

**THE IMPACT OF EUROPEAN SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT PERSPECTIVE
(ESDP) ON MULTI-LEVEL GOVERNANCE: CASE STUDIES OF GERMAN
AND FRENCH PLANNING TRADITIONS**

by
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ABSTRACT

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Methods and approaches to the European integration process have long been discussed and analyzed in the academic literature. One such methodology, the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP) presents an innovative and novel approach to European integration. As a response to increasing interdependency and the forces of globalization, Member States of the EU have started to engage in a cooperative manner. Issues such as spatial planning, which are beyond Community's competence and scope, began to enter into the European agenda though, albeit through untraditional procedures. Initiatives such as ESDP reveal alternative practices that have expanded the scope of European cooperation. Rather than regulatory and binding practices of cooperation, ESDP instead presents the importance of political will and the formulation of frameworks open to interpretation as the fundamental principles of cooperation which aims to serve the interests of all the parties included. Accordingly; the relationships, functioning and transnational cooperation seem to provide an added value to the multi-level governance approach in explaining the European integration processes. The impact of and the motivation for ESDP in two powerful agents in the European arena Germany-- federal state-- and France-- unitary state, exhibits, though partially and with reservations, the validity of evolving alternative methods and approaches to European integration.

ÖZET

AVRUPA MEKANSAL GELİŞİM PERSPEKTİFİ'NİN ÇOK DÜZEYLİ YÖNETİŞİM ÜZERİNDEKİ ETKİSİ: FRANSIZ VE ALMAN MEKANSAL PLANLAMA GELENEKLERİ ÖRNEK İNCELEMELERİ

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Anahtar Kelimeler: Avrupa Mekansal Gelişim Perspektifi, çok düzeyli yönetim yaklaşımı, mekansal planlama gelenekleri, mekansal gelişim

Akademik literatürde, Avrupa entegrasyon sürecini inceleyen yaklaşımlar ve metodlar uzun zamandır üzerinde tartışılan bir konu olmuştur. Avrupa Mekansal Gelişim Perspektifi (AMGP) bu bağlamda yeni ve yenilikçi bir yaklaşım sunuyor. AB'ye üye ülkeler, artan bağılıklar ve küreselleşme gerçeğine uyum sağlamak için işbirlikçi tutum sergileme yoluna gidiyorlar. Hatta, AB'nin yetki alanına girmeyen mekansal planlama gibi konuları geleneksel prosedürlerden farklı şekillerde Avrupa gündemine taşıyorlar. AMGP gibi inisiyatiflerin de gösterdiği gibi Avrupa'da işbirliği alternatif uygulamaları kapsama alanı içine alıyor. AMGP uygulamasının örnek teşkil ettiği gibi bu girişimler düzenleyici ve bağlayıcı olmaktan uzak, siyasi iradeye ve yoruma açık çerçeve oluşturulması yoluyla işbirliği için bütün tarafların çıkarını hedef alan yeni prensipler geliştiriyor. Bu bağlamda kurulan ilişkiler, işleyiş ve milletler üstü işbirliği; çok düzeyli yönetim yaklaşımının Avrupa entegrasyon sürecine dair iddialarını daha geçerli kılıyor. AB'nin iki kuvvetli temsilcisi Almanya –federal devlet- ve Fransa –üniter devlet-, AMGP'nin etkisi ve AMGP'ye gösterilen efor açısından, Avrupa entegrasyonunun gelişen alternatif metodlarını ve yaklaşımlarını, kısmen ve ihtiyatlı da olsa, tasdik eden bir tavır sergiliyor.

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Abbreviations

ARCHIMED	Pilot Action for Transnational Spatial Development in South-eastern Mediterranean area
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy
CASDES	Central European, Adriatic, Danubian and South Eastern European Space
CIP	Community Initiative Programmes
CSD	Committee on Spatial Development
DATAR	Délégation à l'Aménagement du Territoire et à l'Action Régionale
DG	Directorate-General
ESDP	European Spatial Development Perspective
ERDF	European Regional Development Funding
EU	European Union
IMRA	Flood Prevention Rhine-Meuse
INTERREG	Community initiative for crossborder, transnational and interregional cooperation
LEADER	Community initiative for Rural development through innovative local projects
LIFE	EU Programme for financing innovative environmental projects
MEDA	EU Programme for financing development of cooperation and exchange of know-how
MERCOSUR	Amalgamation of Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay to form a common market
MKRO	Die Ministerkonferenz für Raumordnung
MLG	Multi-level Governance
NWMA	North Western Metropolitan Areas
PHARE	Poland and Hungary: Assistance for Restructuring their Economies
RECITE	EU Programme for supporting interregional projects and networks of local and regional authorities in the EU
RTD	Research, Technology and Development
TACIS	EU Programme for the transfer of know-how, the exchange of experience, the establishment of partnerships and networks, twin and pilot projects
TEN	Trans-European Networks
TERRA	EU Programme for networks of local and regional authorities for spatial development
URBAN	Community Initiative for Regeneration of urban areas in crisis
USA	United States of America

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The introduction chapter of this thesis has three sections that help systematically to cover the content, outline and the logic of the thesis. In the first section the purpose of the study will be presented. In the second part, there will be a general overview of the scope and objectives of the thesis. Lastly, the outline of the thesis will be given in the final section.

1.1. Purpose of the Study

The EU goal of territorial cohesion- even though not designated explicitly- paved the way to the potentials of transnational cooperation one of which was eventually named as the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP). ESDP is an indicative strategy for transnational spatial planning within EU territory. The establishment of ESDP as a document is an outcome of introducing spatial dimension to European level urged by practical necessities and evolving circumstances. The purpose of this study is to seek what ESDP has to offer and to provide useful insight and understanding to what it is and what it is desired to be. More specifically the question is whether the emergence of ESDP as a strategy to guide development in the EU territory has impacted the European cooperation as defined by the multi-level governance approach. The emphasis of this question is on the unique feature of the ESDP such that it is incomparable with traditional spatial planning mechanisms moreover challenged by high diversification of Member States to appreciate the dynamic power configurations of numerous stakeholders of European spatial development surpassing the multiple levels of government and governance.

The choice of structuring this thesis on the ESDP is based on the idea that it is an innovative and novel approach that exemplifies the changing forms of European integration with forthcoming circumstances and present-day necessities. It should be noted that Member States are inclined towards managing and shaping European cooperation at the European level due to reserves and trust issues concerning horizontal engagement and compliance with established frameworks at the European arena. Accordingly, the fact that the ESDP is a relatively infant attempt and is indeed in the process of developing invokes curiosity. In order to have an balanced and accurate understanding of spatial impacts of European policies and attain perspective for future shaping of territorial development, it is wise to begin with understanding how ESDP came about and in what ways it suggests an innovative approach to a balanced and sustainable development in the EU territory.

European integration process has been in the heart of academic literature for its sui-generis formation and complicated paths it takes. The establishment of the single market and the integration of economic policies accordingly meant that the European integration has succeeded in establishing an ‘economic giant’ in its totality. Yet, the reflection of economic cohesion to social and territorial cohesion has not been as successful as expected. The concise measures adopted for the economic integration did not find equal correspondence in social solidarity and regional disparities partly because the establishment of the single market has become source of the problem and partly because the political will of Member States was not as definitive.

Since it is not possible to tackle the issue of social and territorial cohesion in one giant set of measures, the tendency was to generate innovative and more voluntary alternatives for addressing the issue. The ESDP is one good example how the incentives take a condensed understanding of some particular phenomenon, in this case creating transnational spatial vision. It is, therefore, important to elaborate and evaluate what the package of ESDP has to offer and what kinds of novel multi-level dynamics among a range of actors it proposes. Hence, the purpose of this thesis is to submit input to the ESDP -one of innovative alternatives- provided for resolving regional disparities with an understanding of strategic spatial planning and cooperative functioning.

1.2. Scope and Objectives:

The concept of territorial cohesion provokes open-ended discussions. As opposed to the intergovernmental consent to ESDP, the application necessitates a multi-level cooperation. The grand theories of European Integration, namely intergovernmentalism and supranationalism, do not offer competent accounting of both the evolution and the workings of the ESDP; and the application of the ESDP in terms of fulfilling the priorities and requirements for INTERREG IIIB Commission Initiative for co-funding ESDP. Both the idea and the aim of this thesis is to provide theoretical approach to ESDP with middle-ranged theories rather than the grand theories of European Integration with the reasoning that former have better capabilities than the latter in giving illustrative perception of the subject matter.

Concentrating on Multi-Level Governance (MLG) as the middle-range theory to be applied to ESDP is author's choice without disregarding some other useful middle-range theories such as the new institutionalism, the policy-network approach, the network governance accompanied by helpful concepts like transnationalism, polycentricity, governance. The importance of this study, hence, is to reach relevant conclusions as to where ESDP falls in theoretical frameworks while giving an useful insight to how ESDP has made a difference in the planning circles in respective Member States.

One of the objective of this thesis is to offer a condensed understanding of what the ESDP document entails and how it finds correspondence in the literature. The process of the developments as a result of certain reasons, circumstances and political will paved the way to ESDP. Accordingly the linkages between the ESDP and EU's territorial cohesion goal as well as demonstrations on how the ESDP is instrumental for its realization will be the primary focus. It is, therefore, one of the objectives of this thesis to study ESDP as a strategy to guide development in the EU territory where regional imbalances and unequal distribution of wealth can in part be dealt with the realization of certain strategic goals and preferences designated in the ESDP.

The multi-level dynamics of the ESDP application will be studied with the aim to emphasize the differentiation of conditions and the priorities for satisfying the related

structural fund programme with its effect on Multi-Level Governance. For the sake of the argument, the two major players in the evolution of the ESDP – namely France and Germany- are chosen to be the case studies for demonstrating the impact of the ESDP on Multi-Level Governance. After all the background information of ESDP is successfully integrated to the main theme, the case studies of Germany and France will be studied for the political will that is necessary for its application and the reaction towards the ESDP in order to enlighten the influence on Multi-Level Governance.

The methodology of this thesis is as followed: the two Member States will be examined separately for their state structures and planning traditions with respect to their style, method, institutions and reasoning. In the following part, the impact of the ESDP on each tradition will be evaluated regarding to their participation in the ESDP projects as well as their willingness for their realization in which multi-level dynamics will be underlined.

The consideration to single out France and Germany serves the purpose of avoiding the burden of tackling massive details of involving each Member State which will not produce equally important discrepancies. It should be stated here that the scope of this thesis does not embrace the EU's Eastern Enlargement with the consideration that it is too early to evaluate and make healthy generalizations concerning the new EU Member States. France and Germany are chosen on purpose since they have played a major role in the ESDP process. In addition, France and Germany have two distinct state structures – former being unitary and latter being federal- and certainly come of diverse planning traditions. Thus, it will be possible to assess whether the implementation of ESDP varies accordingly to state structures and planning approaches.

Finally, the generalizations and the conclusions will hopefully provide credible evidence to the hypothesis of this thesis which is ESDP has an impact to the development of European cooperation as defined in the Multi-level governance approach. More openly said, the thesis will aim to seek whether the introduction of the ESDP has generated consequences that involve sub-national bodies becoming active on the European level as well as whether the ESDP inspired cross-cut relations between different layers of government; sub-national, national and supranational, generating an outcome of multi-level governance networks in different state and planning structures of EU Member States, particularly the two case countries under focus.

1.3 Outline of the Thesis

This thesis is made up of six chapters:

The first chapter is the introduction chapter of the thesis.

The second chapter is a brief review of the literature over the ESDP. For the sake of the argument, the preceding literature review is categorized under three sections having to do with the relevance of approach, definition and understanding of the ESDP.

In the third chapter, the evolution of the ESDP will be studied for informative purposes. The study will be shaped around the circumstances that build up to intergovernmental effort to have a general framework with the designated content.

The application of the ESDP evaluated with the guidance of multi-level governance approach is the main theme of the fourth chapter. After an selected overview of the application of ESDP and the general outline of multi-level governance, the linkages between the two sets of findings will be analyzed.

The fifth chapter is the study of two case studies of Germany and France with respect to their state and planning structures and their involvement in the application of the ESDP. In this chapter, the two countries under focus will be systematically evaluated for their response to the introduction of the ESDP – as a new instrument. The assessment of the ESDP impact will be presented with the aim of finding linkages between multi-level governance approach and traditional structures of Germany and France.

In the final chapter, the ESDP will be evaluated with a perspective that is driven from the informative, the technical and the theoretical content of the thesis. In addition, the findings from the German and France cases will be compared and contrasted in order to reach balanced and compact conclusions of this study.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to analyze and review preceding literature, this chapter is divided into three parts. The first part presents the general outlook to ESDP in terms of the reasons, circumstances and political will that led to its evolution of ESDP. The second part reviews the elements, considerations, and tools to construct a spatial vision. The third part reviews the theoretical approach and useful concepts related to the ESDP.

2.1. General Outlook of ESDP

Spatial policy coordination on EU territory did not started with the adoption of ESDP.¹ Prior attempts had been present in Benelux, North West Europe and the Baltic Sea region starting with the 1950's to end of 1980's as a result of the realization that spatial planning considerations surpassed the national borders urging the necessity for cross-border cooperation. As a matter of fact, all these activities acted as masters that pioneered the process of establishing a more general framework that would produce more efficient results, which is now known as ESDP.² The adoption of ESDP signaled the extent to which the transnational and European spatial integration spurred political will of Member States. Zonneweld refers to as the creation of 'spatial vision' which has the potential to act as 'a new, meaningful governance instrument.'³

¹ Wil Zonneweld, "Expansive Spatial Planning: The New European Transnational Spatial Visions," *European Planning Studies* 13, No.1 (January 2005): 137

² Ibid., 138

³ Ibid., 139

The ESDP, adopted in 1999, is a relatively recent document which has introduced a novel approach to cooperation at the European level. However reaching a consensus on ESDP has not been an easy process for Member States although ESDP has eventually been adopted by unanimous vote. Within numerous areas of cooperation at different rates and levels in the EU territory, the issue of spatial development at European level has emerged as a response to some circumstances. First of all, attempts to integrate economic markets, especially taking pace after the Single European Act of 1986, resulted in an understanding of single market within 'single' EU territory.

Secondly, the liberalization of world economies and elimination of protectionist measures for national economies has been an on-going process which reduces the significance of national boundaries. In other words, the challenges of globalization that Member States have been facing in terms of economic sustainability and growth have put additional pressure to integrate at new areas at a higher level, such as spatial planning, which have traditionally been recognized as solely national matters.

Thirdly; the advancement of information and communication technologies accompanying the impacts of globalization, diluted the solemn concept of national borders and/or in fact the concept of space.⁴ How the collaboration came about and what kept the process going, Dühr summarizes, are the factors that can be listed as urban and regional development becoming more and more of 'transboundary nature', the growing interdependence of nations and challenges put forward by economic globalization.⁵ As a result of which member states voluntarily agreed to the need for a "shared vision for the future pattern of development."⁶

Even though the single market was uniformly regulated all throughout the EU, this regulating the 'single' territory could not find the same pace, same political will and same degree of agreement in terms of regulating the 'single' territory. As financing of spatial policies were becoming heavier burdens on national budgets, national centers

⁴ Wil Zonneweld and Hugo Priemus, "Regional and Transnational Spatial Planning: Problems Today, Perspectives for the Future," *European Planning Studies* 12, No.3 (April 2004): 284

⁵ Stefanie Dühr, "[Illustrating spatial policies in Europe](#)," *European Planning Studies* 11, No.8 (December 2003): 930

⁶ *Ibid.*, 932

have become even more motivated to seek alternative ways to find more efficient and effective solutions.⁷ “Domestic planning instruments and actions of member states also increasingly [started to] take a transnational perspective into consideration, reflecting the emerging agenda on European spatial planning and responding to challenges of economic globalization.”⁸

Territory, hence, has been introduced as a new dimension to the community policy. What has eventually become ESDP document reveals the attempt to incorporate actors with various motivations to coordinate their policies for unity, not standardization.⁹ ESDP’s lure is its ability to offer an engaged approach to spatial development in the EU territory. ESDP has been designed to offer a framework which to facilitate cooperation on spatial development across national, regional and local territories or as Krätke puts which is an ‘integrated perspective’.¹⁰ It is neither legally binding nor imperative; it targets to bring European wide issues to national agenda. ESDP, as Faludi claims, is not a ‘master plan’ but is rather a strategy, a discourse which is a product of intergovernmental bargaining by which Member States are the pioneers of European integration.¹¹ “The ESDP might be seen as an answer to the challenge of increasing supra-national and transnational impacts of European economic integration, which calls for some coordination in order to avoid ruinous competition between European cities and regions.”¹²

⁷ Zonneweld, “Regional and Transnational Spatial Planning: Problems Today, Perspectives for the Future,” 284

⁸ Dühr, “[Illustrating spatial policies in Europe](#),” 932

⁹ Andreas Faludi, “The European Spatial Development Perspective and North-West Europe: Application and the Future,” *European Planning Studies* 12, No.3 (April 2004): 393

¹⁰ Stefan Krätke, “Strengthening the Polycentric Urban System in Europe: Conclusions from the ESDP,” *European Planning Studies* 9, No.1 (January 2001): 105

¹¹ Andreas Faludi, “Positioning European Spatial Planning,” *European Planning Studies* 10, no.7 (2002): 907

¹² Krätke, “Strengthening the Polycentric Urban System in Europe: Conclusions from the ESDP,” 106

The increasing competition between cities and regions has compelled the establishment of ‘inter-city cooperation’ in order to have more favorable positions to attract investment.¹³ However, this intense competition generates outcomes that might threaten to deepen the regional disparities even more. Krätke points out that the wishful ideal of ‘balanced competitiveness’ generates contradiction for the realization of this ideal since ESDP has neo-liberal approaches to increasing competitiveness, i.e. by exploiting low wage; however, a policy with the aim of encouraging balanced development must also take into account the ‘functional/spatial division of labor’ between EU regions.¹⁴ In other words, the contemporary division of the ‘labor-intensive production’ in Central Europe as opposed to “knowledge and technology-intensive production” in the Western Europe has not been a viable option to eradicate regional disparities in the EU territory. Hence the prospect of ESDP is the “expansion of higher-quality services in the metropolitan regions and cities outside the EU core area, ..., and the spread of innovation and knowledge and/or extension of innovation potential in cities and urban regions outside the core zone.”¹⁵

2.2. Construction of Spatial Vision

ESDP is a construction of transnational vision on spatial development in the EU territory. Zonneweld lists seven general functions of the transnational visions. The first function is bringing together a web of planners to start the process of visioning with signals that promise continuity of the process. The second function has to do with piling up all the information and inputs available concerning the transnational area of activity for analytical purposes. Third function of transnational vision is acting as a ‘facet character of spatial policy’.¹⁶ For example, ESDP contains guiding principles which are set forward by which the Member States are encouraged to value them with respect to the spatial vision on EU territory. Also applying to ESDP, the fourth function plays an

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid., 109

¹⁵ Ibid., 110

¹⁶ Zonneweld, “Expansive Spatial Planning: The New European Transnational Spatial Visions,” 147

important role in incorporating the evaluations to generate a policy program, or “catalogue function of good practice”, which will indicate terms for responsible spatial vision. The fifth function has to do with identity-formation within transnational territory. However finding joint features to establish a sense of belongingness with highly diversified participants, especially after EU’s Eastern enlargement, has made it almost impossible for ESDP to fulfill this function. The sixth function is concerned about the creation of framework to enable evaluating project proposals as well as to help shaping content in the future. As for the ESDP, this function reflects itself in the form of creating decision mechanisms for setting requirements to qualify for INTERREG Community Initiative. This serves as the instrument of ESDP for its application as well as preparation of operational programs to meet prospective considerations with respect to INTERREG IIIB. The last function associated with transnational visions is “the provision of an image of the desired spatial structure”, which, in the case of ESDP, is unattainable since the maps that visualize the spatial structures are controversial.

