthermore, their establishment process is said to facilitate the **exchange** of stakeholders and the **understanding** of transport planning on both sides of the border. Additionally, such documents can be used for **lobbying** to get the support of higher administrative levels and place urgent topics on their agenda. On this basis, it is hoped that, concrete transport projects will be developed (Interview with Toralf Schiwietz, Frankfurt (Oder), 07.09.2016; Interview with Kathleen Markus, Phone, 20.10.2016).

The plausibility of implementation of the cross-border policies is minimized if the policies do not have a strong **visibility** and are **outdated** (Interview with Ellen Kray, Phone, 02.09.2016; Interview with Kathleen Markus, Phone, 20.10.2016), thus the documents need to be promoted strongly, as described above, and updated regularly. Furthermore, **scarce funds**,

combined with high infrastructural investments costs, make the implementation of cross-border transport projects less probable. This is particularly the case as the financial capacity of both countries differs strongly (Interview with Egbert Neumann, Phone, 21.11.2016).

The following section concludes this paper by evaluating the effectiveness of the promotion of cross-border transport in policy documents.

3 Conclusion: Effectiveness of policy documents to steer transport development in cross-border regions

The analysis of the German and Polish planning policy documents shows that cross-border transport is an important topic. Most planning documents pick up existing cross-border challenges and propose actions and objectives to enhance the situation.

However, particularly the German policy documents on the national level and those which define **investments** precisely, promote concrete cross-border transport related objectives less frequently. Thus, they do not make use of their potential leading role in terms of cross-border transport. Often national investments focus on internal interlinkages instead of tracks that lead to the national borders. It is necessary to consider the initial situation of the countries involved in cross-border cooperation when comparing the policy documents. The low German promotion might be due to the better development status of the country's infrastructure compared to Poland.

The regional and cross-border planning policy documents are more favorable in terms of cross-border transport and define projects that are more concrete. The promoted infrastructural projects of these two policy types, however, are often dependent on funding decisions of the national levels and thus have a rather weak direct steering influence. Still, the policies are closer to the cross-border regional needs

and can better adapt the funding priorities to them. Thus from a planning perspective they are more effective than policies developed on national level.

Regional public transport is organized in both countries by the regional levels. In Poland, however, cross-border regional transport is managed by the national level. Thus, even here a high dependence on the national level exists.

The general rhetoric of most analyzed policy documents of the different levels promotes cross-border transport. It also acknowledges the importance of connecting the two countries efficiently across borders. In terms of implementation, however, these objectives are not binding and concrete enough. Another factor, which hampers the concrete projects' fast implementation, is the scarce domestic funds. Therefore, investments are often concentrated on inner-national infrastructure and services as stated already above.

The added value of cross-border policies, although being informal and not binding, has a soft nature. Their development process is important as it connects stakeholders from both countries and stimulates the coordination of planning objectives on the most pressing projects. Furthermore, the policies are decisive agreements on whose argumentation basis domestic investment decisions can be taken.

The detected challenges in the steering of cross-border transport are likely to be perceived also in other cross-border regions because the countries' internal political structure, challenges and needs strongly influence the development of policies and their effectiveness in terms of planning and implementation. Cross-border policies are likely to be effective means to prepare the transformation of domestic objectives into concrete implementations and the improvement of cross-border transport in the long-run.

As several analyzed policy documents stated, European funds - particularly from European Territorial Cooperation (INTERREG) and the Trans-European Transport Networks - are a potential facilitator of further cooperation and concrete investments. These should be taken into account when trying to enhance cross-border transport in practice to complement the policies' effects.

NOTES

ⁱ In the following: 'Brandenburg-Lubuskie'

ⁱⁱ INTERREG and the TEN-T are EU funded policies and funding programs. See Caesar (2018) for more information.

ⁱⁱⁱ Deutsch-Polnischer Raumordnungsausschuss.

^{iv} Grenzüberschreitender Verflechtungsraum'

^v The analysis included the following national policy documents: *Medium-Term National Development Strategy 2020 (MTNDS) (Strategia Rozwoju Kraju 2020) (2012)*, *Long-Term National Development Strategy - Poland 2030. The third wave of modernity (2012) (Polska 2030 Trzecia fala nowoczesności Długookresowa Strategia Rozwoju Kraju)*, *Transport Development Strategy until 2020 (TDS 2020) (2013) (Strategia Rozwoju Transportu Do 2020 Roku)*, *National Road Safety Programme 2013-2020 (NRSP 2013)(2013) (Krajowy Program Bezpieczeństwa Ruchu Drogowego)*, *National Operational Programme Infrastructure and Environment 2014-2020 (2014) (Program Operacyjny Infrastruktura i Środowisko 2014-2020)*, *IPPON: Studie der räumlichen Integration des deutsch - polnischen Grenzraums (2014)*, *Polish Partnership Agreement (2015)*, *Strategy for Energy Security and the Environment - 2020 perspective (2014) (Strategia bezpieczeństwa energetyczne i środowisko - perspektywa do roku 2020)*, *National Road Construction Programme 2014-2023 (2015) (Program Budowy Dróg Krajowych na lata 2014-2023)*, *National Railway Programme until 2023 (2016) (Krajowy Program Kolejowy do 2023 roku)*; *Nationaler Strategischer Rahmenplan (2007-2013)*, *Operationelles Programm (OP) EFRE Bund Verkehr 2007-2013*, *Strategie für nachhaltigen Güterverkehr (2009)*, *Energiekonzept (2010)*, *Raumordnungsbericht (2011)*, *Mobilitäts- und Kraftstoffstrategie (2013)*, *German Partnership Agreement (2014-2020)*, *Leitbilder und Handlungsstrategien für die Raumentwicklung (2016)*, *Nationales Reformprogramm Deutschland (2016)*, *Bundesverkehrswegeplan 2030 (2016)*, *Klimaschutzplan 2050 (2016)*, *Deutsche Nachhaltigkeitsstrategie (2017)*.

^{vi} Or other regional public transport modes if railways are not available.

^{vii} The analysis included the following regional policy documents: *Entwicklungsstrategie Westpolens 2020*

(2014), *Transport Development Strategie of the Lubuskie Region (2004) (Strategie Rozwoju Transportu Województwa Lubuskiego do roku 2015)*, *Regional Operational Programme Lubuskie 2007-2013*, *Lubuskie Voivodeship Development Strategy 2020 (2012) (Strategia Rozwoju Województwa Lubuskiego 2020)*, *Revised Lubuskie Voivodeship Spatial Management Plan (Planu Zagospodarowania Przestrzennego Województwa Lubuskiego 2014-2017) (2012)*, *Regional Operational Programme Lubuskie 2014-2020 (2015)*, *Plan for a sustainable development of public transport in Lubuskie (Planu zrównoważonego rozwoju publicznego transportu zbiorowego na sieci komunikacyjnej w wojewódzkich przewozach pasażerskich)(2015)*, *Transport development programme of Lubuskie (Program Rozwoju Transportu Województwa Lubuskiego) (2016)*, *Integriertes Verkehrsentwicklungskonzept (2002) Brandenburg*, *Landesentwicklungsprogramm 2007 (LEPro 2007)*, *Operationelles Programm des Landes Brandenburg EFRE (2007-2013) Ziel Konvergenz (2007)*, *Landesnahverkehrsplan Brandenburg 2008-2012 (2008)*, *Landesentwicklungsplan Berlin-Brandenburg (LEP B-B) (2009)*, *Landesstraßenbedarfsplan (2010)*, *Gemeinsame Innovationsstrategie der Länder Berlin und Brandenburg (2011)*, *Landesnahverkehrsplan Brandenburg 2013-2017 (2012)*, *Operationelles Programm des Landes Brandenburg für den EFRE (2014-2020) (2014)*, *Internationalisierungsstrategie für das Land Brandenburg (2014)*, *Nachhaltigkeitsstrategie der Landesregierung Brandenburg (2014)*, *Verkehrssicherheitsprogramm Brandenburg (2014)*, *Mobilitätsstrategie Brandenburg 2030 (2017)*.

^{viii} More details on the document see paper of Caesar/Pallagst in this issue.

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ADDRESSES

Beate Caesar, Research assistant, Department International Planning Systems, Faculty of Spatial and Environmental Planning, Technische Universität Kaiserslautern, Pfaffenbergstr. 95, 67663 Kaiserslautern, Germany, Beate.caesar@ru.uni-kl.de

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Dr.-Ing. **BEATE CAESAR** - is a Post-Doc researcher at the department of International Planning Systems, faculty of Spatial and Environmental Planning at Technische Universität Kaiserslautern, Germany. Her research focuses on European integration, European spatial development, cross-border cooperation within the European Union, soft spaces, cross-border transport and planning cultures. The paper is based on research of her PhD thesis on the influence of the Trans-European Transport Networks and European Territorial Cooperation on cross-border transport. In a second case study she analyzed cross-border transport in the Greater Region Saar-Lor-Lux+. She is a member of the UniGR Center for Border Studies and the Landesarbeitsgemeinschaft Hessen/Rheinland-Pfalz/Saarland of the Academy for Spatial Research and Planning (ARL).



SPATIAL INTEGRATION OF CROSS-BORDER MOBILITY STRUCTURES - The 'space-time-line' analysis in the Greater Region and the Czech Bavarian border region

Tobias Chilla, Anna Heugel

In general, mobility infrastructure is a) predominantly a national policy arena, and b) due to the heavy investment a path-dependent and slow sector of spatial development. This is why the dynamic growth of cross-border commuting often meets an overstressed infrastructure, both on road and rail. The scientific reflection focusses much on the accessibility concept which tends to underestimate the demand side and its temporal variability. Our paper is – from the methodological point of view - based on so called space-time-lines that allow to confront different modes of mobility and different points of time. The paper presents results from two case study regions, the Greater Region around Luxembourg, and the Bavarian-Czech border region.

The objective of the paper is twofold: concretizing the concept of cross-border spatial integration is the theoretical objective, and methodologically, the space-time-lines as complementary tool for accessibility measurement will be explored.

Accessibility, cross-border spatial development, transport infrastructure, Greater Region, Bavarian-Czech border region

RÄUMLICHE INTEGRATION IN GRENZÜBERSCHREITENDEN VERKEHRS-SYSTEMEN - ‚Space-time-line‘-Analysen in der Großregion und der tschechisch-bayerischen Grenzregion

DE Infrastrukturen der Mobilität sind a) politisch ein primär nationales Mandat und b) aufgrund der erheblichen Investitionsbedürfnisse, hochgradig pfadabhängig und dadurch ein eher langsamer Bereich der Raumentwicklung. Vor diesem Hintergrund trifft eine dynamische Entwicklung von grenzüberschreitendem Pendeln oft auf überforderte Infrastrukturen, sowohl auf der Straße und auf der Schiene. Die bisherige wissenschaftliche Reflexion konzentriert sich stark auf Erreichbarkeitskonzepte, die tendenziell die Nachfrageseite und die zeitlichen Schwankungen unterschätzen. Der vorliegende Beitrag basiert in methodischer Hinsicht auf sog. Space-time-lines, die es ermöglichen, verschiedene Mobilitätsformen und Zeiträume in Bezug zu nehmen. Der Beitrag präsentiert die Ergebnisse von zwei Fallbeispielen, der Großregion um Luxemburg und der Bayerisch-Tschechischen Grenzregion.

Das Ziel des Artikels besteht zum in konzeptioneller Hinsicht in der Konkretisierung des Konzepts der grenzüberschreitenden räumlichen Verflechtung. In methodischer Hinsicht werden die space-time-lines als komplementäres Tool der Erreichbarkeitsanalysen diskutiert.