As to the spatial dimension of the transnational vision, Priemus and Zonneweld mention four preconditions for constructing spatial planning in EU territory. “Spatial planning does not take place in splendid isolation, but interacts with changing developments and preconditions.”¹⁷ The first one is the fact that national borders are diminishing with the globalization of economies and increasing interdependencies. Secondly; the agricultural space that has been very influential for the EU in terms of spatial planning and budget, is expected to be re-calculated which will lose its lion’s share in the EU budget. The result eventually gives its space up for other economic activities. The third pre-condition is the increasing importance of environmental considerations with respect to community policies which will require some economic activity spaces to revise their functions. Finally, the advanced information and communication technologies which are strong variables that are impacting cost-benefit calculations are and will be changing economic activities and spatial structures.

¹⁷ Zonneweld and Priemus, “Regional and Transnational Spatial Planning: Problems Today, Perspectives for the Future,” 290

The concept of planning, De Vries suggests, has two different perceptions attached to it: communication and programming.¹⁸ Communication perception burdens the understanding of planning with the task of providing ‘interpretative frameworks’, such as spatial development, in order to facilitate reaching consensus through established reference points. This way the participants, in theESDP case, the Member States, are shaping their positions and interests with reference to the framework rather than attempting randomly to form joint visions. Conceptualization plays an important role as far as programming is concerned. The programming perception of planning, on the other hand, aims to generate “active implementation to spatial plans”.¹⁹ This requires establishment of viable instruments to shape the implementation. In the case of ESDP, active implementation is voluntary and therefore the planning as programming becomes dependent on the political will of national governments to take action. Hence, the programming perception has to be accompanied by communication perception for ESDP to generate successful outcomes. In other words, the implementation via instruments, structural funds in this case, should be backed by interpretative framework to present a better insight to the Member States so that they would be informed and willing to cooperate on European spatial development.

Dühr points out that constructing a spatial policy at the European level is challenged by different planning traditions, cultures, scales and territories which give rise to different styles and complexities in setting strategic policy objectives for ‘transnational territories’.²⁰ Krätke adds to these factors the phenomenon of Eastern enlargement which has increased the level of complexity and introduced new challenges as a product of larger territory being occupied by even more participants in number and diversity.²¹ Thus, constructing a framework for spatial development at European level is easier said than done. It must be a horizontal engagement where the actors are the

¹⁸ Zonneweld, “Expansive Spatial Planning: The New European Transnational Spatial Visions,” 151

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Dühr, “[Illustrating spatial policies in Europe](#),” 930

²¹ Krätke, “Strengthening the Polycentric Urban System in Europe: Conclusions from the ESDPEuropean Planning Studies,” 107

Member States and the Commission cannot claim superiority in constructing the spatial development in EU territory.²²

ESDP has been formulated under the dominant influence of north-west planning traditions. French and German traditions have been the most influential methods of spatial planning which make up the backbone of ESDP. France, being a unitary, interventionist and elitist state, has come up with *Amenagement du territoire* policy for national purposes which govern spatial planning and regional policy with an understanding of “fairness in the choices made concerning development options and consequent budget allocations”²³ with the aim of ‘maintaining national unity’.²⁴ The control of the center is – regardless of decentralization tendencies- is a given in the French tradition. France’s proposition for ESDP was a ‘regional economic approach’ where spatial planning concept also governs the social and economic goals of ‘equitable living conditions’ within national territory.²⁵

The German tradition is a representative of ‘comprehensive integrated approach’ where sophisticated spatial planning is a product of cooperation between all three levels of government engaging in joint decisions. ESDP has challenged the balance by involving planners at the federal level in the process whereby the *Länder* influence remained indirect. Federal planning has become a part of decision-making process at the European level, acted as the medium between the Commission and the *Länder*, and attempted to prevent any transfer of formal planning power to the European level which itself did not have.²⁶ In effect, the Germans introduced the concept of ‘counter-current’ to the ESDP, a down-to-top thinking of multi-level system. ESDP has both inputs from the German and French tradition which are fundamental to the ESDP document.

²² Andreas Faludi, “The Open Method of Co-ordination and 'Post-regulatory' Territorial Cohesion Policy,” *European Planning Studies* 12, No.7 (October 2004): 1020

²³ Philippe Cichowlaz, “France and the ESDP in the Context of European Integration and Mediterranean Cooperation,” *European Planning Studies* 13, no.2 (March 2005): 287

²⁴ Andreas Faludi, “Territorial Cohesion: Old (French) Wine in New Bottles?,” *Urban Studies* 41, No.7 (June 2004): 1351

²⁵ *Ibid.*: 1355

²⁶ Faludi, “The European Spatial Development Perspective and North-West Europe: Application and the Future,” 399

The spatial conceptualization of the EU territory is an unattainable mission. Well-known representation of the core and periphery – namely the Blue Banana model which designates the highly developed area that enclose the territory from south-east of England to the north of Italy (resembles the shape of banana)- is contradictory to the desired Green Grape model which resembles balanced ‘Europe of Regions’.²⁷ Models of Blue Banana and Green Grape are manifests of the paradox of EU’s twin goal of achieving economic competitiveness and social cohesion simultaneously. The ideal of enhancing ‘organic integration’ by propagating spatial strategies at transnational level is threatened by the fact that there are territorial discontinuities in the EU territory. The Blue Banana demonstrates “...an unacceptable imbalance between the centre and the periphery”.²⁸

Dühr points out that cartographic visualizations of spatial conceptualizations are perceived to be ‘instruments of cultural power’ which makes it more difficult, if not impossible, for Member States to reach a consensus.²⁹ Hence; in the construction of ESDP, cartographic visualizations which designate spatial relationships within transnational territory are avoided and replaced by verbal indications of spatial conceptualizations which are open to different interpretations unlike images that leave no space for discussion.³⁰ As a matter of fact, all the visual representations in the process of preparing ESDP have been eliminated in the final draft of ESDP which was adopted in 1999, with the exception of ‘the pentagon’ drawn by connecting five major cities of London, Paris, Milan, Munich and Hamburg, who embrace 50% of EU’s GDP and 40% of EU population. The aim of ESDP is to “...avert any further excessive concentration of economic power and population increases in the so-called core area of the EU, so that a more balanced development can be achieved.”³¹

²⁷ Dühr, “[Illustrating spatial policies in Europe](#),” 935

²⁸ Cichowlaz, “France and the ESDP in the Context of European Integration and Mediterranean Cooperation,” 289

²⁹ Dühr, “[Illustrating spatial policies in Europe](#),” 931

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Krätke, “Strengthening the Polycentric Urban System in Europe: Conclusions from the ESDP,” 107

Regional policy has the second largest share in the EU budget, following Common Agriculture Policy, which aims at involving other stakeholders from different levels of government in the picture. It is an indication of multi-level networking guided by Community policies.³² EU is engaged in co-financing programs for regional development with respective Member States. The use of Structural Funds, URBAN, LEADER and especially INTERREG Community initiative has provided tools for the realization of ESDP under territorial cohesion, which underline the need for Europeanization of the state, regions and urban planning. It must be noted that there are no direct implications that relate ESDP to Structural Funds. As a matter of fact, ESDP is not entitled to any ‘centralist planning instrument’ but can be regarded as a “...consensus-based framework policy document for the EU member states and as a source of guidance in the elaboration of structural policies, including the Structural Funds programmes, and of planning and policy at the national and regional levels.”³³

Enlargement has also impacted the perspective to the Structural Funds for Member States. Former beneficiaries of European Regional Development Funding (ERDF), Objective 1 regions are likely to give up their share of Structural funds to incoming Member States with poorer economies with the upcoming planning period of 2007-2013, towards appealing to INTERREG funding and thus a rapprochement to ESDP.³⁴

2.3. Theoretical Overview and Useful Concepts

“As in every social order the European Union is held together by a system of ‘myths’, a term MacIver (1947) uses to designate the value-impregnated beliefs and notions that men/institutions hold, they live by or live for.”³⁵ In the EU, social and

³² Faludi, “Territorial Cohesion: Old (French) Wine in New Bottles?,” 1362

³³ Krätke, “Strengthening the Polycentric Urban System in Europe: Conclusions from the ESDP,” 106

³⁴ Faludi, “The European Spatial Development Perspective and North-West Europe: Application and the Future,” 369

economic cohesion make up the backbone of the EU ‘myth’ to which concepts of competitiveness, sustainability, subsidiary, social solidarity and social justice accompany. However these concepts are not complementary as one would hope but have conflicting priorities. For example the concept of competitiveness is in conflict of interest with sustainability. Krätke addresses the concerns that increasing competitiveness might indeed jeopardize the social cohesion goal by generating “inequality in economic capacity and development potential and discrepancy in social conditions” in response to which ESDP is a response to deal with the challenge constructively by providing a general framework.³⁶ ESDP is offering to use the concept of ‘balanced competitiveness’ which is based on ‘endogenous development’ and ‘building social capital’.

The aim of ESDP as a community policy is to generate awareness and to impact policy framework which started out as building cooperation in the medium-term for generating joint visions in evolving ‘decentralized territories’.³⁷ It is an ongoing process, which has not proved to be smooth and at a high rate, yet as suggested by Giannakourou, it has evolved to what it is today as a result of ‘progressive socialization’ and ‘complex learning process.’³⁸ European Spatial Development Perspective is a ‘cultural innovation’ in the sense that it not only introduced a European dimension to what is traditionally handled by national governments in isolation but also generated impacts that entrench a multi-level policy networking with regards to spatial planning in EU territory.

The choice of words that make of the European Spatial Development Perspective, are worth mentioning. For example, Albrechts designates the word ‘perspective’ which, according to him, embodies the connotation that it is more than a study and less than a

³⁵ Louis Albrechts, “In Pursuit of New Approaches to Strategic Spatial Planning: A European Perspective,” *International Planning Studies* 6, No.3 (August 2001): 297

³⁶ Krätke, “Strengthening the Polycentric Urban System in Europe: Conclusions from the ESDP,” 107

³⁷ Albrechts, “In Pursuit of New Approaches to Strategic Spatial Planning: A European Perspective,” 299

³⁸ Georgia Giannakourou, “Transforming spatial planning policy in Mediterranean countries: Europeanization and domestic change,” *European Planning Studies* 13, No.2 (March 2005): 329

plan.³⁹ The word perspective suggests an ‘indicative strategy’. The use of the word ‘development’ not ‘planning’ has to do with the issue of competence.⁴⁰ The EU has no formal competence for spatial planning, thus the use of the word ‘planning’ has been deliberately neglected since it is too ambitious. Zonneweld suggests the word ‘process’ replacing ‘perspective’ with the reasoning that European Spatial Development can be progressive by open discussion on EU territory which would include diversity of views with the involving new Member States of Eastern enlargement to the picture. This way ESDP can become something more than a consensus on a document.⁴¹

Faludi thinks that middle-ranged theories have better chance at explaining ESDP theoretically than grand theories of European integration. For example, Multi-level governance is a concept which claims that “power and influence are exercised at multiple levels of government” has been an approach to regional policy and the use of structural funds after the 1988 Reform.⁴² As to ESDP, the application of INTERREG IIIB can exemplify the concept. ‘New institutionalism’ is a theory that is based on the idea that formal and informal procedures and practices impact on the decision-making processes and end results; as in the case of ESDP, “institutionalization taking place outside the realm of formal competencies” has had impacted on the national spatial decision-makings and outcomes.⁴³

‘Policy-network approach’, somewhat like the application of new institutionalism, designates the decision-makers and different interests colliding in networks and coming up with decisions that embrace the process. Furthermore, the “strategy of the first move”, according to Faludi, resembles the Commission as the ‘political entrepreneur’ in ESDP process. ‘Network governance’ which builds on the idea that “self-interested

³⁹ Albrechts, “In Pursuit of New Approaches to Strategic Spatial Planning: A European Perspective,” 298

⁴⁰ Krätke, “Strengthening the Polycentric Urban System in Europe: Conclusions from the ESDP,” 105

⁴¹ Zonneweld, “Expansive Spatial Planning: The New European Transnational Spatial Visions,” 148

⁴² Faludi, “Positioning European Spatial Planning,” 902

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 903

actors learning to perceive their common interests” is helpful in demonstrating how a policy like ESDP can be effective without being regulatory so that actors – with a ‘common learning process’- voluntarily agree to act upon policies that serve for the common interest.⁴⁴ In other words, ESDP as a strategy or a discourse but not a ‘master plan’ does not prevent and rather promotes realization of spatial policy with the help of ‘bridging concepts’ and actors.⁴⁵

Governance also is a concept that has a great potential at placing the impacts of ESDP with respect to a new division of labor for spatial planning which has been in the sole competence of the state. In explaining ESDP, Faludi argues that ‘governance’ literature offers the perspective that the “[s]tate as having to rely on voluntary cooperation of actors pursuing divergent but interdependent interests.”⁴⁶ Kramsch talks about governance as ‘the new multiscalar dynamics’ which are introducing the idea of ‘state rescaling’ by the incoming “range of actors operating outside regulatory framework of traditional state institutional forms.”⁴⁷ His suggestion is that some policy areas, like that of spatial planning, is in fact influential to the transfer of competence from the government to the concept of governance which innately propose restructuring of the state so that there are new actors who “have acquired novel economic and politic decision-making capacities” which were not existent initially.⁴⁸ As a matter of fact “the EU is transforming politics and government at the European level and national level into a system of multi-level, non-hierarchical, deliberative and apolitical governance, via complex web of public/private networks and quasi-autonomous executive agencies.”⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 904

⁴⁶ Ibid., 903

⁴⁷ Olivier Thomas Kramch, “Reimagining the Scalar Topologies of Cross-border Governance: Eu(ro)regions in the Post-colonial Present,” *Space and Polity* 6, No. 2 (2002): 170

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Faludi, “Positioning European Spatial Planning,” 902

Transnationality is a concept that plays a central role in the ESDP process. The transnational level is above the nation-state level and below that of the European.⁵⁰ Zonneweld talks about two understandings of transnationality: narrow and broad transnationality. Broad transnationality, he defines, is “an extensive catalogue of policy statements incorporated.”⁵¹ In other words, broad transnationalism is a model for consensus of all the parties involved with the aim of acknowledging their positions in the agreement. Narrow transnationality’s aim, on the other hand, is “to concentrate on issues where the vision makers conclude that there are insintrinsic spatial connections which transcend the national borders.”⁵² There is a limited scope in narrow transnationalism where the nature of policy issues necessitates cross border coordination, as in transportation infrastructure, so that policy makers engage in agreements designating policy goals over policy issues that are “technically regarded as an integrated whole.”⁵³ The ESDP, to Zonneweld, stands in between in terms of broad and narrow understandings of transnationalism. There are 60 policy options in ESDP which resemble a policy catalogue, yet what gives it a unique character is that ESDP also accommodates basic guiding principles.

Polycentricity is one of the most important concepts that ESDP introduces as a guiding principle. ESDP takes a normative approach to the concept of polycentricity, according to Davoudi, taking it “as a preferred pattern of spatial structure and as a chief guiding principle for achieving regionally balanced development across the EU”.⁵⁴ Even though there is a great deal of ambiguity concerning what actually the concept means, it has made a considerable impact on not only at the national level but on many organizations at different scale levels.⁵⁵ According to Zonneweld, polycentricism is a

⁵⁰ Zonneweld and Priemus, “Regional and Transnational Spatial Planning: Problems Today, Perspectives for the Future,” 288

⁵¹ Zonneweld, “Expansive Spatial Planning: The New European Transnational Spatial Visions,” 148

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Simin Davoudi, “EUROPEAN BRIEFING: Polycentricity in European spatial planning: from an analytical tool to a normative agenda,” *European Planning Studies* 11, No.8 (December 2003): 991

quite paradoxical concept: the practical effects that it has paved the way to prove polycentricity's remarkable visionary capacity which embraces the idea of 'spatial coherence'.⁵⁶ Davoudi claims that Polycentric Urban Regions (PUR) are fundamental for eradicating regional disparities in the EU.⁵⁷ She adds the 'functional complementarity' to the concept of polycentricism so that the integration would be based on functions not proximity

Polycentricity is a concept that can be best visualized with Green Grape Model where there are numerous centers but no dominant core. "ESDP refers to patterns of spatial concentration and dispersal with reference to various cascading spatial scales ranging from European (inter-regional), through territorial (intra-regional) to individual urban agglomeration (intra-urban) scales".⁵⁸ Davoudi argues that the concept of 'polycentricity' has different connotations with respect to the scales that are in question; Meso-level applies to intra-urban structures, Macro-level to inter-urban and Mega-level to intra-European structure which has been introduced by ESDP. In other words, the European scale is a novelty in terms of polycentricity which is an input of ESDP.

⁵⁵ Zonneweld, "Expansive Spatial Planning: The New European Transnational Spatial Visions," 148

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 138

⁵⁷ Davoudi, "EUROPEAN BRIEFING: Polycentricity in European spatial planning: from an analytical tool to a normative agenda," 991

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 988

CHAPTER 3: THE EVOLUTION OF ESDP

There are three parts to this chapter to enlighten the evolution and the processes of ESDP. In the first part relevant background information to ESDP will be presented to reveal the reasons, circumstances and political will behind the formation of ESDP as a Community policy. Following the first part, in the second part the milestones of making-up of ESDP will be given as a part of illustration of the intergovernmental bargaining along the process. In the last part the content of ESDP along head lines will be provided for informative purposes.

3.1. ESDP Background

European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP) is a document signed by 15 EU Member States in Potsdam-Germany, 1999. “[T]he ESDP has actually paved the way for an institutional recognition of the territorial dimension of cohesion” as a part of the EU myth of ‘social and economic cohesion’ – the principle that goes back to 1986 Single European Act.⁵⁹ With the establishment of the European Monetary Union and the Euro (€) as the common currency, European integration has further advanced which resulted in decreasing importance of national frontiers in the EU territory.⁶⁰ However, the success of the EU in regulating a single market in the EU territory has generated severe consequences for social solidarity and regional disparities by deepening

⁵⁹ Umberto Janin Rivolin, “The Future of the ESDP in the Framework of Territorial Cohesion,” *DISP* 161, no. 2 (2005): 19

⁶⁰ European Commission Inforegio Website, “ESDP European Spatial Development Perspective: Towards Balanced and sustainable Development of Territory of the European Union” available from http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docoffic/official/reports/pdf/sum_en.pdf; Internet; accessed 11/10/2006.

cleavages between regions in the name of pursuing undivided principles of competition. Regional policy, as a result, was designed to provide a remedy in terms of advocating the idea of equal opportunity for balanced development and cohesion.

There are different “stages of economic integration in the EC/EU” which have had impact on the “spatial equilibrium among European regions.”⁶¹ “When considering EEC Treaty, it seems plausible to argue that main guiding principle of the Treaty provisions was a liberal market economy.”⁶² As the market relations were guided by liberal principles of competition, regional imbalances were handled by redistributive measures. This approach to spatial equilibrium of the EU territory slowly began to lose its grip partly because closer market relations deepened regional disparities -especially with the inclusion of new Member States- and partly because the differentiation of economic productivity with technology. As a result of this stage of economic integration, the need for a novel approach to spatial planning beyond national frontiers came to the interest of European Agenda. The tendency is shaped by the transition ‘from a liberal market territorial integration paradigm towards a market correcting planning approach.’⁶³ Behind the scene of ESPD, lies this fundamental tendency and goal to introduce the European level with planning approach that is uniquely different than the traditional national mechanisms whilst facing challenges for its realization due its high cultural diversification and power configurations between the supranational, national and sub national actors that are stakeholders for European Spatial Planning.

There is an issue related to the feasibility of realizing the twin goals of the EU – economic competitiveness and cohesion- since the intrinsic values of both concepts are not exactly compatible. Especially with the forces of globalization, EU promotion of policy options to generate more efficient and cost-effective economic measures ended up furthering the regional imbalances and as a result hindering cohesion goals. This paradox of EU twin goals is “clearly reflected in tensions between its industrial policy which promotes globally competitive companies and its regional policy which seeks

⁶¹ Georgia Giannakourou, “Towards a European Spatial Planning Policy: Theoretical Dilemmas and Institutional Implications,” *European Planning Studies* 4, No.5 (October 1996): 597

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid., 598

social and spatial equity.”⁶⁴ The concept of ‘balanced and sustainable development’ is a crucial concept that offers a compromise to the paradox. Balanced development refers to the idea of equal opportunity and sustainable development refers to the idea of durability. The fundamental reasoning is that the balanced and sustainable development, if achieved, will provide a state of higher competitiveness –that is realizing ‘balanced competitiveness- as well as resolving the regional imbalance of wealth distribution in the EU territory with a grip of stability.

The major emphasis of balanced and sustainable development is that the development to be pioneered is encouraged and it necessitates cooperation of stakeholders from every level of government and governance not just simply subsidizing from the top for equalization of regional disparities.⁶⁵ In other words, balanced and sustainable development concept enables a more active combating with the unequal development, in this case in the EU territory, rather than employing redistributive measures which deliver the collections from the wealthy regions to economically less developed regions. The concept that the ESDP process has introduced for spatial dimension of balanced and sustainable development is ‘polycentricity’. “In the face of global economic competition, the goal of creating a more equal economic and social development within EU’s cities is envisioned through the establishment of integrated systems of agglomerations and common actions between large centers.”⁶⁶

In line with the idea of realization of balanced development, taking action in cooperating spatial planning has appeared in the Community policy centers. Although the EU has no immediate competence for spatial planning, the Commission has played the role of entrepreneur for an indirect method along the lines of Community Initiative, especially after 1988 Structural Funds Reform, for pioneering cooperation over “pan-European dimension of spatial planning policy.”⁶⁷ Structural Funds have become

⁶⁴ Davoudi, “Polycentricity in European Spatial Planning: From an Analytical Tool to a Normative Agenda,” 989

⁶⁵ Ibid., 990

⁶⁶ Ole B. Jensen and Tim Richardson, “Nested Visions: New Rationalities of Space in European Spatial Planning,” *Regional Studies* 35, no.8 (November 2001): 709

⁶⁷ Giannakourou, “Towards a European Spatial Planning Policy: Theoretical Dilemmas and Institutional Implications,” 596

instrumental in combating regional imbalances in the EU territory by introducing alternative methods to create equal opportunities, which have eventually empowered the Commission to be a powerful partner for development. It should be emphasized that the Commission does not have formal competence for ESDP. Yet using regional policy as a tool to emphasize the importance of territorial dimension of cohesion, the Commission succeeded in encouraging and executing innovations that are perceived to be in favor of balanced and sustainable development and cohesion goal in general. “Under this policy framework, the EU contributes to the financing of diagnostic, interregional and cross-border studies and comparative pilot schemes, and thus, to the developing of relevant knowledge necessary for the promotion of common transnational spatial strategies and actions.”⁶⁸

The EU territory is far from being uniform. In ESDP document it is stated that “[t]he characteristic feature of the European Union (EU) is its cultural variety, concentrated in a small area.”⁶⁹ Despite these differences there are also some fundamental features that territories in general share such that they are ‘... (1) the physical base for productive activities, (2) the life support system for people and natural resources, and (3) the place where impacts of most policies can be seen or felt.’⁷⁰ These similarities of the basis for cooperation in a highly diversified territory involve numerous areas of livelihood and multiple levels of governance. “Administrative barriers, sectoral compartmentalization and territorial fragmentation hamper optimal territorial functionality, optimal allocation of resources and efficient public services.”⁷¹ Functional vehicle is necessary to bring on board these considerations and to introduce alternative methods for conformation and compromise. In the case of EU, the ESDP is playing the role of the vehicle, generated with the hope that it will succeed in incorporating the political will of cooperating on spatial planning at the European level.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ European Commission Inforegio Website, “ESDP European Spatial Development Perspective: Towards Balanced and sustainable Development of Territory of the European Union”, 7

⁷⁰ European Commission Inforegio Website, Community Policies and Spatial Planning “Report On Community Policies and Spatial Planning” available from http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/index_en.htm

⁷¹ Ibid.

The formation of ESDP as a policy document in the EU has roots implanted in the ideals of regional policy and territorial aspect of the concept of cohesion. The ESDP is an indicative strategy; it is neither legally binding nor regulatory. The boiling point is that the success of ESDP is dependent on the free will of Member States to follow ESDP as a guiding strategy and to incorporate ESDP to their national planning mechanisms. The reason to why a Member State would be willing to cooperate is the fact that the circumstances of economic and political life are sharing the common feature of increasing interdependence. The circumstances are defined by "...the wake of technological changes in communication and transport, the blurring borders within the Single Market and increased opportunities for networking, tying together spaces and economies throughout the continent."⁷² As a matter of fact the willingness to cooperate on spatial issues enter the agenda of Member States since the cost of unilateral initiatives are expected to produce inefficient and inadequate outcomes.

The instinct urge for survival is mutual for human beings and for the nation states with the assumption that they are single entities. In changing circumstances, the adaptation to change is fundamental for survival. When applied to the contemporary livelihood, the phenomenon of globalization is to be taken into consideration for the EU Member States, for that matter almost all member states, for survival in the economic competition. The chances of surviving globalization is higher with increased cooperation between EU Member States since the threat posed is analogous and the gains are comparatively higher than acting alone. That is why the EU is engaged in creating policy options to strengthen harmony of its Member States so that they can conserve and possibly improve their privileged position in the world economy. Strengthening cooperation in territorial dimension is the idea behind ESDP. This makes the ESDP a cultural innovation. The Member States have come up with an indicative strategy to influence national policy for coordination at European level. "Domestic planning instruments and actions of member states also increasingly take a transnational perspective into consideration, reflecting the emerging agenda on European spatial planning and responding to challenges of economic globalization."⁷³

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Dühr, "Illustrating spatial policies in Europe," 932

Especially the Eastern enlargement has expanded the size of the EU drastically which makes the need for an ‘overall strategic approach’⁷⁴ even more necessary with an added value of toughness. This is not only because there is larger and more diversified territory but also the cost of having duplicate and/or insufficient capabilities is not favorable for competitiveness and global economic world order. In order to cope with the issues of high level of differentiation and increased costs an innovative approach is necessary for “... enabling a reliable analysis of the European territory and its different elements, the definition of clear medium-term aims and targets and adequate coordination, delivery, monitoring and assessment mechanisms.”⁷⁵ Even though the enlargement issue has not been addressed in the final draft of ESDP; in the future shaping of ESDP process, the repercussions of Eastern enlargement will be prominently considered. As of today, the territory dimension of EU territory is an evolving process which will hopefully adapt to changing circumstances along the process if ESDP were to survive as a Community policy.

3.2. ESDP Make-up

Regional policy, and therefore transnational spatial development, have begun to drift apart from domestic politics and slowly started converging to interactions, cooperation and implementation at European level. This statement by no means suggests the eradication of the role of Member States in shaping the policy agendas, on the contrary it suggests that Member States have voluntarily agreed to cooperate on European level and empowered as a result the Community institutions – especially the Commission- to establish a common framework for realization of this cooperation. The making-up of ESDP sets a good example to how the interstate bargaining over a transnational policy area follows a voluntary course of action while the Commission plays a catalyst role by providing technical bases for the realization of the spatial development goal at the European level. The Commission reports on European regions

⁷⁴ European Commission Inforegio Website, Community Policies and Spatial Planning “Report On Community Policies and Spatial Planning”, 7

⁷⁵ Ibid.

in line with the regional policy generated the reference point for balanced and sustainable development with a spatial dimension.

The spatial aspect of European regional policy can be traced back to European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) established in 1975 which finances INTERREG programmes that are designed to encourage cross-border, transnational and inter-regional cooperation.⁷⁶ In the primitive stages, the funding was based on designated quotas with low input of the Commission in the decision-making procedures later, starting with mid 1980's onwards, was transformed into the "promotion of the programming approach"⁷⁷ as the principle of funding that introduced the Commission as a major player in the regional policy. The adjustments on structural funds with reforms of the 1988 especially, the 1993 and the 1999 defined the terms and competences for the allocation of resources. "Although spatial planning questions did not figure explicitly among the revised Community regional objectives, the instruments of Community regional policy gradually entered the field of spatial planning."⁷⁸ There was no explicit indication to the spatial aspect in the initial ERDF programme until the end of the 1980's that is when Article 10 in revised ERDF regulations was introduced. "Article 10 authorizes studies aiming to identify the elements necessary to establish a prospective outline of the utilization of Community territory."⁷⁹

The ESDP is an outcome of collective political will of Member States to take an action concerning spatial development in Community territory so much so "[w]ith regard to interrelationships of territorial problems in an integrating socio-economic space, the national, regional and local authorities found it very difficult to draw up domestic spatial planning strategies without the frame of reference at the Community

⁷⁶ The European Commission Regional Policy, "Understanding Regional Policy"; available from http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/regional_policy/intro/regions3_en.htm; Internet; accessed 14/10/2006.

⁷⁷ Giannakourou, "Towards a European Spatial Planning Policy: Theoretical Dilemmas and Institutional Implications," 599

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Andreas Faludi, "European Spatial Development Perspective – What Next?," *European Planning Studies* 8, No.2 (April 2000): 239

level and beyond.”⁸⁰ As a matter of fact some series of informal ministerial meetings and studies were performed which eventually concluded the content of the final draft of ESDP. It was *Délégation à l'Aménagement du Territoire et à l'Action Régionale* (DATAR) – the French planning institution- that first came up with the necessity of European scale planning with reference to productive utilization of structural funds devoted to regional policy. As a result of this attempt, the Directorate-General (DG) for Regional Policy was entitled with the mission to formulate ‘prospective outline’ insinuated by Article 10.⁸¹

The 1989 Nantes Informal Meeting held among Ministers that were responsible of spatial planning at the national level gathered under the French presidency for addressing the issue of spatial development at European level. Following the Nantes gathering, the DG for Regional Policy prepared the ‘Europe 2000’ document in 1991 which is a study of planning initiatives “drawing up the main priorities for European cooperation over spatial development questions.”⁸² It was after the meeting in the Hague in 1991 that it was decided to establish an specialized agency – namely the Committee on Spatial Development (CSD)- made up of national representatives for spatial planning. CSD was designed to meet regularly to evaluate progress and give edge to the process. CSD was not chaired by the Commission as expected but by rotating presidency. The Commission was given secretariat for general assistance. CSD has played the role of vehicle to ESDP process such that it was intergovernmental in formation and secured continuity for the progress of spatial development in the Community territory.

“The period of 1989-1993 can be regarded as a pre-plan making period during which time the institutional infrastructure for the ESDP, in particular CSD, was put in place, and preliminary ideas were exchanged.”⁸³ In the 1993 Liege Informal Conference

⁸⁰ Giannakourou, “Towards a European Spatial Planning Policy: Theoretical Dilemmas and Institutional Implications,” 601

⁸¹ Faludi, “European Spatial Development Perspective – What Next?,” 240

⁸² Giannakourou, “Towards a European Spatial Planning Policy: Theoretical Dilemmas and Institutional Implications,” 602

⁸³ Richard H Williams, “Constructing the European Spatial Development Perspective—For Whom?,” *European Planning Studies* 8, no. 3 (June 2000): 358

it was decided that a document must be produced which would serve the purpose of creating a source for reference in the area of spatial development in the Community territory. The preparation of the document was to be the task of CSD whilst the Commission was entitled to provide technical support for what is to become a Community policy. In 1994, a follow-up document of 'Europe 2000', "Europe 2000+: Cooperation for European Territorial Development" was prepared by the Commission to be considered in the informal ministerial meeting under the German Presidency in Leipzig, 1994.⁸⁴ This document is an updated form of the previous which did not implicate a collective path for cooperation but presented "the analysis of the more recent trends of spatial organization in Europe, to the raising of spatial issues and to the suggestion of possible areas and priorities for cooperation."⁸⁵

The Germans were highly motivated to prepare the document, yet because of the disturbances from other Member States due to reservations for Germany's motivation, it was CSD that brought together a document for European spatial development taking into consideration earlier studies and presented the 'Corfu Paper' and the 'Corfu Method' in Corfu informal meeting of 1994. The major contribution of Corfu Method is that it introduced the unanimity principle for spatial development in Community territory. "The so-called Leipzig Principles adopted under German Presidency in the second half of 1994, and forming the basis of ESDP ever since, have been prepared following this method, and so were all three versions of the ESDP."⁸⁶ The Corfu informal meeting has generated a source of reference to what the final document on European Spatial Development Perspective would look like. The subsequent informal ministerial meetings were influenced by the motivation of the holder of chair by the rotating presidency. French Presidency wanted to impose an alternative strategy to Leipzig Principles, Spanish Presidency showed little interest to whole process and the Commission was uneasy with the assistance role it was entitled with.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Giannakourou, "Towards a European Spatial Planning Policy: Theoretical Dilemmas and Institutional Implications," 602

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Faludi, "European Spatial Development Perspective – What Next?," 241

⁸⁷ Ibid.

In 1995 Madrid informal ministerial meeting, the Commission proposal of giving competence to the Commission for spatial development was denied. In the Venice meeting of 1996, it was concluded that the ESDP document must be prepared within a year. In the following meeting, it was decided that ‘troika’ to be established with four members ‘the past, current and next Presidency and the Commission as the only permanent member’ to assure continuity in the process of preparing ESDP document thinking that it would act as an effective and efficient body that has the capability of initiating progress of the process.⁸⁸ Eventually, despite endless discussions over policy maps and different interpretations of the content, the first draft of the ESDP document was accepted in the Noordwijk informal meeting of 1997. In 1998 during British Presidency, the ‘First Full Draft’ of ESDP was presented with slight variations in terms of application. The conclusive touches on the ESDP document were resolved in the final draft of ESDP which was accepted in the Potsdam informal ministerial meeting of 1999 under the German Presidency. The document was signed by 15 Member States and the Commission.