Erreichbarkeit, grenzüberschreitende Raumentwicklung, Verkehrsinfrastruktur, Großregion, Bayerisch-Tschechische Grenzregion.

L'INTÉGRATION SPATIALE DANS LES SYSTÈMES DE TRANSPORTS TRANSFRONTALIERS - L'approche des 'space-time-lines' dans la Grand Région et la région tchèque bavaroise

FR Des infrastructures de mobilité sont a) un mandat politique de nature premièrement national et b) à cause de besoins d'investissements larges une matière du développement spatiale du caractère lent et dépendant des chemins antécédents. C'est pourquoi le développement dynamique du frontalier est confronté avec une infrastructure surchargée, tant sur rail que sur la route. La réflexion scientifique est concentrée jusqu'à présent sur des concepts de l'accessibilité qui tendent vers une sous-estimation de la demande réelle et des variations des heures du jour. L'article présent est basé sur l'approche des dites 'space-time-lines' qui permet d'analyser différentes formes de mobilité et aussi différents temps. L'article parle de deux cas d'études : la Grande Région lié au Luxembourg et aussi la région transfrontalière tchèque bavaroise.

L'objectif de l'article est au côté théorique dans la concrétisation des concepts de l'intégration spatiale. En ce qui concerne la dimension méthodique, l'approche des 'space-time-lines' est discuté en tant qu'instrument complémentaire pour des analyses d'accessibilité.

Accessibilité, développement spatial transfrontalière, infrastructure de mobilité, Grande Région, Région Tchèque Bavaroise

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1 Introduction

In principle, borders function as lines that separate two territories. The longer borders are in place, the higher is the probability that they function as territorial barriers: They tend to slow down economic exchange, migratory flows, or cultural activity. European integration must be seen as the attempt to overcome these barrier effects: As the free flow of people, goods, finance and services is one of the key objectives of European integration, the role of internal borders is questioned in a fundamental way.

This is also true for the transport sector: Classically, transport infrastructure was organized in a national or domestic way, with, among others, separated road systems, ticketing organizations and technical standards. Contemporary EU transport policy aims to overcome these transport barriers by means of the TEN-T policy and by a series of INTERREG projects that help to establish cross-border solutions in the mobility sector.

After more than half a decade of European integration and more than 25 years of INTERREG programmes, we raise the question to what extent barrier effects to cross-border mobility are still existent. Against the background that harmonized cross-border flow data is not available, we present a new tool that allows to pragmatically analyze and visualize the quality of cross-border mobility infrastructure and that we call *space-time-lines*.

2 Conceptual framework

2.1 Cross-border spatial integration

The spatial reflection on cross-border integration in the European Union has started in a quite optimistic way: The postulate of *convergence* predicts more and more similar patterns on both sides of the border. Dynamic processes are supposed to make the subregions look very much the same, at least after a certain period of time. De Boe et al. (1999) discuss this for administrative perimeters, population density, economic activity – and explicitly for transport networks (cp. Chilla and Evrard, 2013). So far, there is little evidence, that this dynamic is a very dominant one; instead, the borders still mark barriers to territorial structures in many contexts. Moreover, some authors stress the risk of a ‘tunnel effect’. The danger is that the domestic metropolises in the ‘hinterland’ profit from a liberalized economy with its reduced

transaction costs whereas the border regions ‘in between’ become an inner periphery. This effect is well known from the establishment of large scale infrastructure, but has only briefly been discussed with regard to cross-border regions (Anderson and Wever, 2003; Petrakos and Topaloglou, 2006).

In particular, there is a series of regions where metropolisation across borders is a dominant trend (e.g. the region around Luxembourg, Geneva, Vienna-Bratislava, Copenhagen-Malmö etc.; cp. ESPON Metroborder, 2011; Sohn et al., 2009). In these contexts, transport infrastructure is put under pressure due to high numbers of cross-border commuters. Most cross-border metropolises are characterized by a highly attractive labor market on the one side of the border and a complementary living space on the other side. Simplifying the discussion to a certain extent, one can state that the more urbanized a border region and the larger the differences in socio-economic terms, the more prominent is the cross-border commuting dynamic (cp. ESPON Decoville et al., 2010).

Cross-border integration can be seen as an important facet of territorial cohesion (cp. Madeiros, 2014). From that perspective one has to admit that this aspect of cohesion is far more difficult to measure than other concepts of cohesion. In particular, convergence can be measured in a quite comprehensive way for many socio-economic indicators (cp. Montfort, 2008). In contrast, cross-border flow data is hardly available for any meaningful aspect and poses fundamental problems for statistical analysis (ESPON Metroborder, 2011).

2.2 Accessibility

2.2.1 GENERAL UNDERSTANDING

In recent years, the concept of accessibility has gained importance, going more and more beyond the pure kilometeric distance and the measurement of the material quality of transport infrastructure. Accessibility aims to measure and qualify the necessary efforts for overcoming a certain distance; often, the improvement of infrastructure bottlenecks is an important issue in these studies on multiple scales (ESPON, 2011). From the political point of view, this perspective is highly relevant: metropolitan functionality, peripheral linkages etc. are a key to socio-economic development and to quality of life. This is why accessibility is of paradigmatic quality in both the political as the scientific debate.

As we will show in the next section, the concrete measurement is far from being simple. Defining the points of origin and of destination is a complex exercise; prioritizing modes of transport, including local tracks, considering rush-hour effects etc. make accessibility measurement a challenge. Theoretically, the expansion of digital / big data in recent years has improved the data basis. In practice, the availability of these data is more than limited. Obviously, mobile phone companies, navigation systems, toll corporations etc. collect a vast quantity of data – which cannot be used for research purposes due to data protection and commercial reasons.

2.2.2 EXISTING APPROACHES

The academic discussion on accessibility measurement is multifaceted. Simplifying to a certain extent, one can differentiate two strands of debate: Firstly, many studies are based on distance (kilometric or travel times) often complemented by also considering the infrastructure quality. One might consider these approaches as *transaction approaches* as they focus mostly on the theoretical efforts that are necessary in order to overcome the spatial distance. Simple examples in this regard are isochronous representations that draw circles around the points of departure or destination (e.g. 10-km or 30-minutes isochrones) (e.g. Glander et al., 2010). More sophisticated studies calculate the time that is necessary to reach a central destination – for example, the time that is needed for European NUTS3 regions for reaching New York on a multi-modal itinerary (ESPON and S&W, 2015).

Another way to illustrate distances are so-called ‘time-space maps’. In these maps distances are proportional to travel times and not to kilometric distances. They show in an impressive way how infrastructure improvements reduce travel times (Spiekermann and Wegener, 1994; Vickerman et al., 1999). Ravazzoli et al. (2017) illustrate accessibility changes as a result of infrastructure investments via 3-D-graphics. These approaches conceptually refer to graph theory. The advantage of these approaches is certainly the relatively easy data-access and the clear and understandable results. Software applications provide efficient tools. The disadvantage, however, is that the results do not always reflect the *de-facto* accessibility quality as temporal variations (e.g. rush-hour) and misfits between supply and demand are not easy to include. They are mostly limited to the purely material dimension of infrastructure. Moreover, the

polycentric character of many regions and mobility patterns can lead to challenges with regard to visualization and analysis.

Secondly, in recent years, many studies have focused on *potential indicators* that link the distance and infrastructure information with other information in the surrounding area – in particular, active population and GDP are most important indicators here (ESPON, 2014). These indicators of potential have the advantage to visualize the role on a higher level, like metropolitan importance, globalization issues etc. However, in rural spaces, the quantitative potential tends to be lower by definition. Against this background, the potential approach often does not help much to identify concrete bottlenecks. Within the accessibility debate and beyond, there are a series of approaches that work with (carto-)graphic visualizations that assign a certain meaning to lines, representing flows or relations, e.g. for migration, second homes (Berroir et al., 2017), trade flows [ESPON and Grasland et mult. al. (2006), p.75]. These approaches have in common to reflect on the quantity and quality of interrelations between different spaces.

Our approach joins the perspective of ‘line related’ analyses and shows the *de facto* quality (including rush hour, traffic jams etc.) and indirectly includes demand and supply. The calculation of speeds based on the linear distance enables easily a comparison between different modes of transport and different scales. In doing so, the article helps to cope with data gaps that are a fundamental characteristic of transport geography (Dobruszkes, 2012).

3 Methodology

3.1 The space-time-lines-approach

The concept of *space-time-lines* illustrates the speed of connections between cities or even smaller settlements. The approach is elaborated for public and private transport connections. In both cases the speed is calculated in relation to the linear distanceⁱ.

For public transport the time is measured by the duration of the fastest train connectionⁱⁱ between central stations from departure to destination including transfers if necessary. Additionally, the number of connectionsⁱⁱⁱ is displayed. The basis for the data collection is the travel service site of “Deutsche Bahn”^{iv} which is publicly available. The requests refer to one weekday from 4 a.m. until closing hour and uses the default search settings of the search

mask^v. Duplicate connections which start or end at the same time but dispose of a different number of transfers or travel time are eliminated because in fact they do not improve the quantity of connections. Schedules have also been used for other approaches (e.g. Glander et al., 2010).

In the cartographic illustration (see fig. 1) the connections are represented as lines. The line width shows the number of connections and the color of the lines illustrates the speed of the fastest connection. The cartographic illustration of the *space-time-lines* for public transport shows the technical quality of the connections: The more direct and the better the technical level of the railway line is the faster is the connection. Topographical barriers can also affect the speed of the connections. In addition, the organizational quality is illustrated by the daily number of connections and also the speed of the connection: If a connection is part of the high-speed network, the connection is faster than of connections that are only part of the regional train network.

For private transport the time is quantified by the calculated real-time travel time of the route in GoogleMaps. The requests are conducted around 8 a.m. on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday of one week for both directions between central stations^{vi}. On each of the days the fastest connection regardless of the route is chosen. Statistical outliers are eliminated.

In the cartographic illustration the connections between the cities are also illustrated as lines but this time with arrows. The arrows indicate the direction of the connection. The color of the line shows the speed of the fastest connection. That means that this cartographic illustration shows also the technical quality of the route and further the de facto quality including rush hour effects. Indirectly, a slow speed cannot only refer to a low level of technical quality but also that the given infrastructure does not meet the needs of the commuters that need to use it.

3.2 Comparative perspective

Space-time-lines show the spatial differentiation of accessibility. However, a comparative perspective helps very much to understand and judge the situation. Our paper is based on three pairs of space-time-line visualizations, namely: Comparison between two *regions* (Greater Region and Bavarian-Czech border region)
Comparison between different regional *scales* (intra-regional and metropolitan accessibility)
Comparison between transport *modes* (rail and road)

Another very relevant comparison would be a temporal perspective which allows to analyze changes in infrastructure quality over time. By now, we do not have the data to provide that kind of comparison. In the long run, the cross-border GIS monitoring system of the Greater Region ('GIS-GR') foresees to allow that kind of temporal comparison which will allow to show potential improvements in infrastructure organization (cp. MDI, 2017)^{vii}.

3.3 Case studies

The empirical work is based on two case study regions. Most arguments are built on the Greater Region around Luxembourg which is a particularly interesting case of cross-border mobility issues: Firstly, this region comprises borders of four nations and, thus, comes along with multiple barrier effects due to different policy regimes (infrastructure investment policy, technical standardization, ticketing etc.). Secondly, the Greater Region is one of the regions with the highest level of daily cross-border commuting, and this has developed rapidly in recent years (Gerber, 2012; MKW Empirica, 2009). The region is of particular cross-border and metropolitan character. The results from this paper have partly been elaborated in the framework of a German federal pilot project on cross-border spatial monitoring (BMVI, 2017) where the authors were involved in the case study of the Greater Region (MDI, 2017).