3.3. Overview of ESDP Content

The final draft of the ESDP document that was approved at the Informal Council of Ministers responsible for Spatial Planning in Potsdam, May 1999 during the German Presidency has the aim of generating a guideline for the realization of the goal of balanced and sustainable development in the Community territory. The document is representative of the commonly accepted concepts and points of view shared by the Member States. ESDP document is designed with respect to three priorities; ‘economic and social cohesion, conservation and management of natural resources and cultural heritage, and more balanced competitiveness of the European territory.’⁸⁹ It should be mentioned repeatedly that EU does not have formal competence in these policy areas. It

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Excerpt from the final conclusions issued by the German Presidency at the close of the Informal Council of EU Ministers responsible for Spatial Planning (Potsdam, 10-11 May 1999)

is a policy framework for spatial development for the supranational, national and sub-national authorities. The cooperation amongst and within each level is crucial for ESDP to have a meaning.

“The ESDP identifies a series of policy options organized around few structuring concepts – balanced urban systems and new urban-rural relations, access to infrastructures and knowledge, a better protection of natural and cultural heritage.”⁹⁰ These series of policy options are covered in two parts in the ESDP document; in Part A the elements of *Achieving of the Balanced and Sustainable Development of the Territory of the EU: The Contribution of the Spatial Development Policy* are presented and in Part B *The Territory of the EU: Trends, Opportunities and Challenges* are discussed.⁹¹ Andreas Faludi suggests that Part A can be regarded to be ‘policy-oriented’ where as Part B can be regarded to be ‘analytical’.⁹²

There are five chapters in the Part A; *The Spatial Approach at the European Level; Influence of Community Policies on the Territory of the EU; Policy Aims and Options for the Territory of the EU; The Application of the ESDP; and The Enlargement of the EU: An Additional Challenge for European Spatial Development and Policy*. Chapter four, concerning the application of ESDP will be separately discussed in the following chapter of this thesis. The first chapter of Part A of ESDP document revolves around the discussion of territory becoming a new dimension in the Community policies. The idea behind bringing territorial dimension into the European level lies in the reasoning that the “[s]patial development issues in the EU can, in future, only be resolved through co-operation between different governmental and administrative levels.”⁹³ The section that seeks to clarify the underlying objectives of ESDP defines the objectives of spatial development as ‘development of a balanced and polycentric

⁹⁰ European Commission Inforegio Website, Community Policies and Spatial Planning “Report On Community Policies and Spatial Planning”, 7

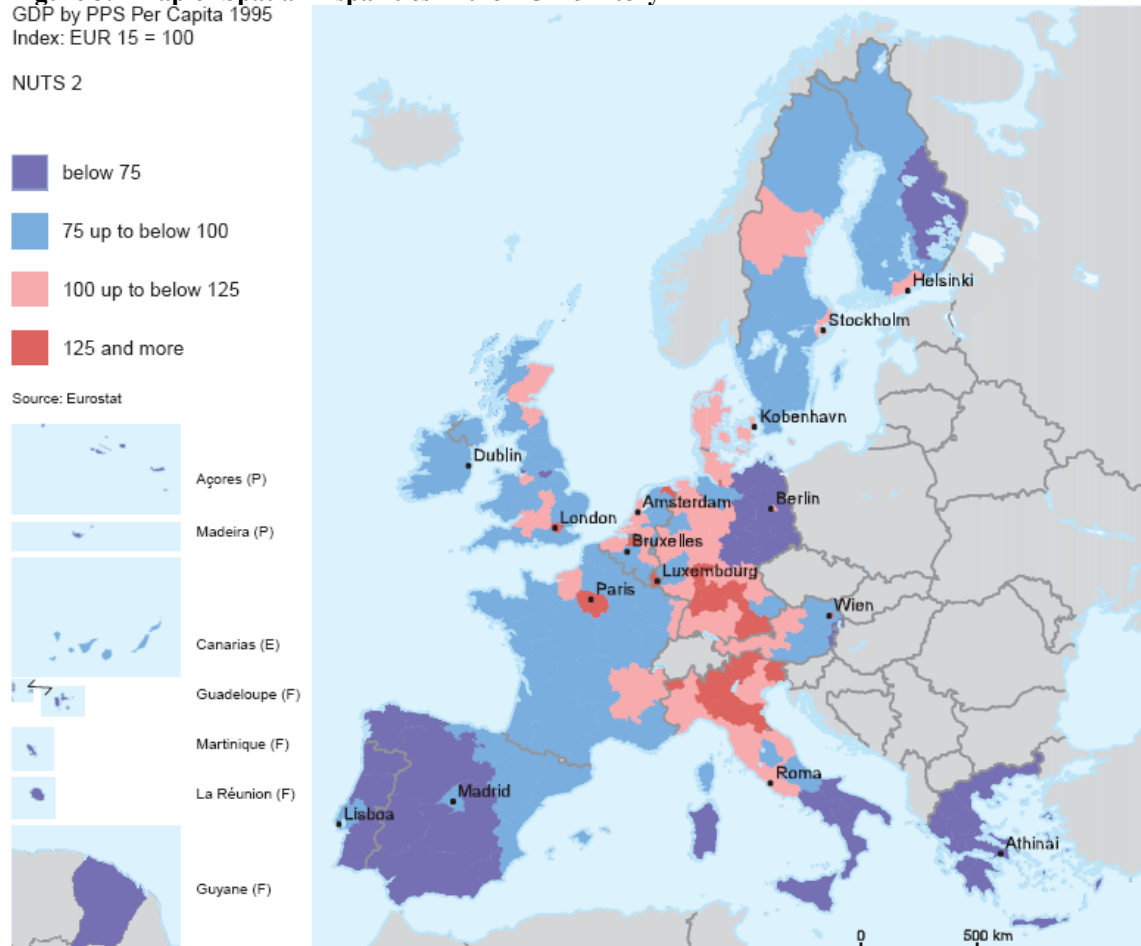
⁹¹ European Commission Inforegio Website, “ESDP European Spatial Development Perspective: Towards Balanced and sustainable Development of Territory of the European Union”, 1-2

⁹² Andreas Faludi, “Spatial Planning Traditions in Europe: Their Role in the ESDP Process,” *International Planning Studies* 9, No.s 2-3 (May-August 2004): 155

⁹³ European Commission Inforegio Website, Community Policies and Spatial Planning “Report On Community Policies and Spatial Planning”, 7

urban system and a new urban-rural relationship; securing parity of access to infrastructure and knowledge; and sustainable development, prudent management and protection of nature and cultural being⁹⁴

Figure 3.1 Map of Spatial Disparities in the EU Territory⁹⁵



There is also an statistical evaluation of spatial disparities illustrated with a map of gross domestic product of the Member States (see figure 3.1) and a belief that ‘[t]he ESDP can contribute to achieving, in the medium term, a spatially more balanced development.’⁹⁶ The Status of ESDP is that it is ‘a legally non-binding document, is a policy framework for better cooperation between Member States, their regions and

⁹⁴ European Commission Inforegio Website, “ESDP European Spatial Development Perspective: Towards Balanced and sustainable Development of Territory of the European Union”, 11

⁹⁵ Ibid., 8

⁹⁶ Ibid.

cities.’⁹⁷ ESDP is regarded as a process and thus must be under inspection for adapting to changing political, economic and social circumstances.

ESDP Part A’s Chapter Two deals with general effects of Community policies on spatial aspects of the EU territory. There is a list of Treaties which have an important impact on spatial development: Community Competition Policy; Trans-European Networks (TEN); Structural Funds; Common Agricultural Policy (CAP); Environment Policy; Research, Technology and Development (RTD); and Loan Activities of the European Investment Bank.⁹⁸ All these policies that are valid on EU territory shares an assumption. “The Single Market assumes space to be frictionless. This abstract idea is being imposed on a situation marked by long distances and physical barriers exacerbating cultural and linguistic diversity and different levels of development.”⁹⁹ Therefore the spatial impact that they produce must be taken into account and in the second chapter of Part A these spatial impacts of each Community policy are evaluated separately. The idea is that the ESDP can be regarded as an attempt to provide a guiding framework to tackle with the issue of territory being non-uniform.

Third chapter in the Part A introduces new concepts and perspective to the understanding of spatial development at the European level. The policy aims and options revolve around the concept of polycentricity and attempt to provide new approach to urban-rural relationship. There are subject matters discussed with respect to spatial development and given corresponding policy options for: *Polycentric Spatial Development in the EU; Dynamic, Attractive and Competitive Cities and Urbanized Regions; Indigenous Development, Diverse and Productive Rural Areas; Urban-Rural Partnership; Polycentric Development Model: A Basis for Better Accessibility; Efficient and Sustainable Use of the Infrastructure; Diffusion of Innovation and Knowledge, Preservation and Development of the Natural Heritage, Water Resource Management – a Special Challenge for Spatial Development; Creative Management of Cultural Landscapes; and Creative Management of the Cultural Heritage.* “Reflecting these aims and options in spatially significant sectoral policies at Community, national, regional

⁹⁷ Ibid., 11

⁹⁸ Ibid., 13

⁹⁹ Faludi, “Spatial Planning Traditions in Europe: Their Role in the ESDP Process,” 156

and local levels can ensure that, ..., [they] are taken into consideration at an early stage in the policy process.”¹⁰⁰

The fifth chapter of ESDP Part A discusses the new challenges to spatial development in the EU territory introduced by the Eastern enlargement. The enlargement does not only expands the size of the EU territory but also brings about a greater diversification and complexity. This chapter studies the population, economy, transport and environment dimensions of the accession countries and reaches conclusions for meeting the challenge. Although the Eastern enlargement falls beyond the scope of this thesis, it is worth mentioning that in the time that the document was published, the Eastern enlargement was not finalized, and so there is an urgent need to update the ESDP document with the new reality since it is necessary for liability and continuity of the goal of carrying spatial development to European level.

ESDP Part B studies the trends, opportunities and challenges of the EU territory. Part B consists of four chapters, the fourth one being the data sheet for the Member States and the Accession Countries then which are Member States with the exception of Bulgaria. The first chapter is *Spatial Development Conditions and Trends in the EU*.

Table 3.1 Geographical Comparison between EU, USA, Japan, MERCOSUR¹⁰¹

		EU-15	USA	JAPAN	MERCOSUR
Population in 1000	(a)	372 082	263 250	125 095	204 523
Area in 1000 km ²	(a)	3 236	9 364	378	11 877
GDP total in ECU billion (1996)	(a)	6 776	6 014	3 620	1 370
GDP per inhabitant in ECU (1996)	(a)	18 150	22 650	28 760	6 700
Imports/inhabitant in ECU	(a)	4 210	2 404	2 194	335
Export/inhabitant in ECU	(a)	4 445	1 828	2 582	289
Land borders with countries outside the economic area in km (of which with Central and Eastern European countries)	(b)	9 305 (5006)	12 248	0	17 924
(a) Federal Statistical Office: Statistisches Jahrbuch 1998 für das Ausland, Wiesbaden 1998 Exchange rates: (1 ECU = 1.27 USD); EUROSTAT, average for 1996					
(b) CIA - The World Fact Book, Washington 1997					

It starts with a section on *Geographical Characteristics of the EU*, giving statistical data for comparison with EU, USA, Japan and MERCOSUR (amalgamation of

¹⁰⁰ European Commission Inforegio Website, “ESDP European Spatial Development Perspective: Towards Balanced and sustainable Development of Territory of the European Union”, 19

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 55

Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay to form a common market).¹⁰² (see Table 3.1) “The European Union is the third richest economic region in the world (by GDP/inhabitant) after Japan and the USA.”¹⁰³ There are also findings on *Demographic Trends*, *Economic Trends* and *Environmental Trends* in the EU territory illustrated by figures, maps and tables with relevant input from statistical data.

In the second chapter of Part B of ESDP, *Spatial Development Issues of European Significance* are laid on the table to be examined by the four sections of the chapter. *Trends Towards Change in the European Urban System* section is studied under five sub-sections: *The Emergence of Urban Networks*; *Changes in Urban Economic Opportunities*; *Continuing Urban Sprawl*; *Increasing Social Segregation in Cities*; and *Improvements in the Quality of the Urban Environment*. This chapter addresses the question of urban systems of the EU and how they provide a strong basis for balanced and polycentric spatial development in the EU territory. “The decentralized history of Europe – characterized by independent nation states, many of which in turn originated relatively late from smaller regional states- has favored the emergence of a strong polycentric urban system.”¹⁰⁴

The section *Changing Role and Function of Rural Areas* is dealt with three sub-sections: *Increasing Interdependence of Urban and Rural Areas*; *Different Lines of Development Trends in Rural Areas*; and *Shifts in Agriculture and Forestry – Consequences for Economy and Land Use*. The third section of the second chapter is on *Transport and Networking* which has five sub-sections: *Border and Integration Problems of Networks*; *Increasing Transport Flows and Congestion*; *Inadequate Accessibility in the EU*; *Concentration and Development Corridors*; and *Disparities in Diffusion of Innovation and Knowledge*. In the final section on *Natural and Cultural Heritage*, there are four sub-sections: *Loss of Biological Diversity and Natural Areas*; *Risk to Water Resources*; *Increasing Pressure on the Cultural Landscapes*; and *Increasing Pressure on Cultural Heritage*.

¹⁰² Ibid., 82

¹⁰³ Ibid., 55

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 64

The third chapter of ESDP Part B, *Selected Programmes and Visions for an Integrated Spatial Development*, there are four sections. The first section is *EU Programmes with Spatial Impacts* lists Community programmes that can give financial support to integrated spatial development projects. These are TERRA and RECITE programmes under ERDF Article 10 of Economic and Social Cohesion; the PHARE, TACIS and MEDA programmes under Promotion of Collaboration with Central and Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean; and LIFE programme under Support for Environment.¹⁰⁵ The second section is INTERREG II C Programmes that can provide funds for the realization of ESDP projects. This section will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter of the thesis. The third section of the third chapter of Part B is *Pilot Actions for Transnational Spatial Development under ERDF Article 10*. ARCHIMED programme with Greece, Italy, (Malta, Cyprus) constitutes the Southeast Mediterranean; Northern periphery with Finland, Sweden, United Kingdom, (Norway); Alpine Space/Eastern Alps with Germany, Italy and Austria; and Mediterranean “Gateway” with Spain, Portugal, (Morocco). For each pilot region, there are objectives listed for realizing transnational spatial development which can be funded under Article 10 of ERDF.¹⁰⁶ The final section of the third chapter is *Spatial Visions*, giving an example from the Baltic Sea region for establishing a spatial vision for the future by setting the starting situation; aim and status; goals; focus on related fields of action; and mechanism for to follow up to date what has been accomplished.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 76

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 78

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 79

CHAPTER 4: MULTI-LEVEL GOVERNANCE & APPLICATION OF ESDP

The aim of this thesis is to apply the process of ESDP to the multi-level governance approach. In this chapter, following an extensive overview of the evolution and the content of the ESDP, multi-level governance approach will be presented with respect to the application of ESDP. Hence, in the first section of this chapter, multi-level governance approach will be examined from a point of middle-ranged theoretical approach to European integration view. In the following section, the processes, policy options and guidelines presented in the Application chapter (four Part A) of the final draft of ESDP document will be selectively exposed. The aim of providing carefully selected parts of the *Application of the ESDP* chapter is to form basis for drawing some observations, evaluations and outcomes for the analysis of multi-level governance approach and the application of the ESDP in the final section of this chapter. These findings will hopefully provide reference for the examination of the case studies of France and Germany in the next chapter of this thesis.

4.1. Multi-Level Governance – Theoretical Approach

Multi-level governance approach, developed by Gary Marks and Liesbet Hooghe, seeks domestic explanations for policy-making in the EU by using comparative politics literature. They make a distinction between the state-centric and multi-level governance based on the emphasis on state's role in the EU decision-making. State-centric model suggests that decision-making in the EU is a process of bargaining between member states where the outcome is the lowest common denominator. Multi-level governance model, on the other hand, suggests that authority structures are beyond national

boundaries and competencies are shared at different levels of government by multitude of actors. The strength of this approach is the introduction of concept of governance in place of government that moves beyond intergovernmentalism versus supranationalism debate claiming that sub-national actors, as well as the non-state actors, also have influences on EU policy-making through domestic politics or direct interactions with the supranational bodies of the EU. “Additionally, multilevel governance pulls the private sphere into the political. Together this leads to a loss of the so-called ‘gate keeping role’ of the state, as the conventional representation via state executives is curtailed.”¹⁰⁸

Starting with 1980’s “a new mode of collective decision-making has emerged, similarly resulting in loss of control for national governments.”¹⁰⁹ Accordingly, multi-level governance approach supports the idea that state no longer has the monopoly over the authority and autonomy, or otherwise said, “locus of political control has changed.”¹¹⁰ However, it definitely does not reject the important role of the state in the EU decision-process. Rather, multi-level governance approach suggests that state has lost control for national authority as a result of collective decision-making structures especially with the quality majority voting expanded on to major issues by Amsterdam Treaty.

The focus of attention for Hooghe and Marks is indeed actual authority, rather than formal competencies. Individual states cannot be said to have sustained their former authoritative control over individuals in their respective territories now that important areas of decision-making have been shifted to supranational institutions, hence diluting sovereignty and weakening the state.¹¹¹

The establishment Committee of Regions in 1993 sets a good example for a platform that enables direct interactions between actors from different levels of government surpassing national center.

¹⁰⁸ Tanya E. Aalberts, “The future of Sovereignty in Multilevel Governance Europe,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 42, No.1 (March 2004): 24

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 28

¹¹⁰ Gary Marks, Liesbeth Hooghe, and Kermit Blank, “European Integration from the 1980s: State-centric vs. Multi-level Governance,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 34, No.3 (September 1996): 356

¹¹¹ Tanya E. Aalberts, “The future of Sovereignty in Multilevel Governance Europe,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 42, No.1 (March 2004): 24

As a result of inter-connected authority structures, it is no longer possible to draw a solid line that would distinguish domestic politics from international relations. Transnational associations erode the distinction between the domestic and international politics spheres and the EU institutions – the European Court of Justice and the Commission per se- with respect to implementation of collective decisions. “Overall, one can speak of a tripartite shift of authority away from national governments: upwards, as a most direct result of European integration; downwards, because of subnational empowerment; and sideways to, for instance, public–private partnerships.”¹¹² As a result, state control over EU policy-making is lessened by inter-connected levels of government.

Political spheres are not isolated from one another. According to multi-level governance approach, “complex relationships do not stop at the national state but extend to the European level.”¹¹³ This results not in compromising state sovereignty in terms of the monopoly over legitimate use of violence in designated territory, rather functioning in terms of political and economic constraints that shape decision making at the national level as well as at the European level. Especially, with the Single European Act of 1986 that established the single market, domestic actors started to enter into the European level to have an influence on the policy outcomes that will affect them.

If principal-agent theory is applied to European integration, the member states governments have build up institutions as agents that they can control and exert power to assure compliance to intergovernmental treaties. Yet, “[a]s governments have agreed to collaborate on more and more issues in the EU arena, so they have turned to supranational agents, particularly the European Commission and European Court of Justice, to make collaboration work, and by doing so they risk diluting their control over decision making.”¹¹⁴ This is result of having too many principals – i.e. member state governments- who have trust issues with respect to implementation of collective policies. In other words, in effect, member states empower supranational institutions

¹¹² Aalberts, “The future of Sovereignty in Multilevel Governance Europe,” 28

¹¹³ Marks, Hooghe and Blank, “European Integration from the 1980s: State-centric vs. Multi-level Governance”, 354

¹¹⁴ Brent Nelson and Alexander Stubb, *The European Union: Readings and Practice of European Integration* (New York: Palgrave, 2003), 292

that are their constructions because they do not trust each other to be faithful to signed agreements.

Accordingly, by signing treaties that strengthen EU integration, Member State executives empowered the Commission in some policy areas one of which is the structuring and the implementation of the regional policy. Even though, the Council of Ministers and Member States came to monitor Commission's activities starting in 1980's through comitology, "[t]he majority of participants in comitology are not national civil servants, but interest group representatives (particularly from farming, union, and employer organizations) alongside technical experts, scientists and academics."¹¹⁵ Indeed, participants are stakeholders of EU policy; therefore comitology refers less of an institution to monitor the Commission's implementations and more of the involvement of subnational actors at the European level. In this way, subnational actors become integrated to EU structures by consent of national authorities without necessarily taking national interest as priority. Indeed, it resulted in further undermining of the distinction between the public and private.

Moreover, in terms of policy initiation, the Commission has a prominent role in agenda-setting which is a 'multi-actor activity'. Best example, in fact, is the functioning of the cohesion policy "... which, in the wake of the Single European Act, was transformed by the Commission from a straight forward side payment transferring money from richer countries to poorer countries to an interventionist instrument of regional policy."¹¹⁶ With the introduction of partnership principle, regional and local stakeholders became a part of the regional policy decisive in "the selection of priorities, choice of programs, allocation of funding, monitoring of operations, and evaluation and adjustment of programs."¹¹⁷ The application of subsidiarity principle, the authority is delegated to the lowest level of authority possible through which especially regional and local authorities are strengthened for they are closer to the public.

¹¹⁵ Marks, Hooghe, and Blank, "European Integration from the 1980s: State-centric vs. Multi-level Governance", 367

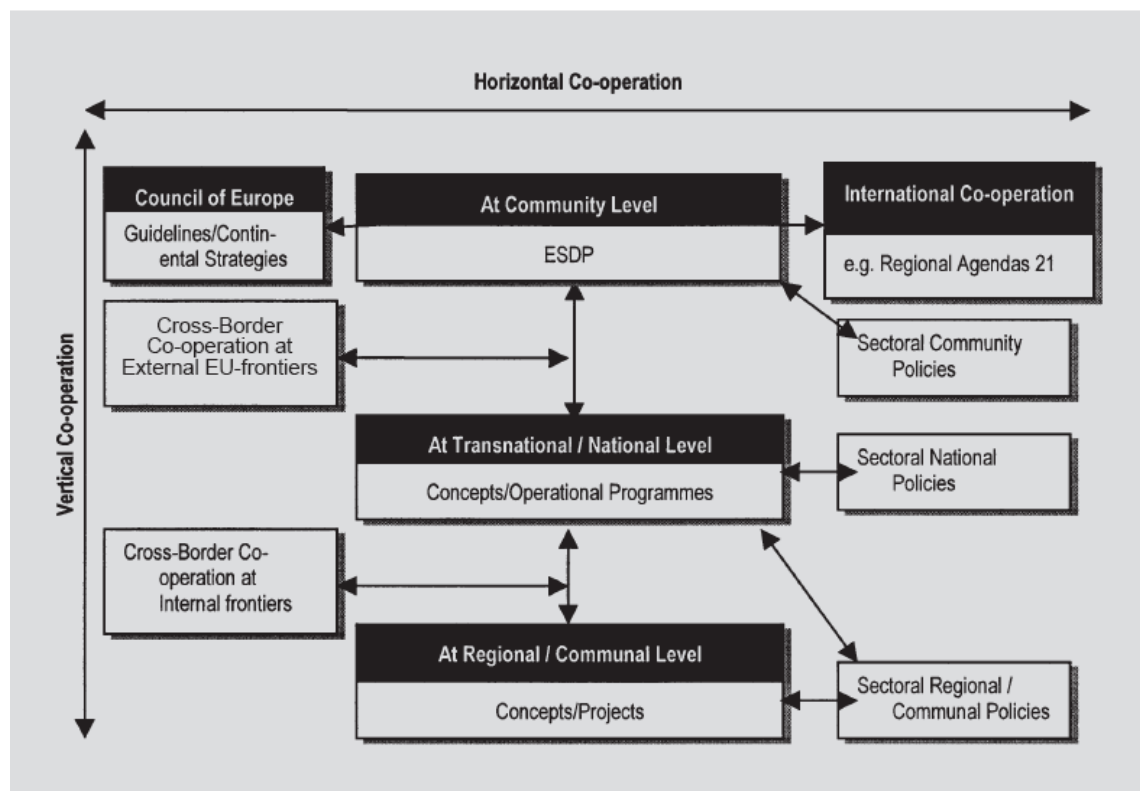
¹¹⁶ Nelson and Stubb, *The European Union: Readings and Practice of European Integration*, 293

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 307

4.2. ESDP Application

ESDP offers and prioritizes the application of transnational spatial development. In order to accomplish the three objectives stated in the ESDP document, ESDP's chapter four in Part A designates a framework for their application. "Key items for their fulfillment are 'Integrated Spatial Development, 'new ways of cooperation' and the application of 'the principle of subsidiarity'."'¹¹⁸. The most important aspect of the application is that it is voluntary and the success of accomplishing the goals of spatial development is only attainable by cooperation between actors at various levels of government and governance. In figure 4.1, the possible paths for cooperation is illustrated

Figure 4.1 "Ways of Cooperation for Spatial Development"¹¹⁹



¹¹⁸ Luisa Pedrazzini, "Applying the ESDP through Interreg IIIB: A Southern Perspective," *European Planning Studies* 13, No. 2 (March 2005): 297

¹¹⁹ European Commission Inforegio Website, "ESDP European Spatial Development Perspective: Towards Balanced and sustainable Development of Territory of the European Union", 35

The application of subsidiarity principle introduces the importance of cooperation “between the authorities responsible for sectoral policies and those having overall responsibility at different territorial levels with horizontal-vertical integrated cooperation, involving European Union (EU), Member States, regions and other administrations.”¹²⁰

As put in the final draft of ESDP;

Integrated spatial development policy at EU scale must, therefore, combine the policy options for development of certain areas in such a way that national borders and other administrative hurdles no longer represent barriers to development. The ESDP provides framework for integrated application of the policy options. Its application is not the responsibility of one authority but of a wide range of spatial development (land use, regional planning, urban planning) and sectoral planning authorities.¹²¹

The first section *Towards an Integrated Spatial Development* in the fourth chapter of Part A *The Application of ESDP*, the emphasis is on the multi-level dynamics necessary to attain spatial development at the European scale. There are three major levels designated for cooperation for spatial development: the Community level, the transnational/national level and the regional/local level. As also recognized in the document, the major weight is on the second level, namely the national/transnational level, since the realization of ESDP lies in the political will of Member States where the national authorities are decisive actors and transnational cooperation acts as the vehicle of spatial development at the European scale. “One of the most important modalities of spatial planning as seen by the ESDP is indeed coordination across actors.”¹²²

The areas of coordination, or in other words policy options, are listed as: ‘promotion of the networking of urban regions’; ‘better accessibility as a precondition for polycentric development’; ‘development of Euro corridors’; ‘strengthening of the cities and regions at the external borders of the EU’; ‘conservation and development of

¹²⁰ Ibid., 297

¹²¹ Ibid., 35

¹²² Andreas Faludi, “The Application of the European Spatial Development Perspective: Evidence from the North-West Metropolitan Area,” *European Planning Studies* 9, no.5 (2001): 666

biodiversity in the EU regions'; 'development of the European cultural heritage'; and 'need for integrated coastal management'.¹²³ As a framework the approach to the realization of these policy options in ESDP document is as follows:

“There are numerous methods of cross-border co-operation in spatial planning. Projects for balanced and sustainable development of border regions and investment projects can be strengthened and supported by achieving mutual consensus on both sides of borders, political agreements, inter-governmental evaluation of spatial effects and the adaptation of national legislation.”¹²⁴

In the following sections of the chapter, more detailed framework is designed for each level with attached role in the European spatial development. The second section, *The Application of the ESDP at Community Level*, designates the task of European institutions to fulfill their share of responsibility in the name of European spatial development. “The consideration and the application of ESDP by the European institutions can lead to a greater effectiveness of Community policies.”¹²⁵ There is relatively greater share of responsibilities devoted to the Commission with the reasoning that the Commission stands between the Community policies and the spatial planning at the European level where there is no formal competence appointed. “The European Commission has formed an inter-service group for investigating the interrelationships between Community policy and spatial development.”¹²⁶

The Committee on Spatial Development, composed of ministers who are responsible for national spatial planning, also plays a crucial role for the application and sustainability of ESDP. CSD, because of its informal display, cannot take decisions. “For this reason, European institutions such as the European Parliament and the Economic and Social Committee support a formalization of these arrangements, whilst maintaining the principle of subsidiarity.”¹²⁷ It is up to the Member States to decide on

¹²³ European Commission Inforegio Website, “ESDP European Spatial Development Perspective: Towards Balanced and sustainable Development of Territory of the European Union”, 35-37

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Ibid. 37

whether to approve these formal arrangements that are products of European institutions. In addition;

... [w]ith the setting up of EMU[European Monetary Union] and the expansion of international trade, matters concerning spatial development are not only of greater importance for institutions of the EU but also for political organizations co-operating Europe-wide and internationally (Council of Europe, OECD), for non-governmental organizations, business groups and service enterprises as well as labour unions.¹²⁸

The Commission is also burdened with the task of ‘systematically and periodically’ preparing reports on spatial aspects of Community policies and Member States are also asked to fulfill the same task within national borders to “...enable comparability of the representation of spatially relevant trends in the Member States.”¹²⁹ The reasoning behind preparing statistical data on the spatial aspects of European territory is to improve the trends, opportunities and challenges that are recognized in the final draft of ESDP and take a step forward in the process of establishing spatial dimension to development in the European territory at the European scale. “The seven criteria which were,..., detailed under the Dutch Presidency could provide a starting point for their collection... [These are]: Geographical position; Economic strength; Social integration; Spatial integration; Pressure on the land use; Natural assets; and Cultural assets.”¹³⁰ If reports based on these criteria are prepared systematically and periodically, in the long run more effective and accurate strategies for spatial development in the European territory can be accomplished and the ESDP process would therefore progress. These studies would indeed contribute to the institutionalization of ESDP process.

Corresponding activities particularly involve:

I studies and pilot projects, sponsored by the Commission, to identify and analyse problems and solutions of spatial and regional development and to test new forms of co-operation in connection with the ESDP;

I the exchange of innovative experience to promote the use and transfer of knowledge in the area of spatial and economic development.¹³¹

¹²⁸ Ibid.,38

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid.

“Chapter 4 also discusses the Community initiative INTERREG IIc. It recommends continuing with project-oriented transnational cooperation for spatial development, which has become INTERREG IIb.”¹³² In the respective section, *Transnational Cooperation between Member States*, exemplifies the utilization of Interreg IIC, which is currently Interreg IIIB, in facilitating transnational cooperation with respect to spatial development in the EU territory. (see table 4.1)

Under this initiative, Member States cooperation takes place according to three main spheres of support: transnational co-operation areas; preventive flood protection in two programme regions and precautions against drought damage in four national support programmes; on the basis of mutually developed programmes. In addition to this, transnational pilot actions are being implemented in 4 co-operation areas in accordance with ERDF Article 10.¹³³

The Community Initiative Programme (CIP) Interreg is the most important instrument for the realization of ESDP application as stated in the document itself. “As it is well known, the importance of this Community initiative is related to the involvement of regions, public administrations and other public actors with direct competence in territorial planning and in the application of ESDP.”¹³⁴ The Community initiative Interreg III is to pursue the following:

I the retention of suitable co-operation areas and the further development of common transnational administrative, financing and management structures for programmes and projects;

I the more intensive co-operation of regional and local authorities in decision-making processes and programme implementation;

I the further promotion of spatially integrated projects, taking into account sectoral policy issues, in order to ensure synergy

I removal of legal obstacles in the Member States which hamper cross-border and transnational co-ordination for spatially significant plans and measures;

I the use of projects for the preparation of investment measures and for the further development of instruments of spatial development, in particular cross-border territorial impact assessments;

I the support of co-operation with neighbouring non-Member States...;

I the evaluation of the results of transnational co-operation, within the framework of INTERREG and ERDF Article 10, against the background of the ESDP, by the responsible bodies of the EU and the Member States.¹³⁵

¹³² Andreas Faludi, “The Application of the European Spatial Development Perspective,” *Town Planning Review* 74, no.1 (2003): 3

¹³³ European Commission Inforegio Website, “ESDP European Spatial Development Perspective: Towards Balanced and sustainable Development of Territory of the European Union”, 39

¹³⁴ Pedrazzini, “Applying the ESDP through Interreg IIIB:A Southern Perspective”, 299

Table 4.1 Interreg IIC & IIIB Projects in Relation to ESDP¹³⁶

PROGRAMMING PERIOD 1997-1999		
Programme	Budget	Participants
INTERREG II C - Transnational Co-operation for Spatial Development		
Baltic Sea	47.508 MECU	Denmark, Germany, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Poland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Russia, Belarus
North Sea	30.321 MECU	Denmark, Sweden, Germany, Holland, UK
CADSES	35.996 MECU	Austria, Germany, Greece, Italy
NWMA	56.634 MECU	France, Benelux, Germany, Ireland, UK
Atlantic Area	24.031 MECU	France, Ireland, Spain, Portugal, UK
South-West Europe	8.958 MECU	France, Portugal, Spain
Western Mediterranean	24.440 MECU	France, Spain, Italy, Greece
INTERREG II C - Flood Migration		
Flood Prevention Reine - Meuse	426.728 MECU	Belgium, France, Germany, Luxembourg, Holland
France / Italy	19.878 MECU	France, Italy
Article 10 - Pilot Actions		
Northern Periphery	13.13 MECU	Finland, Norway, Sweden, UK
Eastern Alps	10 MECU	Austria, Germany, Italy
Archimed	6.665 MECU	Greece, Italy, Cyprus, Malta
Mediterranean Gateway	6.67 MECU	Spain, Portugal, Morocco
PROGRAMMING PERIOD 2000-2006		
Programme	Budget	Participants
INTERREG III B -		
Alpine Space	117.95 MECU	France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Slovenia, Switzerland, Liechtenstein
North-West Europe	655 MECU	France, Germany, Benelux, UK, Switzerland
North Sea Region	258.4 MECU	Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Holland, Sweden, Norway, UK
Archimed	199.58 MECU	Italy, Greece, Cyprus, Malta
Atlantic Rim	204 MECU	France, Ireland, Portugal, Spain, UK
CADSES	280 MECU	Austria, Greece, Eastern and Southern Länder of Germany, Eastern regions of Italy, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia Hungary, and Slovenia, Bulgaria, Romania, Croatia Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Albania, Moldavia, Ukraine

¹³⁵ European Commission InfoREGIO Website, "ESDP European Spatial Development Perspective: Towards Balanced and sustainable Development of Territory of the European Union", 39-40

¹³⁶ Data retrieved from the Commission's Regional Policy Website

The local and regional actors play an important role, which is also reminded by the emphasis on the subsidiary principle. *Cross-border and Interregional Cooperation* section addresses the issues of regional and local co-operations. “The regional and local authorities realize the objectives of the Community through their co-operation with each other and in line with the ‘bottom-up’ approach.”¹³⁷ The regional/local level is the level where the people living in the EU territory encounter the impacts of Community policies as well as contributing their input. With a certain level of awareness as to what is taking place, the actors can engage in cross-border interactions that would create harmony with respect to spatial development. This is very crucial because local and regional actors co-operating beyond national borders will also contribute to the totality of the EU territory. Such initiatives have been promoted at national levels and subsidized by Community initiative Interreg since 1990.