The second case study is the Bavarian-Czech border region which is very different from the Greater Region: It comprises a largely rural space without any large urbanized areas near the border with only limited integration dynamics. The iron curtain and the difficult history hindered cross-border development for decades, and the difficult history was a barrier to cross-border spatial development over many years (Chilla et al., 2018). The question of an intensified cross-border spatial development – including the transport infrastructure – was the aim of a strategic development study which was elaborated by the authors of this paper among others (Grontmij et mult al., 2015).

Confronting these contrasting case studies allows testing the methodology in a meaningful way.

4 Results

4.1 Comparing two cross-border regions

The quality and quantity of train connections in the Greater Region is depicted in Fig. 1 (on the left). There are two relatively fast cross-border connections (green color), namely Nancy–Metz–Luxembourg and Namur–Luxembourg. All other cross-border connections from Luxembourg to Belgium and Germany are slower (most of them yellow). The cross-border connections from Liège are particularly slow. The speed of the national connections is diverse. However, often transfers are necessary which reduce the speed.

The map on the right (fig. 1) shows the quality and quantity of train connections in the Bavarian-Czech-border-region and to the metropolitan centers around (Prague, Munich). In this map the border is visible in different facets. Firstly, it can be stated that the speed is much higher on the Bavarian side than on the Czech side of the border (green colors on the Bavarian side, orange and red colors on the Czech side). Secondly, the connections that cross the border are overall depicted in red which means that they are slower. The numbers of the cross-border connections are the slowest (thin lines). On the Czech side, the number of connections is higher than in the cross-border region. The speed is also higher - especially the connections from Plzeň to Karlovy Vary, Prague and České Budějovice - than in the cross-border region. However, they are not as fast as on the Bavarian side. But also within Germany there are differences in speed. The connection between Nuremberg and Munich is clearly the fastest. The extraordinary quality is linked to the recent investments in this connection as it belongs to the TEN-T (Trans-European Transport Network for Rail infrastructure).

Comparing the two cross-border regions shows that in the Greater Region the number of connections is higher and the connections are faster. In both regions, the cross-border connections are in a worse estate than the domestic connections. However, the cross-border connections in the Greater Region are better than in the Bavarian-Czech border region.

The reasons for this situation are twofold: Firstly, the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg is a metropolitan place in economic and political terms (finance sector, EU institutions) that fuels cross-border integration. The absence of metropolitan functions in the Bavarian-Czech border

region clearly contrasts in that regard. Secondly, cross-border cooperation is supported in the Greater Region for decades now. Thirdly, the number of daily cross-border commuters in the Greater Region is constantly rising since the 1990s, coming along with a growing demand for cross-border mobility infrastructure. These three aspects help to explain the better situation in the Greater Region.

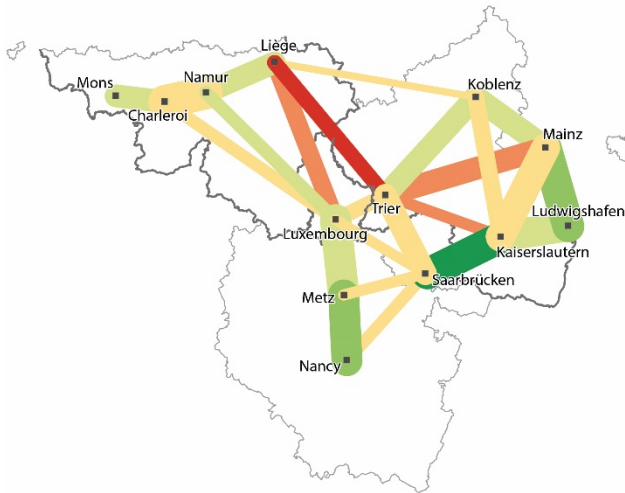
4.2 Comparing regional and metropolitan accessibility

In order to compare the intra-regional rail accessibility with the metropolitan rail accessibility, the classification of the regional rail accessibility within the Greater Region was modified in figure 2, left side. The map on the right side shows the rail accessibility from Luxembourg to cities around the Greater Region with metropolitan quality. This selection is based on a certain city size (population) and their central position in the railway network.

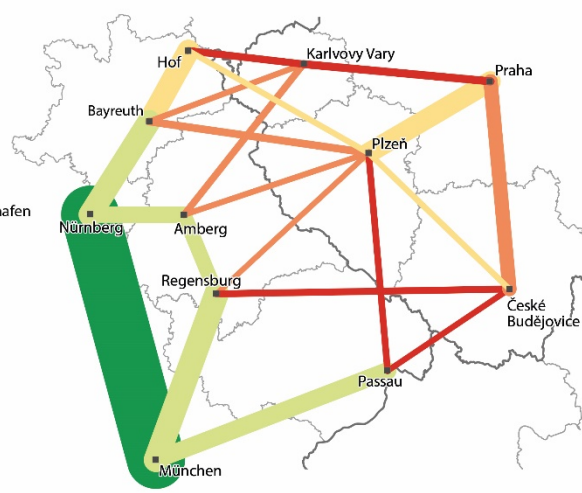
There are two fast rail connections visible between Luxembourg and French cities, namely Paris and Strasbourg. The connections to the German cities and Brussels are slower. The overall picture shows a fast metropolitan ring surrounding the Greater Region whereas the intraregional connections are less well equipped. Moreover, the links from Luxembourg are of comparable quality on the regional as well as on the metropolitan scale. This is surprising, having in mind the metropolitan qualities of Luxembourg as the heart of the Greater Region.

This setting can be explained by the following arguments: Firstly, the metropolitan quality of the Greater Region and in particular of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg is rather selective and limited. The role is strong with regard to the financial sector and the EU political functions, but not very much beyond this. Secondly, the region is characterized by a rather mountainous morphology that makes infrastructure improvement expensive and complex. Thirdly, there are still border effects to be seen: cross-border infrastructure planning and budgeting is far more complex than domestic procedures.

Greater Region / Luxembourg



Bavarian/ Czech border region

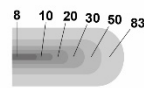


Speed of fastest connection

(linear distance/ travel time)



number of daily connections

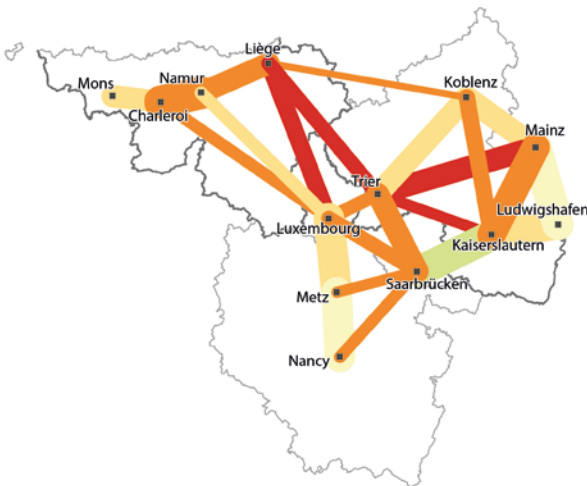


concept Chilla, Heugel, Sielker, design Adler

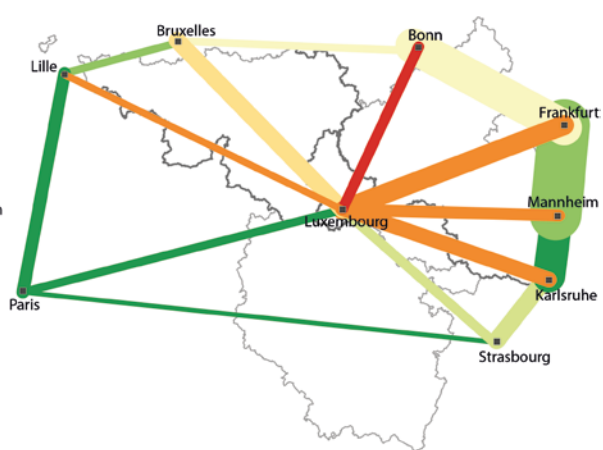
Comparing rail accessibility of Greater Region and the Bavarian-Czech border region Fig.1

Source: authors' own elaboration, data basis: reiseauskunft.bahn.de, luftlinie.org

regional accessibility

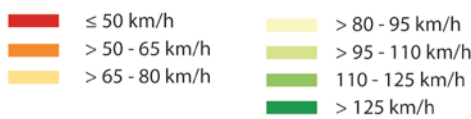


metropolitan accessibility

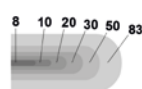


Speed of fastest connection

(linear distance/ travel time)



number of daily connections



concept Chilla, Heugel, Sielker, design Adler

Comparing regional and metropolitan rail accessibility in the Greater Region Fig.2

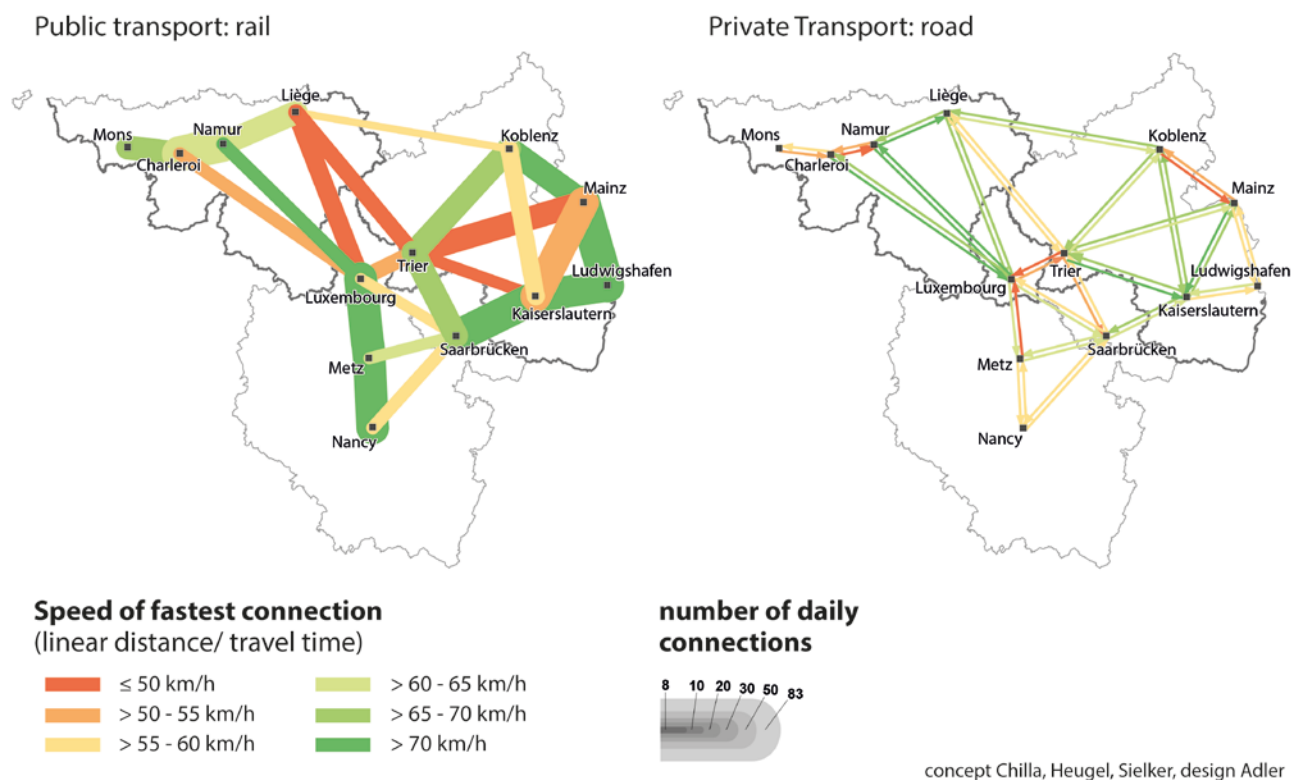
Source: authors' own elaboration, data basis: reiseauskunft.bahn.de, luftlinie.org.