“Cross-border spatial development strategies can in future provide a common basis for a number of cross-border operational programmes ‘from one source’, linking different projects.”¹³⁸ Such that;

It is proposed that regional and local authorities co-operate more closely in the field of sustainable spatial development. This applies to:

Measures for information and co-operation at regional level:

- I improvement of accessibility by linking regional transport systems with national/international hubs;
- I a contribution to the development of an integrated transport infrastructure;
- I action programmes for the preservation of settlements in rural areas which are affected by reductions in population and set-aside schemes;
- I strategies for the sustainable development of landscapes and the evaluation of the landscape potential for exploiting renewable energy resources;
- I development of landscapes and ecosystems with regional and European significance;
- I co-ordinated land use plans which incorporate wise management of water resources; and
- I programmes for the conservation and expansion of the common cultural heritage.

Measures for information and cooperation at local levels:

- I common strategies for economic diversification aimed at the development of city co-operation and city networks;
- I Adoption of planning concepts for sustainable urban development, including amongst other things the promotion of multi-modal transport concepts and a reduction in the need to travel;
- I urban and rural partnerships to develop sustainable innovative spatial development strategies for the cities and their surrounding countryside; and
- I action programmes for the protection and conservation of the urban heritage and the promotion of high-quality architecture.¹³⁹

¹³⁷ Ibid., 42

¹³⁸ Ibid., 43

The Application in the Member States section deals with the share of responsibility for the Member States in the application of ESDP. It is in Member States responsibility and willingness to incorporate national policies and institutions in line with ESDP priorities. The more Member States are motivated to bring the European scale to their domestic planning structures, the more ESDP will succeed as a framework and therefore the European integration will be promoted. The authorities of national spatial planning must be in cooperation with other actors in the vertical and horizontal scheme. “The Member States should intensify the exchange of experience on territorial impact assessments and further develop national regulations and instruments”¹⁴⁰ As to *The Importance of the ESDP for pan-European and International Co-Operation* section, framework provision through ESDP is emphasized and regarded as the key for the establishment of pan-European spatial development.

The increasing interdependency between Member States which is further expanded with the Eastern Enlargement, necessitates closer cooperation among the European institutions, Member States, and local and regional actors in multiple direction. “It is proposed that the policy aims and options of the ESDP should be taken into consideration as the basic contribution of the fifteen EU Member States to the Pan-European strategy for spatial development.”¹⁴¹ In other words, the ESDP can provide the establishment of Pan-European spatial strategy with a driving force so that all the actors at different levels of government and governance can contribute for the realization of the goal with a range of projects, pilot programmes and strategies.

4.3. Multi-level Governance Approach and ESDP Application

Before specifically examining the application of ESDP with respect to multi-level governance approach it is useful to elaborate on the word choice of ‘application’ for accomplishing ESDP objectives. Faludi underlines the word application as a deliberate

¹³⁹ Ibid.,44

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 45

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

choice. He claims that the word ‘implementation’ in the previous drafts of ESDP is replaced by the word ‘application’ because the word implementation suggests “the only path to be taken” where as the word application suggests “part and parcel of the interactive, deliberative process.”¹⁴² “So application is not giving shape to spatial development. Rather, applying any strategic planning document aims at shaping the minds of actors involved in spatial development.”¹⁴³ Faludi summarizes in three points the concept of application and the application of ESDP:

1. When discussing strategic planning documents like ESDP, it is indeed more fitting to describe their follow-up as the ‘application’ of ideas contained therein rather than as the ‘implementation’ of plan proposals.
2. To facilitate their application, so conceived, strategic planning documents often need to undergo further elaboration, entailing among others the making of new institutional arrangements
3. As a concept, application relates to ideas in the literature about evaluating strategic planning documents by their ‘performance’ in shaping ongoing action, rather than by the ‘conformance’ of outcomes to intentions stated therein.¹⁴⁴

As mentioned clearly in the Literature Review chapter of this thesis, ESDP by no means is a ‘master plan’, it is a “... general source of reference for actions with spatial impact, taken by public and private decision-makers.”¹⁴⁵ In other words, it is established to perform the task of framework provision for the actors that are in one way or another related to spatial planning activities in their respective levels of government and governance. “ ‘Framing’ is what frameworks do – injecting ideas into proceedings, ordering thoughts and thereby, albeit indirectly, giving direction to action.”¹⁴⁶

¹⁴² Faludi, “The Application of the European Spatial Development Perspective: Evidence from the North-West Metropolitan Area,” 664

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Faludi, “The Application of the European Spatial Development Perspective,” 1

¹⁴⁵ European Commission Inforegio Website, “ESDP European Spatial Development Perspective: Towards Balanced and sustainable Development of Territory of the European Union”, 11

¹⁴⁶ Faludi, “The Application of the European Spatial Development Perspective,” 2

ESDP document provides an innovative way of cooperation as described by the multi-level governance approach. It is necessary to point out that ESDP welcomes all actors from different levels and interests in spatial planning to collaborate on a commonly established discourses and act upon this basis in performing activities that are spatially relevant. These levels are designated in *The Application of ESDP* as the Community level; transnational/national level; and regional/local level which defines the range of multitude of actors at each level. The actors are actively involved within the process since it not regulatory but indicative. The actors are capable of interpreting what the general framework has to offer them and take strategic decisions concerning their scope of spatial planning with also taking into consideration the European level and EU territory.

It is not only the national authorities of spatial planning that are responsible for the realization of ESDP. It is certainly not to underestimate their role – indeed the emphasis on transnational/national level in *The Application of ESDP* chapter emphasize their importance, yet as multi-level governance approach claims there are also sub-national and non-state actors active or desired to be active in ESDP processes. The multitude of actors suggest that, even though formal authority and competence are reserved for the national authorities in most cases (depending on state structures and institutions), actual authority is not monopolized by national centers. It is thereby arguable that the domestic politics get mingled with the international politics such that the issue of national spatial planning enters into a European dimension opening channels for actors from higher, lower and possibly from the similar levels in other Member States to be involved in the process.

The preparation of systematic and periodic data on spatial development and the emphasis on the sharing of knowledge and experience with other actors, makes the ESDP process one of which can be regarded as complex web of actors in interaction pursuing actions and implementations that produce outcomes with multi-dynamic features. There is also a ‘learning process’ attached to these dynamics. The formerly independent decision-makers of spatial planning, with their own consent, are getting involved in multi-level dynamics to which they are becoming responsive. They become more conscious to the impacts of the decisions that they make at other levels of government and governance. Here, multi-level governance approach claim that political

spheres *do not* exist in isolation from one another applies. The national authorities are faced with political and economic constraints and implications of acting alone therefore end up deciding to compromise -at least informally- their authority and competence in exchange for larger gains.

The interactions among actors of spatial planning is well desired by the ESDP authors and the 'learning process' that accompanies this interactions are latent consequences that facilitate further development in spatial development at the European scale. The concepts that make the skeleton of ESDP and its application; such as cohesion, the principle of subsidiarity and polycentricity, evoked interest that is common to all actors involved in spatial planning. "This is what the makers of the ESDP have attempted to do: by supplying persuasive concepts to gain the ear of policy-makers."¹⁴⁷ The actors have grasped the content of the ESDP with the intuition that it might lead to higher gains in spatial development area in respective localities with a higher level of cooperation since the other actors are also trying to accomplish the similar ends. In this manner the ESDP "... evolve[s] into a new form of intelligent multi-level governance that integrates European, national and regional policies in an overall learning system."¹⁴⁸

The traditions, cultures, state structures and institutions for spatial planning, as mentioned before, is highly diversified in the EU territory. Thus, the actors that function within the processes of spatial planning have quite different priorities and interests. Taking into consideration that the ESDP is not an accurate and definitive strategy to shape spatial planning in the EU territory - due to the diversity of different traditions as well as lack of competence in the area, the multi-level governance is faced with the danger of not being able to bring all actors to the same page. This is indeed the point of having ESDP with the belief that "... the existence of policy communities improves the chances of coordination."¹⁴⁹ For obvious reasons a full and definitive coordination on spatial planning at the European level is an unattainable goal. What is attainable is, as the application of ESDP clauses suggest, a "focus on what is necessary and feasible,

¹⁴⁷ Faludi, "Positioning European Spatial Planning," 904

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 906

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 905

which is the principle of subsidiarity anyhow.”¹⁵⁰ ESDP offers coordination based on provision of commonly accepted concepts and discourses which is, hopefully, expected to influence the decision-makers of spatial planning in respective levels so that cooperation as defined by multi-level governance approach will prevail as well as paving the way for incentives that will further enable the process to continue.

One of the observations of the multi-level governance suggests that even though when Member States are willing to cooperate on some policies, the ‘trust issue’ becomes problematic for the implementation and smooth functioning of these policies. In the end mistrust between Member States paves the way to the tendency to empower supranational institutions. Similarly in the ESDP process, structural funds – in this case first INTERREG IIC and then INTERREG IIIB- are decided by Member States to be the instruments for the financial provisions of the application of ESDP making the Commission a major actor. The Commission, which is not given formal and legal competence, exercises actual power by exerting its priorities and conditions for the utilization of structural funds thereby making the collaboration agreed by Member States to function properly. The Commission, a supranational European institution, is being empowered by the Member States for the sake of ESDP process.

Changes in power structures have great deal to do with the implementation practices of Community structural funds. Indeed, financial instruments devoted for the application of Community policies - in this case for the application of the ESDP, with the desire to promote cohesion - in this case territorial cohesion, impact the power structures in the Member States by also empowering sub-national actors. By promoting horizontal and vertical cooperation for actors from all levels of government and governance, the way to build partnerships beyond national borders becomes wide open. In other words, the alternative methods adopted for increasing the rate and type of cooperation in the EU territory have the latent repercussions for the established power structures which have previously been dominated by national centers. As an example to the multi-level governance approach to the application of ESDP with respect to this matter; the promotion of cross-border cooperation dictated in the chapter on *The Application of ESDP* illustrate how the nation-state as the ‘gate keeper’ is being by-

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 905

passed since the understanding of national borders having the potential of acting as barriers to development which, therefore, must be surpassed for achieving sustainable and balanced development.

CHAPTER 5: CASE STUDIES – GERMANY AND FRANCE

In this chapter, the two case studies will be studied to illustrate the impact of ESDP on functioning of state institutions and consequently on multi-level governance approach. It constitutes of four sections where the first two will examine Germany and the last two France. Since France and Germany are conscious choice for case studies – because they have two distinct state structures and planning traditions with a great deal of impact on the ESDP processes- it will hopefully provide balanced and accurate input in favour of this study. In order to provide input in a systematic manner, first part of each case study will cover the state structure and the planning tradition of the Member States. In the second part – hence the second and the fourth section- there will be an impact assessment of ESDP on the traditional structures and multi-level governance approach.

5.1. German State Structure and Planning Tradition

German is a state ruled by a federal structure. It is characterised by bottom-up development. There are three major administrative levels of government functioning. The highest level is the federal level where the highest representative is the chancellor/prime minister. The second level, which are like states in themselves, constitutes of sixteen Länder. They have their own representative institutions and presidents. Länder have autonomy for internal affairs. “The Länder are not only independent in many areas, most federal policies are also implemented jointly with

Länder, this being called the ‘counter-current principle’.”¹⁵¹ There is also a sub-level between the second and the third level which is called *Kreis*. Kreis are administrative units that would correspond – more or less- to provinces. The third level is the *Kommunen* which are made up of municipalities. The German state is administrated by two Houses, the first house being made up of directly elected members of parliament (MPs) and the second house is made up of representatives of Länder. “In particular, being represented in the Upper House of Parliament, *Bundesrat*, or Federal Council, *Länder* governments participate in federal policy-making.”¹⁵² The administration of the state is carefully designed to function within check and balance structures. Distribution of resources are shaped by technical and political bargaining. Sub-national and sub-federal levels are empowered by the large budget shares of the public revenue. In addition, municipal unions or confederation of municipalities (made up of several metropolitan and/or smaller-medium size municipalities) play an important role in administration of the German state.

Financial equalization is one of the fundamental functions of the federal center by which the different levels of income and different rate of development in administrative units are attempted to be equalized by distributional measures and re-allocation of resources. The challenges posed by the German unification – the regional disparities in German territory- pursue federal center to take measures to eradicate the unequal distribution of wealth and development within the state. The German state structure can be regarded as a good example for functioning cooperation among and within different levels of government. Yet, the multi-level dynamics that are apparent within the state structures is further intensified by the introduction of the European level to the federal picture. The European level is a supra-national one which brings forth extra challenge to the functioning of cooperation between administrative units in Germany. The introduction of European funding, for financial equalization in the greater territory of the European Union, adds on to the burden of German state structures such that there are new and more demanding criteria to fulfill in order to qualify for these financial aids. Hence, multi-level government structures are under the influence of adding more levels and actors to match up to the adaptation of multi-level governance dynamics.

¹⁵¹ Andreas Faludi, “The German Role in the ESDP Process,” *Built Environment* 27, No. 4 (2001): 269

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

The Länder are actors in federal decision-making procedures in line with the counter-current principle. As a result of sharing competencies within different levels of administrative units and cooperation being the key to the functioning of the overall system, the German federalism is attributed as ‘co-operative federalism’.¹⁵³ This co-operative federalism of the German state functions with a delicate balance of power structures that are carefully distributed among different levels of administrative units. It is necessary to mention that “... regionalization of the German federal system cannot be justified by claims of minority.”¹⁵⁴ German federalism is characterized by sharing of power and competencies – not by designation- and the system is not shaped by minorities of different ethnic origins. The German federalism is a balanced democratic structure that is representative of the German nation which is not very diversified in terms of social, political and economic features. The federal system is regulated by law.

“The integration of the German federal system into the European context gave rise to different expectations as regards to the future of intergovernmental relations and regional autonomy.”¹⁵⁵ When the European Union is introduced as a new level as an outcome of single market pressures and the impact of community policies, the calculations become even further complicated. “By shifting competencies, including those of the Länder, to the European Community, integration puts pressure on this delicate system.”¹⁵⁶ The representatives of the German state in the intergovernmental bargaining of Community policies are from the federal level of German government system. Even though the Länder are very effective in the federal decision-making procedures within the German state, the proportional power balance is not reflected to the representation of the German state interest in the European decision-making procedures.

The Länder are not directly represented in any of the Intergovernmental Conferences. They are bounded by the willingness of the federal level to reflect their

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Arthur Benz, “German Regions in the European Union,” in *Regions in Europe*, ed. by Partick Le Gales and Christian Lequesne (London: Routledge, 1998), 115

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 117

¹⁵⁶ Faludi, “The German Role in the ESDP Process,” 269

interest at the European level. “The Länder are now represented on the Committee of Regions set up under the Treaty of Maastricht, and Länder ministers can represent Member States at the Council of Ministers, but this is less than the Länder aspire to – a real voice.”¹⁵⁷ Even though the Länder have been empowered by being able to establish linkages with the supranational level without engaging with the federal level, they are not entitled to represent themselves proportionally at the European arena with respect to the population density and wealth contribution to the total GDP of the EU. Nonetheless, it is safe to claim that “... European integration caused at the same time dissolution and intensification of interlocking politics at various levels.”¹⁵⁸

The Commission has intensified the frustration of the Länder by withdrawing further the power of Länder in impacting regional policy outcomes through the regulations that shape the European funding for regional policy. Especially, when it comes to the bargaining of the regional policy at the European level, German Länder feel left out. “... [T]he Commission has successfully challenged financial support for regional development, affecting both the extent of funding as well as the delineation of its target areas, making both conform to European competition and structural policies.”¹⁵⁹ Hence, the German position on not approving community competence for planning is apparent and is not likely to change as long as the Länder are deprived of their proportional impact on the decision-making processes.

Following the study of delicate balances of German state structures, a swift overview of German regional policy will provide basis to study the spatial planning tradition in Germany. “The main instrument of regional policy is the so-called ‘Joint Task for the Improvement of Regional Structures’, (*Gemeinschaftsaufgabe, Verbesserung der regionalen Wirtschaftsstruktur*) where the financing of, and decisions concerning, programmes are divided equally between the Federal Government and the *Länder*.”¹⁶⁰ There are three major guidelines that shape the regional policy in Germany:

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 270

¹⁵⁸ Benz, “German Regions in the European Union,” 117

¹⁵⁹ Faludi, “The German Role in the ESDP Process,” 271

¹⁶⁰ Dieter Drerup, “German Policy Perspectives,” in *The Coherence of EU Regional Policy*, ed. by John Bactler and Ivan Turok (London: Taylor & Francis, 1997), 337.

‘mobilization of the growth potential of structurally weak regions’; ‘stabilisation to reduce susceptibility to fluctuations in the economy and structural changes’; and ‘reduction of inter-regional disparities in relation to the regional potential for income generation.’¹⁶¹ Along these lines of German regional policy, the German Planning tradition is as followed:

Governed by the Federal Building Code, local planning is largely about zoning and a municipal responsibility. Above the local level, planning is going by a different name, *Raumordnung* (literally speaking spatial ordering). Within federal framework legislation, ..., each of the *Länder* passes its own legislation. This leads to a variety of arrangements. The resulting plans are meant to bring order into development by means of co-ordinating public works and the like... At federal level, there is no plan, and so federal planning is not thought of as planning proper. Federal planners have an, albeit limited, role even so. Much business is conducted through a Standing Conference of Ministers responsible for regional planning, comprising sixteen *Länder* ministers and the federal minister responsible for planning, known by its German acronym as MKRO.¹⁶²

The spatial planning in the German state, hence, is a complex set of procedures that necessitates co-operation. One characteristic feature of German planning tradition is that “... spatial planning always involves coordinating various sectors as they impact upon space.”¹⁶³ This particular system of planning is referred to as *the comprehensive integrated approach*. It involves “... very systematic and formal hierarchy of plans from national to local level, which co-ordinate public sector activity across different sectors but focus more specifically on spatial co-ordination than economic development.”¹⁶⁴ Hence, the German planning tradition is more concerned with the spatial co-ordination which means that it is a more regulatory tradition. The actors that are involved in the process of spatial plan preparation do not invoke sectoral alliances which would promote development, rather leave it to the subjects of the spatial plan to take action with an assent to the spatial planning.