4.3 Comparing road and rail

Fig. 3 compares the regional rail accessibility within the Greater Region with the accessibility by car at 8 a.m. The private transport map (on the right side) differentiates between the two travel directions. Differences between the directions of some connections due to the morning rush hour can be detected for both national and cross-border connections. In general, fast speeds indicate that the infrastructure meets the needs of the users. Slow connections hint at an overload or missing quality of the road system. The map on the left side shows the regional rail accessibility in the Greater region with an adapted classification which allows a comparison with the private transport. The comparative perspective shows a complex

picture: Some links are faster in the rail mode (e.g. Luxembourg-Metz, Koblenz-Mainz) which are typically the heavy commuting lines. The quicker car tracks (e.g. Liège-Luxembourg, Trier-Kaiserslautern) typically are rural connections without strong labor market flows. The cross-border dimension is most relevant with regard to the metropolitan commuting lines Metz-Luxembourg and Trier-Luxembourg. The latter connectivity shows low values in both modes of transport; the French-Luxembourgish connection is problematic via road but not via train.

It is not easy to draw conclusions from this picture: Commuting via train seems to be most competitive in regions with a strong labor market connectivity. Beyond this, the accessibility quality simply depends on the concrete transport organization, without clear characteristics for the cross-border regions.



Comparing accessibility of public and private transport in the Greater Region Fig.3

Source: authors' own elaboration. Data basis: reiseauskunft.bahn.de, GoogleMaps, luftlinie.org.

5 Discussion and conclusions

The presented tool of the space-time-lines has been explored in various comparative examples. This tool clearly has potentials and limitations. The strong points comprise the easily accessible data basis: public timetables, real time travel times from google and other app providers offer a very helpful information basis. In parallel, the methodological complexity is not very challenging and, thus, allows to produce relevant output with reasonable efforts. Last but not least, the produced output can easily be used for political discussions and policy processes. Relevant characteristics can be displayed in quite a 'didactic' way. The presented case studies have shown some relevant examples, in particular the misfit of metropolitan quality of the Greater Region and the infrastructure quality. The extreme contrasts of the accessibility patterns in the inner border region between Bavaria and the Czech regions are striking.

At the same time, there are limitations. In particular, it is difficult to produce analyses over time. Either one has to conduct an ongoing study over

years, or one can use retrospective data. This is theoretically possible for public transport timetables, but hardly possible for road use. In that regard, the space-time-lines lose their pragmatic and efficient character but become more similar to classical data analyses. Moreover, the space-time-lines can only be interpreted with a minimum knowledge on the spatial characteristics, e.g. for the settlement system, the cross-border cooperation context, the transport policy processes etc. This might be true for all accessibility approaches, but should not be underestimated for this presented perspective, either.

The overall question of this paper is if borders still mark a barrier to transport infrastructure. There is no simple yes or no to this question, but there are some valid arguments: The path dependency of these barrier effects can be seen in both border regions that we have discussed above. At the same time, the border effects overlap with urban-rural contrasts, with political contingency, with morphological contexts etc. From that perspective one might state that border regions increasingly face the same challenges as domestic regions. However, the way towards full cross-border spatial integration can be accompanied by means of the space-time-lines approach in a constructive way.

NOTES

ⁱ *measured via luftlinie.org*

ⁱⁱ *average of both directions*

ⁱⁱⁱ *average of both directions*

^{iv} *reiseauskunft.bahn.de*

^v *Default settings: prefer fast connections, standard duration of transfer.*

^{vi} *The selected week should avoid holidays and extreme weather conditions.*

^{vii} *www.sig-gr.eu*

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ADDRESSES

Tobias Chilla, Professor for Geography, Institute of Geography, University Erlangen-Nuremberg, Wetterkreuz 15, 91058 Erlangen; tobias.chilla@fau.de

Anna Heugel, Scientific collaborator, Institute of Geography, University Erlangen-Nuremberg, Wetterkreuz 15, 91058 Erlangen; anna.heugel@fau.de

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

TOBIAS CHILLA is professor for Geography at the University of Erlangen-Nuremberg, Germany. His research focus is on European spatial development and applied Geography, including territorial governance and cross-border integration. His regional focus is on European wide comparative studies, the Alpine macro-regional scale, the Greater Region around Luxembourg and border regions in general. Beyond Erlangen, his academic parcours comprises the Universities of Cologne, Bamberg, Saarbrücken, and Luxembourg.

ANNA HEUGEL is scientific collaborator at the University of Erlangen-Nuremberg, Germany. Her research focus is on spatial monitoring and visualization. She predominantly works on projects of applied spatial analyses on regional, cross-border and transnational scale, which is also the field of her PhD project.



THE EUROPEAN GROUPING OF TERRITORIAL COOPERATION: CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE GERMAN-POLISH COOPERATION. The case of the TransOderana EGTC (under construction)

Peter Ulrich

The article emphasizes the EU legal instrument European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation (EGTC) as a new tool for cross-border governance and territorial cooperation. Moreover, it will be explained how cross-border governance evolved at the German-Polish border region in the context of European Integration. In this context, it will be illustrated how the foundation process of the German-Polish "TransOderana EGTC" has been performed. This case study outlines which potentials and added values have been expected by the regional authorities that are part of this cross-border institution and which obstacles hampered the foundation process. Until now, the foundation process is not accomplished and the EGTC represents the first uncompleted EGTC founding process.

European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation, Cross-Border Cooperation, Germany and Poland, Regionalism, Border Regions, European Integration, Regional Integration

DER EUROPÄISCHE VERBUND FÜR TERRITORIALE ZUSAMMENARBEIT: HERAUSFORDERUNGEN UND POTENTIALE FÜR DIE DEUTSCH-POLNISCHE ZUSAMMENARBEIT. Der Fall des TransOderana EVTZ (in Aufstellung)

DE Der Artikel nimmt die EU-Rechtsform „Europäischer Verbund für territoriale Zusammenarbeit“ (EVTZ) als neuartiges Instrument für die grenzüberschreitende Governance und Territorialkooperation in den Fokus. Des Weiteren wird in dem Beitrag einleitend die grenzüberschreitende Governance zwischen Deutschland und Polen im Rahmen der Europäischen Integration aufgezeigt. In diesem Kontext wird auch der Gründungsprozess eines deutsch-polnischen EVTZ – dem TransOderana EVTZ aufgezeigt. In dieser Fallstudie wird aufgezeigt, welche Potentiale und Mehrwerte von den regionalen Behörden in Bezug auf die EVTZ-Rechtsform erwartet werden. Zudem werden auch die Hindernisse im Gründungsprozess aufgezeigt. Bis heute ist der Gründungsprozess der EU-Rechtsform nicht abgeschlossen und dieser EVTZ stellt daher den bisher einzigen un abgeschlossenen EVTZ-Institutionalisierungsversuch dar.

Europäischer Verbund für Territoriale Zusammenarbeit, Grenzüberschreitende Kooperation, Deutschland und Polen, Regionalismus, Grenzregionen, Europäische Integration, Regionale Integration

LE GROUPEMENT EUROPÉEN DE COOPÉRATION TERRITORIALE: DÉFIS ET POTENTIELS POUR LA COOPÉRATION GERMANO-POLONAISE. Le cas du GECT TransOderana (en fondation)

FR L'article se concentre sur la forme juridique de l'UE "Groupement européen de coopération territoriale" (GECT) en tant qu'instrument nouveau pour la gouvernance transfrontalière et la coopération territoriale. En outre, l'article introductif montrera la coopération transfrontalière entre l'Allemagne et la Pologne dans le cadre de l'intégration européenne. Dans ce contexte le processus de création d'un GECT germano-polonais - le GECT TransOderana - est également présenté. Cette étude montre le potentiel et la valeur ajoutée que l'on attend des autorités régionales en ce qui concerne la forme juridique du GECT. En outre, les obstacles au processus de fondation sont également signalés. À ce jour le processus d'établissement de la forme juridique de l'UE n'est pas achevé et ce GECT représente donc la seule tentative inachevée d'institutionnalisation du GECT

Groupement européen de coopération territoriale, Coopération transfrontalière, Allemagne et Pologne, Régionalisme, Régions transfrontalières, Intégration européenne, Intégration régionale

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Introduction: Cross-border territorial cooperation at the German-Polish border

The institutionalization of cross-border functional territorial cooperation in Europe has gained enormous relevance and impact over the last three decades. With more than 150 Euroregions (Svensson, 2013) and around 70 EGTCs (Committee of the Regions, 22 November 2017) in Europe, numerous cross-border legal-administrative institutional forms have emerged in the EU, commonly referred to by practitioners and scientists as "micro-laboratories of European integration" (Jańczak 2014). This development has been promoted, on the one hand, by the process of European integration through legal, financial and political support from Brussels and Strasbourg - but also, on the other hand, by general and contemporary cross-border flows caused by globalization and economic transnationalization. After the fall of the Iron Curtain, European cross-border administrative cooperation initiatives have also been enhanced along the Polish-German state border at the interface between "old" and "new" Europe after 1990. Based on the "Treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Republic of Poland on the confirmation of the frontier between them" (Border Treaty – 14 November 1990), which can be considered as crucial for the peaceful coalescence of the two countries, and the contract between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Republic of Poland on "Good Neighbourship and Friendly Cooperation" (Treaty on Good Neighbourship – 17 June 1991), four Euroregionsⁱ were established at the German-Polish border between 1991-1995. These Euroregions which are legally based on a loose nodal point of German and Polish associations without legal personality are partly in charge of the INTERREG funds of the European Territorial Cooperation (ETC). Furthermore, there are also forms of cross-border town twinning at the 460 km long border - official "European cities"ⁱⁱⁱ and local-bilateral initiatives and symbolic forms of cooperationⁱⁱⁱ. The fields of action of the Euro(pa) cities vary between symbolic and concrete forms of cooperation, for example in services of general interest (partly also supported by private entities)^{iv}. In addition to Euroregional and city partnership cooperation in the German-Polish border region, there also exist German-Polish cooperation at governmental, state and voivodeship level, such as the German-Polish governmental commission for regional and cross-border cooperation (*deutsch-*

polnische Regierungskommission für regionale und grenznahe Zusammenarbeit), the German-Polish spatial planning commission (*deutsch-polnische Raumordnungskommission*)^v and the Oder Partnership^{vi}. In the area of transnational cooperation, in addition to the cross-border regions (INTERREG A), there are also the more extensive programme areas for transnational cooperation (INTERREG B)^{vii}. The policies and projects in these programme areas (INTERREG A is only applied in cross-border regions) should strengthen the economic, social and territorial cohesion of the countries and regions according to article 174 TFEU. Especially in the German-Polish programme areas, the focus is also put on the transport sector, its connections and networking or logistics of transport systems^{viii}. Based on the EU strategy of the Trans-European Transport Networks (TEN-T) and financed by the EU funding programme Connecting Europe Facility (CEF), the German-Polish border territory covers parts of two out of nine European core transport network corridors. Additionally, the Central European Transport Corridor (CETC) which crosses Polish territory is a transport project which, with its registration on 24 March 2014, represents the first transport network with the legal form of a European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation (EGTC)^{ix}. The TransOderana EGTC (under construction) which is the empirical case study in this article represents also a cross-border territorial grouping that aims to develop a model region across borders along a railway line by applying the EGTC legal form. Since the grouping has not yet been established, the case study will examine, among other things, what have been the obstacles in the foundation process of this particular EGTC case study.