There multi-level dynamics that accompany the process whereby the clash of interest between sectoral development is inevitable. Like the establishment of the co-

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 338

¹⁶² Faludi, “The German Role in the ESDP Process,” 271

¹⁶³ Faludi, “Spatial Planning Traditions in Europe: Their Role in the ESDP Process,” 163-164

¹⁶⁴ Faludi, “European Spatial Development Perspective – What Next?,” *European* 244

operative federalism for administrating the German state, the spatial planning is also an area where the competencies and responsibilities are shared with check and balance structures. For example, the local planning prepared by the municipalities are checked by respective Länder for their feasibility and accuracy to fitting the *whole picture*. The *whole picture* is drawn by “a regional and/or state-wide statutory planning document”.¹⁶⁵ Federal level, as mentioned above, only has a little say in the whole process of spatial planning in Germany yet are responsible for making sure that the local and regional planning converge at the federal level. The federal ministry responsible for spatial planning attempts to configure the *whole picture* at MKRO meetings to come up with the *Raumordnungsberichte* document- that influences the spatial planning at regional and local levels. MKRO meetings have become more important after the German unification. The preparation of ‘Guidelines for Regional Planning’ document by MKRO indeed was remarkable for spatial planning at the federal level since “... the position of Germany in the wider and changing European context” was taken into consideration.¹⁶⁶ Nonetheless the Länder remained as the major players in the spatial planning structures and the impact of the federal level has always been somewhat limited.

There are, needless to say, matters of disagreement between the different levels of government which is settled and balanced by the rule of law. Law is very fundamental in the functioning of German state and so in the spatial planning. “Indeed, spatial planning has no direct means of stimulating development. Sources of funding are either private, or they come from other sectors of government. So German planning relies for its effectiveness on the force of law.”¹⁶⁷ The harmony of the spatial plans prepared each level of government in the German state is a pre-requisite for achieving development. The whole package of public-private and sectoral policies are expected to converge into a common path whereby the development can progress. “Basically, therefore, German spatial planning is regulatory, whilst the job of promoting development falls to the

¹⁶⁵ Faludi, “The German Role in the ESDP Process,” 271

¹⁶⁶ Faludi, “Spatial Planning Traditions in Europe: Their Role in the ESDP Process,” 164

¹⁶⁷ Andreas Faludi, “The German Role in the ESDP Process,” 271

informal ‘regional policy networks’.”¹⁶⁸ The motivation and willingness to activate the informal channels to achieve development in the greater sense is indeed can be translated as the devotion of the Germans to promote ESDP in the sense that the development is an end result of harmony among informal spatial planning networks. In other words, the German stance to the ESDP process -both in terms of the competency issue and the approach to the development aspect- are indeed determined by the functioning of the administrative structures and the makings of spatial planning in the German state.

5.2. Germany and the ESDP Process

Germany has traditionally been a powerful Member State that is motivated to forward European integration. Strengthening European integration brings about new areas that necessitates closer co-operation. Spatial planning area has entered into the European agenda as means to realize the goal of territorial cohesion and sustainable development. Germany, both urged by multi-level tensions in its federal system and the political will of Member States, decided to take an active stance to the spatial development in the European territory. German participation in the making-up of ESDP process has been intense and influential. Germany hosted two of the informal meetings in 1994 and 1999 which have both been milestones of ESDP content and method. In 1994, Leipzig Principles were introduced which are representative of German planning tradition and attempt to shape the spatial development course in the EU territory. In 1999, the final form of ESDP document was accepted in Potsdam. Hence, not only symbolically but also constructively the German impact on the ESDP is tremendous.

The German actors from different levels of government responsible for spatial planning have experienced both motivation and concern for the application of the ESDP because of the endemic struggle between power structures and extending their spatial planning in the wider context of the European territory. In the end, Germany has proven to be a very active actor in the application of ESDP which suggests that the German participants have been able to realize vertical and horizontal cooperation as

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

defined in the ESDP document and thus were able to incorporate multi-level governance dynamics to their complex multi-level government structures.

“European integration affects powers and responsibilities that within the Federal Republic shared with, or even reserved for, the *Länder*, this whilst their governments are kept out of European decision making.”¹⁶⁹ At the European level, where the German representation is via the federal ministry of spatial planning, the role and the power of the federal level has increased in spatial planning. Although, traditionally, the federal level is only entitled to give form to the whole process of German spatial planning in Germany, the circumstances posed by European integration burden the federal level with a disproportional burden to represent the spatial development in the European territory. The reason why the ESDP – spatial development policy-making at the European level- is a product of informal meetings and indeed no formal competency is transferred to the European level lies in the German attempt to preserve and apply the counter-current principle at home and reflect it upon at the European arena. “They [Germans] were opposed to a form of planning which would give EC regional policy, already considered as intrusive, another string to its bow and interfere with *Länder* prerogatives in the field of spatial planning.”¹⁷⁰ This is why the German stance desired the ESDP process to be intergovernmental in nature.

Germany have been an influential actor in the process of ESDP. As to the ESDP in Germany, the application is dependent on the willingness of *Länder* “... to take account of the European dimension in their spatial and sector planning activities and to integrate them more closely with regional development policy and with relevant Community programmes.”¹⁷¹ The following is the scope of the German application along with the statistical analysis of German participation in Interreg IIC as a part of ESDP application that received the attention of German actors:

Germany participates in no less than six out of seven co-operation areas under Interreg IIC: the Baltic Sea Region, the Central European, Adriatic, Danubian and South Eastern European Space (CADSES), the North Seas Region, the North Western Metropolitan Areas

¹⁶⁹ Faludi, “Spatial Planning Traditions in Europe: Their Role in the ESDP Process,” 164

¹⁷⁰ Faludi, “The German Role in the ESDP Process,” 274

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 271

(NWMA) and IMRA (Flood Prevention Rhine-Meuse). In addition, Germany participates in the 'innovative pilot action' under Article 10 of European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) for the Eastern Alps... All together, in these six programme areas, 342 projects have been approved, 50 per cent of them with German participation. For 27 per cent of the projects, the lead partner is Germany. The German share of the funds received is between 20 and 43 per cent.¹⁷²

In fact the design of ESDP shaped by the bottom-up approach as desired by the Länder, provoked and motivated them to coordinate their spatial activity with the ESDP document. These figures are demonstrating the German involvement in the cooperation areas designated by the Community Initiative Interreg IIC. Therefore they cover the data starting with 1997 up to 2000 when Strand B of Interreg III Community initiative has been decided to provide funding for ESDP.

Interreg IIIB has been the tool of ESDP for the 2000-2006 time period. Indicative allocation of Germany for Interreg III funding is EUR 737 million for the programming period of 2000-2006 with the budget EUR 4,875 million.¹⁷³ Germany is a partner in *North Sea Region*; *North West Europe*; and *Alpine Space* programmes of Interreg IIIB Community initiative. *Alpine Space* programme, along with partner countries Austria, France, Italy, Slovenia, Switzerland and Liechtenstein, is granted EUR 59.29 million from structural funds and has a total budget of EUR 117.95 million.¹⁷⁴ *North West Europe programme*, comprising of Belgium, France, Ireland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Switzerland along with Germany, receives Community funding of EUR 329 million of the total budget EUR 665 million.¹⁷⁵ *The North Sea Region* programme also joined by Belgium, Denmark, the

¹⁷² Ibid., 275

¹⁷³ European Commission Regional Policy Interreg III available from http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/interreg3/finan/finan_en.htm; Internet; accessed 10/11/2006

¹⁷⁴ European Commission Regional Policy Interreg III available from http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/country/prordn/details.cfm?gv_PAY=DE&gv_reg=ALL&gv_PGM=2000RG160PC020&LAN=5

¹⁷⁵ European Commission Regional Policy Interreg III available from http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/country/prordn/details.cfm?gv_PAY=DE&gv_reg=ALL&gv_PGM=2001CB160PC007&LAN=5

Netherlands, Sweden, the United Kingdom and Norway has an total budget of EUR 258.4 million of which EUR 129.2 million is structural assistance.¹⁷⁶

For the case of Germany, the finding can be summarized under few headlines. First of all, German state system of ‘co-operative federalism’ implies that Germany already runs with a system of cooperation between different levels of government. However, with the introduction of European level, the delicate balance of shared powers and competencies secured by the rule of law bring out reserves for the activity on the European territory. Since, avoiding what is going on in the European policy circles has not been the German tradition, adaptation to new norms and novel approaches have entered into the German circles. The ESDP process, which for the Länder have been some what threatening, received response in Germany. Germans, who favor the deepening of European integration – increasing the rate and range of cooperation areas at the European level- are slowly integrating ESDP to the traditional functioning of spatial planning in the German territory. Since Germany is and aspires to be a powerful agent in the European policies, the impact of ESDP is likely to enter and to a certain extend alter the multi-level dynamics in favor of multi-level governance understanding. Already the figures illustrate the German involvement in transnational cooperation as defined in the ESDP; hopefully the involvement will be more intense and influential for the spatial development in the EU territory in the up-coming years.

5.3. French State Structure and Planning Tradition

France is a unitary nation-state, where ‘the state’ concept is defined by ‘one state’, ‘one nation’, ‘one flag’ and ‘one language’. State administration has been shaped along the correspondent concepts. The French State is highly centralized as an outcome of the law tradition that can be traced back to the Napoleonic Code such that the relationships of state and citizen are codified in retrospect in the Constitution. French formation of

¹⁷⁶ European Commission Regional Policy Interreg III available from http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/country/prordn/details.cfm?gv_PAY=DE&gv_reg=ALL&gv_PGM=2001RG160PC005&LAN=5

the state has been figured under post-war circumstances which can be attributed as “[a]n interventionist state elite ... propel[ling] an unstable post-war France along a path of modernization.”¹⁷⁷ Hence, France state structure is characteristically formed by top-to-bottom approach whereby the ‘interventionist elite’ manipulated the administration systems by legitimizing the establishments in codified laws.

France is ruled by a bi-cameral system – one is chamber of deputies and the other is the senate- in order to check and balance populist mechanisms to preserve the French State. In other words, it is a semi-presidential system where the populist movements which threaten the fundamental principles that make up the state of France are filtered in the senate. The directly elected president has limitations to what s/he can accomplish posed by the senate. The elections are proceeded with a two-round electoral system which require simple majority of the votes to be elected. Indeed, the formulation and the functioning of state administration are illustrative of the concern of populist threats to the French State that is designed by elitist preferences. Other than that, there is the notion of multi-office holdership which indicates that a deputy in the chamber can also be a governor. Along with the bi-cameral system, multi-office holdership enable local and national politicians to interact and cooperate.

France has been an influential actor in the European integration process. Territorial integrity and totality of the French state were preserved by politicians and administrative agents at the European level. Initially in the European arena, the French were engaging in intergovernmental decision-making processes and believed in the European integration to proceed in an intergovernmental manner. By prioritizing national interest and basing negotiations on intergovernmental dynamics, French have hindered the pace and the rate of European integration. Yet, the French position has been redefined “[i]n 1980’s, [when] the traditional intergovernmental fabric was fundamentally challenged by both domestic decentralization reforms and the rise of European regional policies.”¹⁷⁸ The Single European Act was signed in 1986 which was the manifest of the establishment of single market in the European territory.

¹⁷⁷ Faludi, “Spatial Planning Traditions in Europe: Their Role in the ESDP Process,” 159

¹⁷⁸ Arthur Benz and Burkard Eberlein, “The Europeanization of Regional Policies: Patterns of Multi-Level Governance,” *Journal of European Public Policy* 6, no.2 (June 1999): 337

Furthermore, regional policy and cohesion demands on the single territory comprising of Member State territories urged politicians in France to take a renewed stance towards European integration and domestic patterns of administration.

In the beginning of European cooperation, hence following the 2nd World War, France tried to achieve economic boost to substitute for war damages. In terms of planning in the 1950's, the only concern was to enable development without paying attention to the imbalances that it might lead to. As a result, the development was densely concentrated around Paris and regional disparities began to emerge in France. "It was in this context that DATAR (Délégation à l'Aménagement du Territoire et à l'Action Régionale – the French interministerial delegation for spatial planning and regional development) was created at the beginning of the 1960s."¹⁷⁹ De Gaulle, a very influential political figure in France, who was motivated to lead the French modernization "... especially after 1961 when a protected French economy had to overcome the loss of former colonial markets and a lowering of trade barriers in the EEC countries."¹⁸⁰

As a matter of fact, the establishment of DATAR was in line with the Gaullist belief which emphasized the role of the center for encouraging development in the French Territory. The most striking feature of establishing DATAR to work for French spatial planning and regional development is that it is based on the assumption of the unitary state where the national interest can best be configured at the center and indicated to the lower levels of administration. The shaping of the framework is driven from the regional disparities due to unbalanced and uncontrolled development in France, paving the way to an understanding of territorial cohesion that the French have named as the *Amenagement du territoire*. "It was a synthesis of the notions of fairness to all regions and of spatial planning."¹⁸¹ The French concept that addresses the spatial planning is not regulatory like in the German tradition; as opposed to German comprehensive integrated approach, the French planning tradition is a regional

¹⁷⁹ Cichowlaz, "France and the ESDP in the Context of European Integration and Mediterranean Cooperation," 286

¹⁸⁰ Faludi, "Territorial Cohesion: Old (French) Wine in New Bottles?," 1350-1351

¹⁸¹ Cichowlaz, "France and the ESDP in the Context of European Integration and Mediterranean Cooperation," 287

economic planning approach which takes spatial planning as an policy option that would serve for set social and economic objectives by providing a general framework of guidelines that are determined by the center to be applied in regional policy and sectoral policy. “Its embodiment is French *aménagement du territoire*... ‘Territory’ alludes to the nation and reflects the nature of France as a unitary state in which the central administration sees it as its duty to ensure equitable living conditions.”¹⁸²

It is not possible to contrast the French planning system to the German planning tradition in terms of shifting of competencies or disturbances in the balance of powers between different administrative levels. “Unlike regulatory planning, *aménagement du territoire* requires no extra powers and in fact no plan, let alone a statutory one.”¹⁸³ Hence, with the reasoning that France is a unitary state and so the French territory is handled in its totality, the French state functioning can be directly translated into the spatial tradition in the sense that the center has the automatic competency to give an indicative framework to spatial development which would benefit French nation. This understanding burdens DATAR to formulate an outline for the coordination of spatial planning on French territory in line with the *aménagement du territoire*.

The center plays a very important role in the shaping of spatial planning in France - arguably to a lesser extend in contemporary times, which is to be accomplished through DATAR offering a framework for the development and territorial cohesion in France. The centralist approach and the French unity have been the founding principles of DATAR which were effectively prominent up until the 1980’s when decentralization has empowered, to a certain extent, the lower levels of administration by including them at a more proactive manner in the spatial planning and development. The necessity for decentralization has arisen as a result of the over-dominance of Paris region to the rest of France. It became apparent that the regional disparities in the French territory could not be handled only with indicative strategies imposed by the center; hence the administrations at lower levels were appointed for achieving a more ‘fair’ development starting from the 1980’s. In the name of making adjustments in the administrative

¹⁸² Faludi, “European Spatial Development Perspective – What Next?,” 244

¹⁸³ Faludi, “Spatial Planning Traditions in Europe: Their Role in the ESDP Process,” 159

system of spatial planning, DATAR introduced “*Contrats du Plan État-Région Pluriannuels* (multi-annual state/region development contracts), which were designed to establish an ordered list of priorities for central government expenditure on the regions”¹⁸⁴, putting *aménagement du territoire* ‘on a new footing.’¹⁸⁵ The aim was to encourage more intense interactions between the center and the region and thereby ensure more balanced development with these established partnerships. Accordingly, *aménagement du territoire* gained a new perspective that is open to regional and local stakeholders to have a voice in the spatial planning of France. As lower levels of administration began to be more involved in the regional policy and spatial planning in France, the impact of the central government has eventually decreased. “The role of the state in determining the overall balance of the country progressively diminished due to the emergence of other priorities.”¹⁸⁶ Nonetheless to estimate the dominant position of the central government for configuring the framework of spatial development would be disproportional.

5.4. France and the ESDP Process

France have been a major player in the course of European integration. French political elite find greater national interest in joining the European policies and manipulating the processes that would favour French’s position in the European political arena. Correspondingly, France has been an influential actor in the making-up of ESDP document. That is why “DATAR took a proactive approach, focusing French spatial position in Europe.”¹⁸⁷ The French position in the ESDP process can be best put

¹⁸⁴ Cichowlaz, “France and the ESDP in the Context of European Integration and Mediterranean Cooperation,” 288

¹⁸⁴ Faludi, “Spatial Planning Traditions in Europe: Their Role in the ESDP Process,” 159

¹⁸⁶ Cichowlaz, “France and the ESDP in the Context of European Integration and Mediterranean Cooperation,” 288

¹⁸⁷ Faludi, “Territorial Cohesion: Old (French) Wine in New Bottles?,” 1351

in the attempt to extend *aménagement du territoire* to European territory. In other words, the French have been quite involved in the ESDP process for pushing French tradition to prevail with a calculated understanding that it might lead to loss of political power of the French central government in the application of ESDP.

France is a unitary state for which national borders are of vital importance. As it comes to the European policies which have an impact on the traditional understanding of national territory, French have chosen to take an active stance rather than a reactionary one so that they can accomplish higher gains for French power in international relations by providing supportive French input in the processes. ESDP as one of the European policies which require multi-level governance dynamics, France has been assertive for the formulation and application of the ESDP document. As it is politically unfavourable to reject policies that European integration, French politicians adjusted their policies to serve the best interest of French nation while maintaining an influential position at the European level of international relations. “With this context clearly in mind, it is possible to understand subsequent commitment of many French figures ... to promoting the ESDP’s main ideas and its declared ambition for a more polycentric and balanced development of Europe.”¹⁸⁸

The involvement of French actors in the European arena have been a major driving force for the establishment of EU regional policy and the ESDP for that matter. “The Presidency of Delors (1985-95) was particularly important in injecting French thinking into Community regional policy.”¹⁸⁹ Delors’ post as the Commission president made it possible to introduce new concepts to accompany the European integration processes especially in the Community regional policy. The 1988 Structural Funds reform that introduced concepts like ‘partnership’, ‘auto development’, ‘sustainability’ and ‘local knowledge’ for a better utilization of Community funding for regional policy. One way to attribute this development is Delors’ success for “the mobilization of local and regional actors aimed for in the present-day *aménagement du territoire*.”¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸ Cichowlaz, “France and the ESDP in the Context of European Integration and Mediterranean Cooperation,” 289

¹⁸⁹ Faludi, “Territorial Cohesion: Old (French) Wine in New Bottles?,” 1352

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

As a matter of fact, if the ESDP document is not a ‘master plan’ that regulates land use in the European territory, it is thanks to French manipulation to formulate the ESDP document as “a strategic spatial framework for on-going Community policies.”¹⁹¹ As opposed to the German position to impose regulatory spatial planning alternatives in line with the German tradition, French input and impact have resulted in evolving ESDP as a spatial development perspective as a strategic framework indicative for the actors responsible for spatial planning at different levels in each Member State. The reasoning behind such approach is that ESDP is a non-binding document, and best results can only be attained if the actors have a general understanding to the consequences of their policy implications in their home countries as impacts in the European territory. In other words, the French insistence of ESDP being an indicative strategy guide for spatial planning is based on the assumption that actors responsible for spatial planning will interpret the ESDP document and reasonable adjust their decisions, also taking the European level into consideration.

The application of ESDP in France can be attributed as an occasion to implement *aménagement du territoire* in the European context. The major trends in France for the application of ESDP is concentrated in “the sectoral policies targeted regions, notably concerning transport, research and innovation.”¹⁹² The ESDP has been, hence, most prominent at the regional level. At the national level, the ESDP has not been very influential in the French context with respect to the French input in the making-up of the ESDP. The main reason behind this paradox can be attributed to Euroscepticism of French figures. “It must be said that up until now the ESDP has only been superficially used, and this is more in the presentation of regional development programmes than in their actual implementation.”¹⁹³ Put differently, ESDP has been more attractive for the regions who use it as a tool for implementation; however, the fact that - even though decentralization has in part empowered regions- the regions are not politically powerful agents to manipulate the course of development in France. The state remains the major actor for directing investment and sectoral planning which leaves small room for

¹⁹¹ Ibid: 1352

¹⁹² Cichowlaz, “France and the ESDP in the Context of European Integration and Mediterranean Cooperation,” 292

¹⁹³ Ibid.

regions to adapt and apply ESDP in general. “The state continues to have a predominant role in the ‘*contrats de plan*’ when it comes to major national-level investments, and the implementation of EU programmes still comes under the responsibility of the regional prefects, acting as the state’s representatives.”¹⁹⁴

The French position to ESDP application being mentioned, the French involvement in the former Interreg IIC and present Interreg IIIB Community initiative programmes will be reviewed. France participated in the Interreg IIC project of *Western Mediterranean and Latin Alps* that have been an ESDP-oriented project to offer financial assistance to exchange of experiences and pilot actions between Spain, Greece, Italy and France. The total budget of the project- the total of four main sub-programmes- EUR 24.440 million out of which EUR 14.520 is funded by the EU.¹⁹⁵ *South Western Europe* project -with participants France, Portugal and Spain- was an Interreg IIC programme for supporting coordination between the participant in spatial planning, with the budget of EUR 8.958 million to which France has contributed EUR 3.966 million and the EU funding was EUR 5.152 million.¹⁹⁶ France was also a participant in *Atlantic Area* project along with Ireland, Spain, Portugal and the United Kingdom, with the aim of “strengthen[ing] economic and social cohesion in the regions concerned and to encourage sustainable development by means of transnational cooperation to reduce the regions’ handicaps (in particular their peripheral situation) and exploit their potential”; the total budget summed up to EUR 24.031 millions of which EUR 13.381 millions the contribution of the EU. *The North Western Metropolitan Area* programme under Interreg IIC with participants of France and Belgium, Germany, Ireland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom had a total budget of EUR 56.634 million for enhancing cooperation for spatial planning and the respective EU financial assistance was EUR 31.392.¹⁹⁷ Finally, France participated

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ European Commission Regional Policy INTERREG IIC available from http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/reg_prog/po/prog_684.htm; Internet; accessed 10/11/2006.

¹⁹⁶ European Commission Regional Policy INTERREG IIC available from http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/reg_prog/po/prog_675.htm

¹⁹⁷ European Commission Regional Policy INTERREG IIC available from http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/reg_prog/po/prog_683.htm

the *Rhine-Meuse Activities IRMA* along with Benelux countries and Germany in order to “reduce problems caused by high-water and flooding in the areas along the Rhine and Meuse rivers through an integrated approach to spatial planning, water management and damage prevention”; the total budget of the four sub-programmes amounted EUR 426.728 million with EUR 137.118 million EU financial assistance.¹⁹⁸

France is a participant to three Interreg IIIB programmes for the programming period of 2000-2006. Indicative allocation of France for Interreg III funding is EUR 397 million for the programming period of 2000-2006 with the budget EUR 4,875 million.¹⁹⁹ In *Alpine Space* France is a participant along with Austria, Germany and Italy in the EU, and Slovenia, Switzerland and Liechtenstein. The total budget is EUR 113.768.878 million with EU contribution of EUR 57.204.518 million.²⁰⁰ In *North West Europe* Interreg IIIB programme; France, Belgium, Germany, Ireland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom in the EU and Switzerland are participants and “Structural Funds assistance amounts to EUR 330.578.096 million out of a total budget of EUR 655.688.562 million.”²⁰¹ Finally the *Atlantic Rim* programme “...to boost the Atlantic Rim's cohesion” with participants France, Ireland, Portugal, Spain and the United Kingdom; the total budget of the programme is EUR 205.717.187 million out of which EUR 119.991.130 million is EU assistance.²⁰²

When the French case for the evaluation of ESDP impacts is studied, there are both encouraging and discouraging findings. French have traditionally been

¹⁹⁸ European Commission Regional Policy INTERREG III available from http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/reg_prog/po/prog_663.htm

¹⁹⁹ European Commission Regional Policy INTERREG III available from http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/interreg3/finan/finan_en.htm

²⁰⁰ European Commission Regional Policy INTERREG III available from http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/country/prordn/details.cfm?gv_PAY=FR&gv_reg=ALL&gv_PGM=2000RG160PC020&LAN=5

²⁰¹ European Commission Regional Policy INTERREG III available from http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/country/prordn/details.cfm?gv_PAY=FR&gv_reg=ALL&gv_PGM=2001CB160PC007&LAN=5

²⁰² European Commission Regional Policy INTERREG III available from http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/country/prordn/details.cfm?gv_PAY=FR&gv_reg=ALL&gv_PGM=2001RG160PC006&LAN=5

preoccupied with the unity of the French state. As a result, there has always been a section of French politicians with Euro-skeptic approach to the European integration. Since the center has – may be to a lesser extent in the contemporary times- the immense influence for the French position in the European affairs, the ESDP gets its share from the attitude, too. On the other hand, the French yearning for an improved position in the EU and the world –in a way- balances the Euro-skeptic attitude in favor of forwarding European integration. Even though some academics argue that French involvement in the ESDP process being superficial, the counter-argument that French choice of being involved in ESDP projects illustrate the attitude to be a part of spatial development in the EU territory is also valid. Up to now, the French have been actively involved in ESDP projects with sizable budgets and hence agreed to incorporate their traditional spatial planning with the multi-level dynamics of transnational spatial development as dictated in the ESDP document. Leveling *aménagement du territoire* with the present day European reality illustrates the incentive to introduce multi-level governance understanding to traditional functioning of French planning circles might be limited yet it is definitively indicative of the change.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

In this final chapter of this thesis, there will be an evaluation of the material presented on ESDP as well as an analysis of the case studies. For the sake of the hypothesis, concluding remarks will be presented for their relevance to the subject matter. In the first section of the final chapter, overview of what is being theoretically argued over ESDP will be revealed. In the following section the case studies of Germany and France will be compared and contrasted for where they stand in terms of the hypothesis of this thesis.

6.1. ESDP in Perspective

ESDP is an innovative and novel approach to European integration. The urge to prepare the ESDP document can be traced back to the EU cohesion goal taking the territorial dimension into consideration as a response to spatial impacts of EU policies. As argued, the single market implication of ‘single territory’ is troublesome however ignoring the potential for territorial cooperation is an underestimating approach. Indeed, the willingness to prepare ESDP shows how Member States have put effort in

cooperating on spatial development. It would be premature to attribute this effort with real value, yet normatively it can be argued that there is a tendency and an attempt to facilitate cooperation for spatial development in the EU territory.

There are driving forces behind formulating ESDP as transnational spatial planning. National boundaries are fundamental ‘myths’ of the concept of nation-state which has been diluted by various forces. The defining feature of the national borders is slowly being replaced by an understanding that borders can act as barriers to development. This transition has to do with the increasing rate of globalization and developing information and communication technology which makes national borders irrelevant for economic welfare. By no means has these development resulted in erasing national borders yet the functions and features are being re-defined. In the era where efficiency is the ultimate means for prosperity ends, there is an inevitable interdependence between nations. Especially in the EU, where the national boundaries are already surpassed by the single market, the idea of ‘single territory’ has attributes for closer cooperation.

EU’s motto is unity in diversity. Indeed the Member States that make up the EU are highly diversified and not exactly compatible for the application of a single code as demonstrated by the French and Dutch rejection of the EU constitution. There are multiple actors that effect and are effected by what happens in the European dimension. The complexity has exponentially increased since the establishment of European Coal and Steel Community which was appointed with a single function up to the contemporary times where EU stands with multitude of domains on the hook. It is fair to say that EU has found itself in the paradox of two incompatible goals of economic competitiveness and social cohesion. As a result of multilateral nature of EU functioning, the European integration processes have proven to be multi-faceted. Since the beginnings of the formation that has paved to way to the EU, the European integration has taken different forms. ESDP has emerged as a result of changing forms of cooperation and increasing level of complexities due to forces of globalization and expanding interdependence. ESDP is an innovative and novel approach to an area where the Community competence is not feasible; which demonstrates alternative paths taken by Member State initiatives to face the challenge of intertwining EU’s curious twin goals.

There are, as a matter of fact, different tracks for finding the midway for these two goals. EU, being glorified with established myths, continues to fight for its survival with the introduction of new compromises in new names and new attributes. One example is the introduction of the ‘balanced competitiveness’ concept that addresses the duality in the EU twin goals and has prospects for a compromise. The functional and spatial division of labor in the EU territory is to be tackled with for realizing ‘balanced competitiveness’ which is supposed to offer a higher degree of competitiveness in the long run. Easier said than done, the establishment of discourses and concepts – that are innovative and novel in themselves- are in an proactive manner influential on the range of actors that are willing to make it real.

In perspective, the birth and course of ESDP can be approached with this understanding that relies on the actors who have the capability and willingness to interpret and take action with respect to the produced compromises. For that matter, in the ESDP document there are both references to the intuition of the actors and to the novel understandings of ‘balanced competitiveness’ that glorify ESDP goals. Polycentricity, spatial development as oppose to spatial planning, balanced and sustainable development are discourses and concepts embodied in the ESDP for influencing and shaping the behaviours of the actors involved in respective policy circles. Indeed, ESDP is innovative due to its untraditional approach to European cooperation and it is certainly cultural such that it is an initiative formulated by entrepreneurship which embraces individual and collective capabilities. Hence, ESDP is, by all means, a cultural innovation and for sure, the durability of this strategic approach relies on the complex learning process of multitude range of actors involved in this particular functioning on EU territory.

The formation and the content of ESDP are designed to liberate engagement from vertical orientation. In other words, the fact that ESDP is a consensus-based framework that has space for interpretation and instruments for voluntary application is another manifest of EU policies taking a new shape. As Giannakourou suggested, re-distributive measures of liberal market territorial integration is slowly being replaced by market correcting planning approach. What this argument suggests is that there are attempts to balance out the EU’s twin goals such that the formerly dominant myth of economic competitiveness is finding correspondence from social cohesion myth. Accordingly

there are incentives to introduce new means and myths to bring together these two goals which are not compatible by definition. As a result there are new sets of novel and more deliberative relations between wider range of actors from formal and informal circles who have influence on the decision-making process as well as implementation of EU policies as multi-level governance approach suggest. Hence, the point of this thesis that the ESDP is one of EU policies that has favorable impact on the European cooperation as multi-level governance approach demonstrates.

6.2. The Conclusions from the Case Studies

After discussing the ESDP in a theoretical dimension, the thesis is designed to offer an application of theory through a study of deliberately chosen case studies. Germany and France, the countries which have been involved in the European integration from the beginning, have great deal of impact in shaping the course of events taking place on the European dimension in their own understandings. Both Germany and France, hence, are powerful actors in the European arena and they influence the process of European integration with respect to their perceptions and realities. As for ESDP, Germany and France have been major players in the making-up as well as the application of the policy although in different manners. Coming from completely different state and planning traditions, the end results of the interaction with the ESDP process with each of the Member State provide some similarities that have favorable support to the hypothesis of this thesis.

Germany is ruled by what is referred to as ‘co-operative federalism’. The federal system effective in Germany does not isolate powers and competencies, rather offers a complex web of multi-level dynamics which functions with cooperation outlined by the ‘counter-current principle’. The implication is that, in the German state, there is already a multi-level dynamics that operates with co-operation. The challenge that the European dimension imposes on the German state structure is that the delicate balance between the levels of government in Germany has to include the European level. As of now, the

rule of law that is fundamental for regulating German state cannot find equal measures and institutions to apply it to the European scale. The major center of attention is the position of Länder in the European configuration. As a result of the German federative system, the Länder are privileged with say in the policies that are in effect in the boundaries of their jurisdiction. Since the European mechanisms seem to be failing to provide the Länder to represent themselves in proportion to national mechanisms, the Länder are skeptical and sensitive to the areas of European cooperation. Although the Länder have been involved in ESDP projects, they hold their reservation for any further policy that would transform the voluntary and indicative formulation of ESDP into more concise and definitive authority under the European umbrella.

France, on the other hand, is a centralist and an elitist state which has experienced to a certain extent the decentralization tendencies in the state structures due to emerging circumstances. France is an unitary state; state structure and hence the planning tradition is designed with a top-to-down approach as opposed to the German counter-current principle. As a matter of fact, despite contemporary decentralization efforts, France has had limited multi-level dynamics. Hence, introducing European cooperation which involves multi-level governance principles is also a challenge to France though slightly different than in Germany. In spite of major contrasts with German state structure, France is also sensitive to filter populist activity that might threaten the fundamental being of the French state. In other words, both France and Germany have complex state structures where check and balance systems operate to avoid random attributes. So it is not easy to integrate and reserve space for European dimension.

Even though, both Germany and France have concerns to where the European level stands, they are both aware that it is neither politically nor economically feasible to ignore the European dimension. Hence both parties are actively involved in the European integration processes in order to, at least shape, the course of events in their favor. Germany and France have different attitudes to shape European integration as best demonstrated by their approach to EU Constitution. What is similar is that both Member States are willing to improve their positions in the EU and in the world for that matter. This general attitude of Germany and France to European integration can also be perfectly exemplified in their orientation to the ESDP process.

The French politicians came up with the necessity to urge transnational cooperation for spatial planning. DATAR, French institution for spatial planning, took this proposition to the Commission. Germans gave response instantly. Remarkably, the whole process of making-up of ESDP document displayed the battle between France and Germany to influence the content and the approach to be applied. Both planning traditions, German comprehensive integrated approach and French regional development approach, have imprints in the ESDP document. In the overall scheme, however, it is safe to assume French influence dominated the final draft of the ESDP. Germans were able to provide input from their planning tradition with Leipzig Principles, yet in the end the ESDP document has come out as an indicative strategy framework with special emphasis on development similar to the French understanding of spatial planning as opposed to regulatory scheme with emphasis on sectoral planning.

As to the application of ESDP, both Member States have been active parties illustrated by the statistics provided in the respective sections of the thesis. Both have concerns and reserves for ESDP which demonstrate itself as skepticism to the implications of having a spatial development framework at the European level. For the German part, the Länder were curious about what the ESDP application makes their position in the federal planning structure. In France, elitist politicians, to a certain extent, are Euro-skeptic to European policies which also produced mirror-effect for the ESDP process. The French dilemma of being a powerful agent in the EU and protecting the unity of French state is deductible from the French attitude towards the ESDP. Although the national territory and the center are still the priorities in France, the French involvement in ESDP projects demonstrate the breeze of change towards incorporating the European reality to traditional mechanisms. It may be relevant to argue that ESDP is not digested as one would expect in the name of forwarding European integration, however normatively the active involvement of both parties exemplify that ESDP has had impact to varying degrees in respective territories.

In conclusion, ESDP introduced a new understanding to the wide range of actors effective in shaping spatial policies in the EU territory. In France, despite reserved attitude to the European spatial planning, the development with cooperation aspect found correspondence and hence involvement in ESDP projects. In Germany, although the Länder are concerned with the competency issue, the proactive manner to

development in the German planning tradition translated itself with the active involvement in ESDP projects. The active involvement in ESDP projects means acceptance of new norms of cooperation that necessitates multi-level dynamics which brings actors from different levels of government and governance to same fold. Hopefully, the learning process will enable to reach more concrete and real measures of how ESDP is influential. For the moment, it is arguable that ESDP has been impacting the planning traditions in the two EU Member States with a novel set understanding of complex interactions between formal and informal actors designated by the multi-level governance approach.

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