In the following, the legal form of an EGTC will be presented briefly before presenting the TransOderana EGTC case study and its development, actors and barriers as well as opportunities in the foundation process.

The European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation (EGTC)

The Regulation (EC) No 1082/2006 on the European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation (EGTC Regulation) was adopted jointly with Regulation (EC) No 1080/2006 on the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) in July 2006 and, has the objective "to facilitate and promote, in particular, territorial cooperation, including one or

more of the cross-border, transnational and interregional strands of cooperation, between its members [...]". It aims at strengthening economic, social and territorial cohesion in the European Union (art. 1 para. 2 EGTC Regulation). The EGTC should therefore be an instrument for simplifying ETC, but was quickly understood as a political instrument for "supraregional" institutionalization. The special feature of the instrument is the own legal personality that is allocated to the cross-border grouping of at least two member states (art. 1 para. 3 EGTC Regulation). This legal form can be applied on any territorial level across borders - also different territorial layers on both sides of the border can be involved. More precisely, the EGTC may consist of EU member states, regional and local authorities and public law institutions within the EU on an optional basis (art. 3 para. 1 EGTC Regulation). Since the EGTC amendment of December 2013, third countries can now also participate in an EGTC if at least two EU member states are represented in the EGTC with a local authority from a third country and the seat of the EGTC is in an EU member state (art. 3a para. 1 EGTC Regulation). Cooperation with third countries is supported by the European Commission (KOMM) and supported by funding from the European Neighbourhood Instrument (ENI) and the Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA II) (Recital 9 EGTC Amending Regulation). The cross-border groupings that apply the EGTC are legally bound first to the provisions of the EGTC Regulation, secondly to the provisions in the convention adopted by the members, and thirdly, with regard to areas that are partially defined via EGTC regulation and the specific convention "the national law of the Member State where the EGTC has its registered office" (art. 2 para. 3 EGTC Regulation). The convention (and the statutes) offer a relatively high degree of flexibility, which is why many areas and issues can be regulated in these documents. The EGTC therefore leaves a relatively broad scope for action. At the same time, it must be authorized by the national licensing authorities. The responsibility for the EGTC can vary greatly due to the national territorial organization: In Germany, for example, the authorities responsible for the EGTC are located in the federal states. In Poland, on the other hand, the competent licensing authority is the national Ministry of Foreign Affairs. On the basis of the case study TransOderana EGTC (under construction), the practical establishment of such a cross-border legal form of cooperation is now to be presented using a current example of the Polish-German border region.

Case Study EGTC TransOderana (under construction)

The following section exhibits the case study "TransOderana EGTC" which has been planned since 2010 to become the first EGTC at the German-Polish border. Since then, the EGTC has not been accomplished.

To examine this EGTC case study at the German-Polish border region, seven interviews were conducted in the period between November 2015 - January 2016 with mayors of municipalities and districts participating in the EGTC, coordinators and legal advisors, as well as representatives of federal planning offices and the Association of European Border Regions (AEBR)^x.

Evolution of Cooperation: from the Royal Prussian "Ostbahn" to the model region "Eurodistrict TransOderana EGTC"

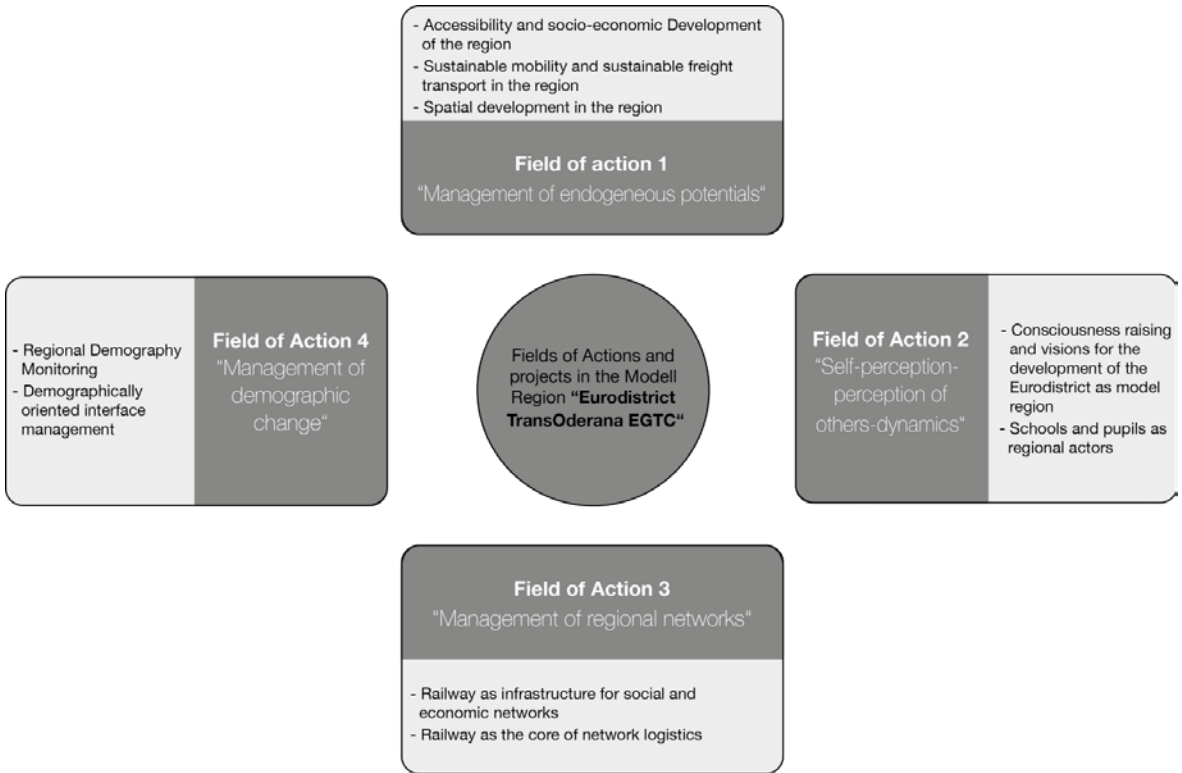
The territorial grouping "TransOderana" with the legal form of the EGTC, which currently is being established, refers and runs along the course of the former Royal Prussian Eastern Railway ("*Ostbahn*") which was destroyed in the troubles of the World War II. The old railway line experienced two stages of revitalization.

The *Ostbahn*, founded in 1857, connected the Prussian capital Berlin with the East Prussian capital Königsberg^{xi}. It thus linked the industrially developed regions of the western provinces of the state with the agrarian East (Musekamp, 2010). The railway line which was established by Prussian state funds caused an accelerated economic and industrial development along the adjoining land stripes of the railway track, but also served as an important pan-European East-West connection between Paris and St. Petersburg until World War II (Musekamp, 2010 & 2013).

A first step towards the revitalization of this line was taken in line with the political changes after 1989. Since 1999, the discussion forum on local transport "*Ostbrandenburgische Verkehrsgespräche*" (IOVG)^{xii} have provided a forum for strategies to renew old transport links. In 2006, the "IGOB *Interessensgemeinschaft Eisenbahn Berlin - Gorzów*" with the legal form of a European Economic Interest Grouping (EEIG) was

founded. Thereby, an attempt was made to revitalize a 253 km long section of the *Ostbahn* from Berlin to Piła. Following scientific advice from scientists at the European University Viadrina,^{xiii} the project managers in the field of transport and territorial authorities along the railway line chose the EEIG as a private EU legal form which is the private law counterpart to the public law based territorial EGTC. This was done in order to win private investors for the new development of the old infrastructure. The section's revitalization was an opportunity to link larger cities such as Gorzów Wielkopolski in the voivodship Lubuskie to Berlin. The establishment of the EEIG legal form resulted in a acquisition of private investors and put the railway line between Berlin and Piła back into operation. In the following years, the regional authorities and private investors developed very ambitious goals like in the *Ostbahn's* visions for the future 2025 (created in 2010) which ought to be implemented by 10 working groups until 2014 (decided in 2008)^{xiv}. In a second step of the railway line's revitalization and of the economic development of the adjoining territories, the general meeting of the IGOB EEIG decided in 2009 to develop a concept for a model region "TransOderana" with the legal form of an EGTC. The EGTC's legal form offers the municipalities and towns along

the railway line between Berlin and Piła a bigger influence in the deliberation and decision-making processes within the grouping than before. Due to the private legal form of the EEIG, territorial authorities could only be associated but not become official members. Subsequently, the EGTC founding documents (statutes and convention) were drawn up after consultation and negotiation at federal, state and district level as well as with the European Commission and the Committee of the Regions (CoR)^{xv}. In 2011, after a joint consultation with the German-Polish regional authorities adjoining the European grouping, it was decided to change the project name to "Eurodistrict TransOderana EGTC" (Pupier, 2011/ Ulrich, 2017). The Eurodistrict aims to develop a European model region around the Berlin-Piła railway line (see figure 3) in the form of an EGTC and to continue the work of the IGOB EEIG which, hereafter, was dissolved at the beginning of 2014. The Latin denomination "TransOderana" in combination with the historical name of "Terra Transoderana" (Vogenbeck, 2008), symbolizes the country of the Oder river with its western and eastern tributaries as a Europe across ("trans") the Odra river. In order to design a model region with sustainable character along the route, a working group defined four fields of action as shown in figure 1.



Fields of Action in the model region Eurodistrict TransOderana Fig.1
Source: author's own elaboration, 2018.

These fields of action encompass the “management of endogenous potentials” (field of action 1), “self-perception – perception of the others – dynamics” (field of action 2), “the management of regional networks” (field of action 3), “management of demographic change” (field of action 4).

Subsequently, these fields of action were planned to be filled with individual (cross-border) projects and initiatives to develop the cross-border region along the railway line.

In order to implement these fields of action, further active members were recruited with regard to the foundation process by the end of 2012. In January 2013, a kick-off meeting for the project was carried out in Kostrzyn (Poland) with all municipal institutions from Poland and Germany interested in the foundation process. In the following period, the founding documents, i.e. statutes and convention, were coordinated, prepared and completed between the members of the EGTC. On 20 June 2013 the founding event of the “TransOderana EGTC” took place in Seelow (Germany). The final approbation has not yet been given as the responsible national approval authorities in Brandenburg and Poland have not yet approved the founding documents. Hereafter, it will be further explained which factors impeded the foundation process.

Legal and administrative institutionalization by the legal instrument of the EGTC

The IGOB which is based on the legal form form of a European Economic Interest Grouping (EEIG) after regulation EEC No 2137/85 from July 1985, has according to article 3, paragraph 1 EEIG Regulation the objective to “facilitate or develop the economic activities of its members and to improve or increase the results of those activities”, but not with the intention to “make profits for itself”. Members of this legal instrument under private law may be legal or natural entities who carry out industrial, commercial, craft, agricultural or any other professional cooperative activities (Article 4 Paragraph 1 EEIG Regulation). After the successful re-establishment of the former “*Ostbahn*” railway connection the territorial authorities have decided – to redefine the applied legal form in form of an EGTC. The objective has been to actively engage the territorial and public authorities and, therefore, that the towns and districts have a say with regard to the development of the *Ostbahn*.

The IGOB EEIG was dissolved on December 31 in 2014 in order to continue the tasks in the form of an EGTC^{xvi}. As a follow up, the dissolution of the EEIG structure was assessed by the interviewees as overhasty, since the long-range bureaucratic effort of setting up the EGTC was difficult to assess and, thus, underestimated. According to the respondents' assessment, the two legal forms could exist in parallel - the EEIG with a membership of private legal entities and public institutions as associative members in parallel to an EGTC with territorial authorities as its members. The two legal forms are complementary in character. The EEIG legal form - in the eyes of the interviewees - is an instrument for the development, rehabilitation and promotion of infrastructure through private investment, while the EGTC is seen as an “instrument for designing” (*Gestaltungsinstrument*) the economic, tourist and spatial development of the region.

The national implementation of the EU EGTC regulation took place in Germany and Poland in parallel and without mutual consultations. Poland published the implementing regulations for the EGTC Regulation on 7 November 2008 (for the EGTC Amendment Regulation on 11 September 2015),^{xvii} whereas in Germany the federal level did not take action due to its federal-decentralized territorial organization that delegates the implementing act competences in the case of the EGTC regulation to the federal states (*Bundesländer*). Thus, each federal state adopted its own implementing regulation (Brandenburg with the EGTC implementing Regulation of 22.11.2007)^{xviii}. The regulation on the competences of the EGTC in Brandenburg is formulated with only two paragraphs in a blurry and imprecise way. Some aspects such as the legal character (public vs. private law)^{xix} or liability issues were defined inadequately. The Polish implementing provision, on the other hand, with 23 articles, is much more comprehensive and precise and is clear on competences, the legal character (association law can be applied) and practical application aspects such as the liability of the Polish members.

Member structure of the planned EGTC

Although the grouping has not yet been founded and registered, it is worth taking a look at the administrative and practical provisions in the statutes and convention of the TransOderana EGTC. The future EGTC will consist of eleven

territorial units in Germany (seven municipalities, four towns) and 17 from Poland (three districts, 13 municipalities, one state technical college). Figure 3 shows the area and territorial entities that are located in the hinterlands of the model region along the railway line.

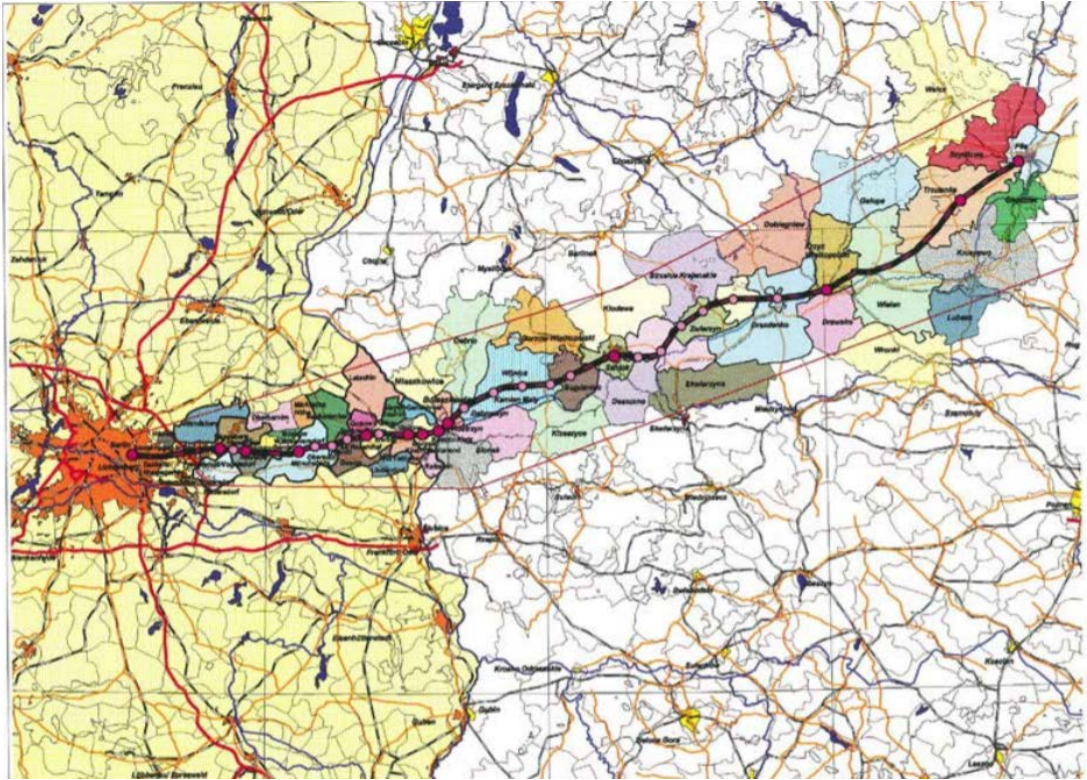
As can be seen in figure 2, the EGTC should consist of several institutions from different administrative levels and thus facilitate cooperation not only across national, but also across administrative and hierarchical borders. Nevertheless, this cooperation across several administrative levels can also turn out as a barrier for cooperation. Communication processes can take place hardly or only with difficulty if the competencies are allocated at different administrative levels. At the same time, however, the EGTC legal form offers the opportunity to do so, i.e. that municipalities in one country cooperate with districts or regions in the neighboring country, if the members are assigned to the same responsibilities (Art. 7 Para. 2 EGTC Regulation). In the case of the TransOderana EGTC three districts ("powiat") participate on the Polish side, while the only interested district Märkisch-Oderland

on the German side has bailed out of the planned membership (declaration of the district council of 14 May 2014). The district administrator (*Landrat*), who had initially endorsed membership of the district in the EGTC,^{xx} justifies the bail-out by the fact that the district council (*Kreistag*) has identified a competing dual structure of the EGTC with the local self-governments of the district in the areas of economic development, health care, labor market policy, tourism and cross-border cooperation^{xxi}. The interviewed representatives on the German and Polish side contradict this view. Also the Member of the European Parliament (MEP), vice-chair of Committee on Regional Development neglects the occurrence of double structures in the district of Märkisch-Oderland. Rather, he argues that the EGTC is an instrument for "intelligent outsourcing" of administrative costs and reduction of operating costs. He highlights that the EGTC provides the bundling and joint performance of tasks and not the transfer of competencies^{xxii}.

Members of TransOderana EGTC			
German		Polish	
Members	Population	Members	Population
Town ("Stadt") Strausberg	26.229	District ("Powiat") Gorzowski	126.000
Town Seelow	5.599	District Czarnkowsko-Trzcianecki	87.034
Town Müncheberg	6.785	District Wałecki	55.000
Town Buckow (Märkische Schweiz)	1.466	Municipality ("Gmina") Gorzów Wlkp.	124.609
Municipality ("Landkreis") Fredersdorf-Vogelsdorf	12.879	Municipality Kostrzyn nad Odra	18.120
Municipality Hoppegarten	17.002	Municipality Piła	74.471
Municipality Rehfelde	4.670	Municipality Drezdenko	10.411
Municipality Waldsiedersdorf	823	Municipality Krzyw Wielkopolski	6.211
Municipality Petershagen	25.339	Municipality Trzcianka	16.776
Municipality Golzow	840	Municipality Zwierzyn	4.479
Municipality Vierlinden	1.466	Municipality Wieleń	12.743
		Municipality Witnica	13.097
		Municipality Strzelce Krajeńskie	17.495
		Municipality Bogdanice	7.121
		Municipality Santok	8.019
		Municipality Stare Kurowo	4.196
		State Technical College Gorzów Wlkp. (Państwowa Wyższa Szkoła Zawodowa)	
	103.098		585.782

Members of the planned TransOderana EGTC, Fig.2

Source: author's own elaboration, 2018.



Development of the "Ostbahn" towards a European model region, Fig.3
Source: Pupier, 2011.

Documents of the planned TransOderana EGTC

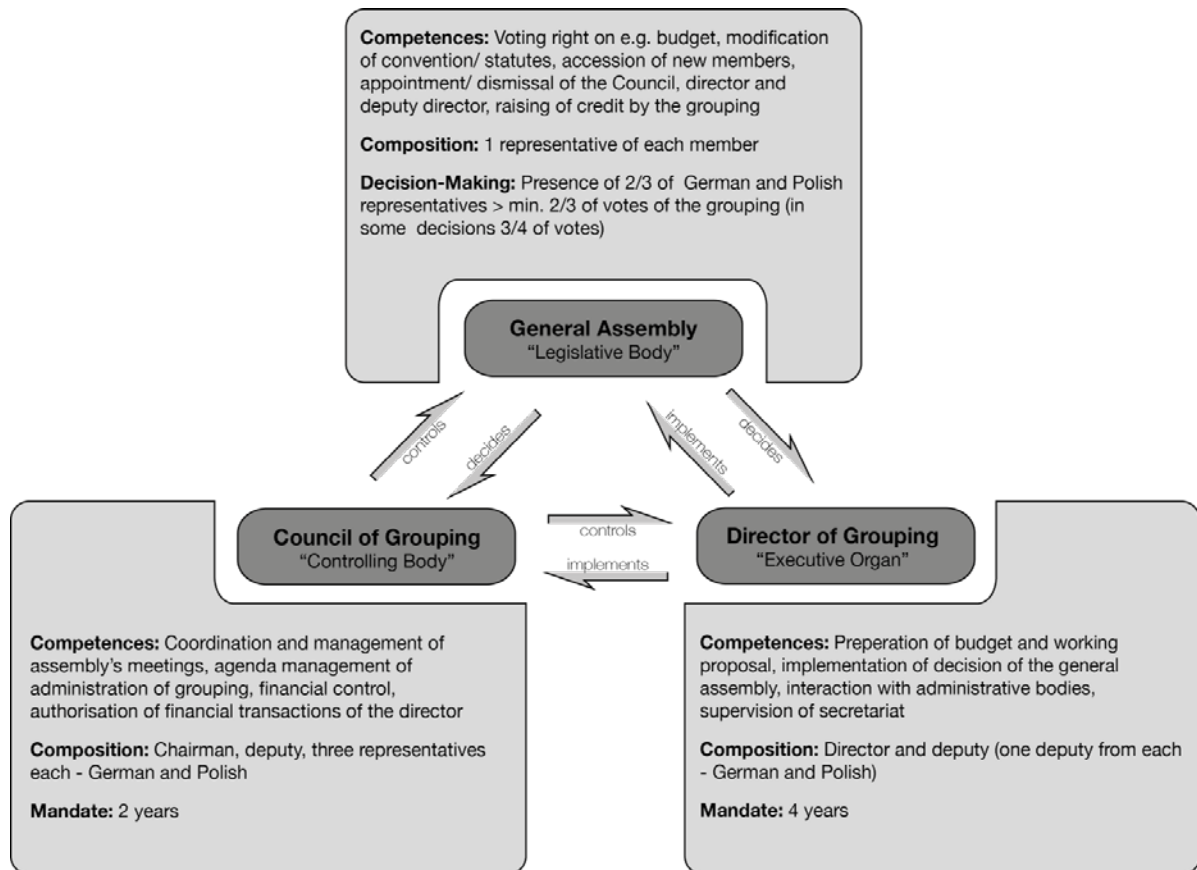
The founding documents of the envisaged EGTC were submitted in 2015 to the approval authorities defined in the implementing provisions - the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland and the Ministry of the Interior and Communities Brandenburg (*Ministerium des Innern und für Kommunales Brandenburg - MIK*) for an informal examination.

After some rounds of negotiations, only the Ministry in Warsaw gave an informal and cautious positive assessment, while the MIK expressed objections.

The Convention ("Konwencja") of TransOderana, which includes 25 articles in German and Polish, comprises definitions about members, seat, objectives, duration, internal organization, decision-making processes and applicable legal provisions, personnel, liability, financial control, dissolution of the association and the procedure for the adoption and amendment of the statutes in accordance with art. 8 EGTC Regulation. The first defined aim of the grouping is to expand and deepen German-Polish territorial cooperation.

Second, it aims at reducing existing economic and social differences in order to contribute to the development of a modern and economically attractive region with a competitive economy, high-quality education and working conditions as well as innovative services of general interest. This is to be ensured through joint projects and further measures in the area of responsibility of its members (art. 5 Convention TransOderana EGTC).

The seat of the EGTC shall be in Gorzów Wielkopolski (Poland), while the office is to be located in Seelow, Brandenburg (art. 4 Convention TransOderana EGTC). The official languages are German and Polish, the EGTC shall be established for a limited period until 31.12.2030 (art. 7 Convention TransOderana EGTC) and will carry out administrative tasks in the territorial action area of its members (art. 3 Convention TransOderana EGTC). The extension of the scope of action is possible at any time, but must be decided unanimously in the presence of all members and – in the following - submitted to the approval authorities (Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Brandenburg Ministry for Interior and Communities) after the convention has been amended (art. 21 Convention TransOderana EGTC).



Organigram of the internal legislation process of the TransOderana EGTC (under construction) Fig.4
Source: author's own elaboration, 2018.

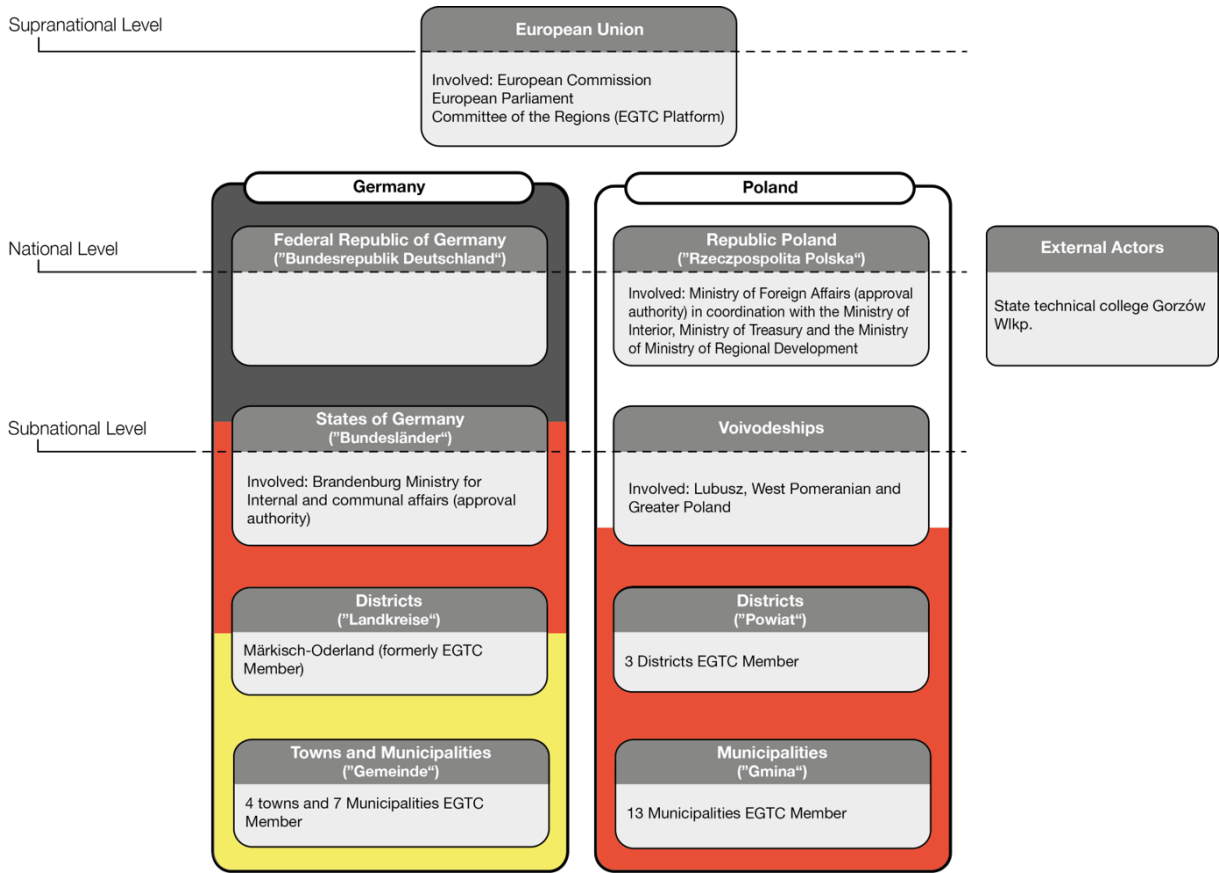
According to art. 8 of the convention, the organs of the grouping will comprise a general assembly, a council and a director (see figure 4). The general assembly is the legislative body, since it is primarily responsible for taking decisions, with each member having one vote (art. 9 Para. 4 Convention TransOderana EGTC). The director and deputy director stand for the executive body (art. 13 and 14 Convention TransOderana EGTC). They are symmetrically represented by a German and Polish official. Finally, the council of the grouping has a coordination and control function (see figure 4) (art. 10 - 12 Convention TransOderana EGTC).

In terms of institutional competence allocation, the balance of the institutional bodies was emphasized. In addition, four working groups were set up on fundamental questions, such as external relations, EGTC documents and project development. The EGTC document-working group proposed to produce the founding documents bilingually - in German and Polish - following the German-French EGTC Eurodistrict Saarmoselle. Also the EGTC's financing by membership fees was adopted from the French-German cross-border grouping^{xxiii}. Further financial resources

for the EGTC were expected to be accessed through European and national (regional) funding^{xxiv}. For European funding applications, the legal form of the EGTC can have practical administrative advantages. Despite the legal advantages and expected added value by the EGTC legal form, the interviewees mentioned ambiguities regarding the process of establishing and assigning competences in specific areas. Essential challenges of the EGTC's practical application, mentioned by the German and Polish interviewees primarily concern the uncertainty with regard to liability issues, membership based financing, precise tasks, as well as decision-making processes. These doubts were attempted to be resolved with the draft statutes and convention. Article 9, for instance, assigns the general assembly the right to decide on membership fees. The elaboration of the convention of the EGTC was accompanied by an academic study dealing with administrative concerns. It compared the EGTC to other EGTCs with German participation, such as the EGTC Eurodistrict SaarMoselle. No ambiguities on legal (art. 15 para. 1 Convention TransOderana EGTC) and personnel law (art. 16 para. 1 Convention TransOderana

EGTC) exist. At first glance, the EGTC is subject to the law of the country in which it has its seat. The staff of the EGTC may consist of employees and staff seconded by the members. The flexibility of the employment options follows the EU collision regulations (in particular "Rome I" - Regulation 593/2008). The question of liability has been managed in the sense that the agreement refers to the respective national law (art. 17 para. 1 Convention TransOderana EGTC). In view of the completely different liability systems,^{xxv} however, the Brandenburg approval authority is skeptical towards the EGTC, because the Brandenburg members are fully liable. The MIK also criticized in a statement of 2015 that the members from Brandenburg, i.e. the towns and municipalities, possessed limited financial resources but still should assume tasks such as education, vocational training, health care and

care for the elderly. This would exceed the powers of the members. Therefore, concern was expressed on the liability of its members for the performance of tasks for which they do not have a responsibility^{xxvi}. The expressed doubts of the State of Brandenburg contradict the objectives of the EGTC formulated in the agreement. Article 5 paragraph 2 of the convention comprises the fields education, vocational training and cooperation in the field of civil protection and the development of cross-border cooperation in the field of health care and care for the elderly as fields of promotion. These tasks are not the fields of competences of the municipalities. Nevertheless, the EGTC provides support and coordination measures in these areas. Therefore, there is no takeover of competences detectable.



State organization in Germany and Poland and involved actors in the foundation process of the TransOderana EGTC Fig.5
 Source: author's own elaboration, 2018.

TransOderana EGTC and Multi-Level Governance

The EGTC is a coordination and support instrument for cross-border measures and is neither legally nor administratively in competition with the Euroregion (Pro Europa Viadrina) nor with the administrations in the district, municipality or town. The EGTC is an instrument of multi-level governance i.e. a political instrument involving several actors from different levels in its interaction, deliberation, negotiation and decision-making processes.

In the foundation process that is still ongoing, several actors and institutions from different administrative levels on both sides of the border were involved in the membership negotiations as already mentioned above. Governance across administrative levels occurs further in the interaction with the national (Poland) or federal levels (Brandenburg). This multilevel governance could be observed particularly in the request for approval of the grouping. Additionally, representatives of the TransOderana EGTC were welcomed by the EU level, i.e. the representatives from the EU Commission, the European Parliament (Joachim Zeller) and experts of the Committee of the Regions (CoR) in Brussels. They were encouraged to continue with their plans to create the first EGTC at the German-Polish border.

An overview on the involvement of the various European multi-level governance actors in the emergence of the EGTC, but also in its daily work is given in figure 5.

Outlook

This paper aimed at providing an overview about the German-Polish cross-border cooperation between public administrations that emerged in the context of European Integration after 1990. Furthermore, the article presented the EGTC as an instrument for the long-term institutionalization of cross-border cooperation. Against this background, the TransOderana EGTC, a very ambitious, on a long-term basis prepared joint cross-border project along the former Eastern Railway line (*Ostbahn*) was presented. Despite the advantages offered by the EU legal instrument, no EGTC has been established at the German-Polish border yet, while several EGTCs exist at the western and south-western German cross-border regions. The EGTC Eurodistrict SaarMoselle, located at the German-French border served as a role model for the creation of the TransOderana founding

documents. More favorable economic and political conditions for cross-border cooperation, e.g., the stronger municipal financial resources, a long history of cooperation and the impetus provided by the Chirac-Schröder initiative for cross-border cooperation between Germany and France in 2003, might simplify the establishment of an EGTC at the French-German border.

Until now, two EGTCs with a seat in Germany were founded:

German –Dutch “Interregional Alliance for the Rhine-Alpine Corridor EGTC” (founded in May 2015 with partners from Switzerland, Italy and France),

German-Czech “*Eisenbahnneubaustrecke Dresden-Prag EVTZ*” (new railway line construction between Dresden and Prague, founded in September 2016).

These EGTCs are active in the field of transport and logistics and can be considered as role models for a successful completion of the founding process of an EGTC with German involvement.

The representatives of the “Interregional Alliance for the Rhine-Alpine Corridor” highlighted the help of the regional council “*Regierungspräsidium Freiburg*”, which is the competent approval authority of the German federal state Baden-Württemberg, in setting up the EGTC. The political will and support of the approval administrations was emphasized as an engine for a successful foundation of an EGTC. The case of the new railway construction between Dresden and Prague shows two interesting aspects. In contrast to the TransOderana EGTC a different course of actions was chosen: From the beginning, the EGTC was considered to be an appropriate tool for the regeneration of a railway line, while in the German-Polish case first an EEIG was established to attract investors (although at the time the EGTC was not introduced so far). The second interesting aspect is that the two cases started from similar initial situations: The Dresden-Prague line represents a cross-border railway line at the East German border as well. Thus, the TransOderana EGTC could possibly learn from the other EGTC’s successful establishment process.

What has been outlined in the analysis is that both the political will and the bureaucratic boundaries are crucial for a successful and concluded EGTC foundation. The EGTC was initially introduced by the European Commission as a facilitator for cross-border cooperation. However, the cross-border management authorities for ERDF and in particular the INTERREG funds were reluctant towards this new instrument. In the case of the TransOderana EGTC, the tool

was particularly chosen to be able to design joint politics and to gain EU funds. Also the four German-Polish Euroregions initially considered to switch their institutional structures to an EGTC. However, this idea was not followed up. Therefore, there is still no concluded EGTC at the German-Polish border. The TransOderana EGTC remains the first EGTC in Europe that has not been concluded yet although having completed most steps of the establishment process including the already prepared foundation documents for some time.

The analysis shows that political actors are the key drivers of cross-border cooperation. In the course of the foundation process of the TransOderana EGTC, the German (Brandenburg) competent authority remained reluctant to approve the EGTC establishment. Thus, the establishment process of the TransOderana EGTC could not be completed. Furthermore, the signals coming from Poland after the political change suggest that cross-border cooperation, especially at the German-Polish border, is not necessarily promoted anymore. The lack of the political will to promote paradiplomacy, hence, "regional foreign policy" further, becomes obvious.

In addition to this, it can be deduced from the analysis that setting up an EGTC involves many bureaucratic obstacles that are mostly linked to asymmetries. Also scarce financial resources of the potential EGTC members play a crucial role in the support of an EGTC establishment. Besides that, experiences with the legal tool and

its application in Germany are missing. The tool is often misconceived. Therefore, academics and practitioners on EU, national and subnational level need to spread the information about the nature and application of EGTCs: It is a coordination and management tool that bundles the competences of the members across borders. It is an instrument for efficient governance across borders whether in a pure territorial or functional (project-/program-related) sense. It does not provide regional authorities with new competencies that are not naturally given to them by the respective national law.

As it is a facultative instrument for cross-border cooperation, alternative legal forms should always be reviewed and compared with the specific purpose and function of cooperation. Yet, especially in times of re-nationalization processes in Europe due to the multiple political crisis in the EU, the establishment of an EGTC in the heart of Europe can be a political sign applying a long-term cross-border form of cooperation independent of political and personnel changes. The example of the "Interregional Alliance for the Rhine-Alpine Corridor" EGTC proves that an EGTC with German participation based on a transport policy approach and the long-term goal of regional development can be established successfully despite possible duplication structures to local self-governments. The facultative legal form of the EGTC therefore offers not only obstacles but also opportunities for the German-Polish borderland

NOTES

ⁱ *Four Euroregions have been created on the German-Polish border within four years: The Euroregion Neisse-Nisa-Nysa (21 December 1991), the Euroregion Spree-Neisse-Bober (Spree-Nysa-Bóbr) (21 September 1993), Euroregion Pro Europa Viadrina (21 December 1993) and the Euroregion Pomerania (15 December 1995).*

ⁱⁱ *"Eurostadt" (European City) Guben-Gubin (1998), the European city of Görlitz-Zgorzelec (1998) and the cooperation centre of the twin city Frankfurt (Oder)-Ślubice (2010).*

ⁱⁱⁱ *Examples for local cross-border project-related co-operations: in Świnoujście and Heringsdorf (urban development model with a cross-border centre, development centre of a twin region, extension of the Usedom leisure bath railway ("Bäder-Bahn") to Świnoujście), town twinning initiative between Cottbus and Zielona Góra (town twinning, joint youth, cultural, sport projects and cross-border tourism), construction of the cross-border metropolitan region of*

Szczecin (a project association of public and private actors promoting the development of the metropolitan region); additionally in the field of environmental tourism the "Unteres Odertal" and the international park between Mieszkowice and Schwedt and the "Pückler" Park in and around Bad Muskau on both sides of the border.

^{iv} *The twin city of Görlitz-Zgorzelec established two cross-border bus lines (1992 and 1999), a cross-border hospital cooperation (1991), and since 1994 a German-Polish kindergarten. Eurostadt Guben-Gubin built a joint wastewater treatment plant on the Polish side of the city based on Polish law. Completed projects of general public interest in Frankfurt-Ślubice include German-Polish local transport in the form of a cross-border bus line in the twin city, an installation of a joint district heating system and German-Polish kindergartens in the twin city. Already in the 20 years before, joint efforts had been made in Frankfurt and Ślubice to promote cross-border tourism and business.*

^v *The German-Polish Spatial Planning Commission (deutsch-polnische Raumordnungskommission) has been created through the German-Polish "Treaty on Good Neighbourship" in 1991 to coordinate cross-border cooperation in the fields of regional planning and spatial planning at all levels, see also contribution by Beate Caesar.*

^{vi} *The Oder Partnership is an informal, project-oriented initiative for cooperation between voivodships, countries and individual cities in eastern Germany and western Poland and aims at strengthening the region's economy by promoting closer political and infrastructural links. It consists of the same members as the German-Polish Regional Planning Commission (see <http://www.oder-partnerschaft.eu/>).*

^{vii} *The German-Polish border region is located in the INTERREG B programme areas of Central Europe and North-West Europe.*

^{viii} *In the budgetary period 2014-2020, the Operational Programme (OP) for the Baltic Sea Region has the same funding priorities as the TransOderana (see further below in the text), for example in the priority axis 3 "Sustainable transport" focusing on interoperability in freight and passenger transport or accessibility of peripheral regions affected by demographic change. The "Central Europe" cooperation programme 2014-2020 also supports transport policy cooperation, for example with within the fourth priority axis on "Cooperating on transport to better connect Central Europe".*

^{ix} *The Central European Transport Corridor (CETC) integrates various transport axes along the Oder river on the North-South axis which is implemented in concrete European projects like "South-North-Axis (So-NorA)" and initiatives like "Scandinavian-Adriatic Corridor for Innovation and Growth" (Scandria)".*

^x *The interviews were conducted with persons directly or indirectly involved in the TransOderana EGTC foundation process. The interviewees were a mayor of a German municipality that is a member of the EGTC and a representative of a Polish district who accompanied the founding process from the very beginning. In addition, interviews were conducted with the two project coordinators of the TransOderana EGTC, Karl-Heinz Bossan, Jacek Jeremicz and the legal advisor Dr. Marcin Krzymuski. Representatives of public planning offices such as the Joint State Planning Department of the States Berlin and Brandenburg (Berlin-Brandenburgische Gemeinsame Landesplanungsabteilung) and the Association of European Border Regions (AEBR) were also interviewed.*

^{xi} *Nowadays known as Kaliningrad.*

^{xii} *The Ostbrandenburgische Verkehrsgespräche (IOVG) can be seen as an initial spark for the revival of the Ostbahn. The IOVG have been organised since 1999 by the Frankfurt Institute for Environmentally Oriented Logistics (Frankfurter Institut für umweltorientierte Logistik e.V.) in Frankfurt (Oder) together with the Frankfurt (Oder) Chamber of Industry and Commerce.*

^{xiii} *Scientists from the European University Viadrina, such as Prof. Dr. Kaspar Frey from the Chair of Civil Law, Commercial and Business Law at the European University Viadrina, Dr. Jan Musekamp from the Chair of European Contemporary History and Dr. Marcin Krzymuski from the Chair of Polish Private Law gave advice on (EU) cross-border legal forms.*

^{xiv} *Among other things, the "visions for the future until 2025" (Zukunftsvisionen 2025) highlighted the rehabilitation of the line (modern rail connections, coordinated European traffic guidance system, railway station renovation, sustainable passenger and freight transport), the promotion of tourism (establishment of a German-Polish tourist office, tourist information and guidance system) and the development of the sparsely populated region, taking demographic development into account.*

^{xv} <https://www.gemeinde-rehfelde.de/verzeichnis/visitenkarte.php?mandat=112341>, 12 June 2018.

^{xvi} *See <http://www.ostbahn.eu/html/igob-ewiv.html>, 12 June 2018.*

^{xvii} *Ustawa o europejskim ugrupowaniu współpracy terytorialnej (Dz.U. [GBl.] von 2008 Nr. 218 Pos. 1390 i.d.g.F.); see WIKI on the website of the des EGTC Center of Excellence at the Europa-Universität Viadrina: <http://www.evtz.eu/wikka.php?wakka=CategoryEVTZNationaleVorschriften&active1=CategoryEVTZVorschriften&active2=CategoryEVTZNationaleVorschriften>, 5 January 2018.*

^{xviii} *Verordnung über die Zuständigkeit zur Ausführung der Verordnung (EG) Nr. 1082/2006 des Europäischen Parlaments und des Rates vom 5. Juli 2006 über den Europäischen Verbund für territoriale Zusammenarbeit (EVTZ) im Land Brandenburg (Brandenburgische EVTZ-Zuständigkeitsverordnung - BbgEVTZ-ZustV), see WIKI on the website of the des EGTC Center of Excellence at the Europa-Universität Viadrina: <http://www.evtz.eu/wikka.php?wakka=CategoryEVTZNationaleVorschriften&active1=CategoryEVTZVorschriften&active2=CategoryEVTZNationaleVorschriften>, 5 June 2018.*

^{xix} *Since the ordinance on jurisdiction to implement the EGTC regulation does not specify the legal character of the EGTC, the EGTC in the State of Brandenburg is interpreted as a "public law" form of association due to the general classification of EGTCs.*

^{xx} *See also Joint Press Release of the Committee of the Regions (CoR) and the Eurodistrict "TransOderana EGTC" under construction of 7 November 2012 "Geburt einer neuen mitteleuropäischen Region an Oder – Warthe und Netze: Eurodistrikt TransOderana EVTZ".*

^{xxi} *See letter from the district administrator of Märkisch-Oderland to the Mayor of the town of Müncheberg: "Mitgliedschaft des Landkreises Märkisch-Oderland im EVTZ TransOderana" from 27 March 2014.*

^{xxii} *See Zeller, letter to editor-in-chief Mangelsdorf to rectify the claim that an EGTC creates double structures and competing responsibilities - Article MOZ, 2*

April 2014, Seelow edition – “mit der Bitte um Beachtung, gegebenenfalls Veröffentlichung“ on 9 April 2014.

^{xxiii} Based on the EGTC Eurodistrict SaarMoselle, an internal working group proposed a proportional contribution of 0.10 €/inhabitant/month for the towns and municipalities and a lump-sum for the Powiats/counties.

^{xxiv} The European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), specifically with Objective 3, the ETC (INTERREG V A), can be considered as the main source of funding from European public funds. However, the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD) and the Connecting Europe Facility (CEF)

also offer an interesting funding opportunity for EGTC and individual project initiatives.

^{xxv} According to art. 19 of the Polish EGTC Act, Polish members are not liable at all for the liabilities of the association in which they participate. In MIK's opinion, on the other hand, the German members are fully liable for the EGTC's liabilities.

^{xxvi} See statement of the Ministry of the Interior and for Municipal Affairs (MIK) Brandenburg, Dr. Acker, documents TransOderana EVTZ, 16.12.2015.

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ADDRESSES

Peter Ulrich, Research Associate, Research Group "Border & Boundary Studies", Viadrina Center B/ORDERS IN MOTION, Europa-Universität Viadrina, Große Scharrnstraße 59, 15230 Frankfurt (Oder) – Germany, pulrich@europa-uni.de

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

PETER ULRICH is a political scientist with special emphasis on European and Regional Studies, Political Geography and Border Studies. He is currently working at the Viadrina Center B/ORDERS IN MOTION at the Europa-Universität Viadrina in Frankfurt (Oder) in the research group "Border & Boundary Studies". He is a PhD candidate at the Chair for European and International Politics at the Viadrina. His PhD thesis "Participatory governance in the Europe of the cross-border regions" focuses on cross-border governance processes at Inner-European border regions and civil society participation, regionalism and regionalization. The PhD thesis will be concluded in the beginning of 2019.

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