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Tobias Chilla, Franziska Sielker

Cross-border spatial development in Bavaria: Starting point, current challenges and conceptual debates

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Tobias Chilla, Franziska Sielker

CROSS-BORDER SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT IN BAVARIA: STARTING POINT, CURRENT CHALLENGES AND CONCEPTUAL DEBATES[1]

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Abstract
This introductory article has three goals. First, it briefly introduces Bavaria's border areas. Second, the paper introduces three institutional and political perspectives to explain the governance arrangements and processes in the border areas, namely institutional ambiguity, reterritorialisation and multi-level mismatches. Further, the article discusses current developments from a functional perspective by reflecting on processes of convergence, metropolisation and 'tunnel effects'. Third, the article outlines the implications of the results for Bavarian federal state planning.

Keywords
Cross-border spatial planning – governance – cohesion – Czech Republic – Austria

1 This article provides an introduction to and framework for the publication of the findings of the 'Cross-border spatial development in Bavaria' Subsection of the Bavarian Regional Working Group (*LAG Bayern*) at the Academy for Spatial Research and Planning (*Akademie für Raumforschung und Landesplanung*, *ARL*). It has profited from comments by the external referee and by members of the subsection. Particular thanks go to Dr. Jürgen Weber of the Regional Government of Lower Bavaria.

1 Introduction and goals

There are a number of reasons for considering the cross-border dimension of spatial development in Bavaria at the present time. First, there is a new awareness of cross-border development issues on the level of the federal state of Bavaria. This is particularly related to the border between Bavaria and the Czech Republic, which is so historically and politically complex that it has long been difficult to address on the Prague-Munich diplomatic level. Consideration of the cross-border dimension by federal state spatial planning is also only sporadic. The current political attempts provide many starting points for discussing the future orientation of federal state spatial planning, including the vision of the border of an integrated space.

Second, the significance of borders was placed on the political agenda with unexpected force by the flows of refugees that largely began in 2015. After many years of widespread talk of a 'borderless' Europe, debates about refugee policies and border controls have made clear that the internal European borders still have considerable political significance. In Bavaria this mainly affects its border region with Austria.

Third, a new dynamic in cross-border cooperation on the European level can be identified. In recent years the focus was on activities in the immediate border area based on INTERREG-A and Euroregions. These remain important, but there is also a new impetus on the higher level, where macro-regions and numerous bilateral and multilateral forms of cooperation are creating new constellations. In Bavaria this can be seen particularly in the relatively new European Region of Danube-Vltava and through involvement in the Danube and Alpine macro-regions.

Against this background, in 2015 the Bavarian Regional Working Group formed a subsection on cross-border spatial development in Bavaria. This exceptionally international group, which includes experts from science and practice, spent three years working on numerous facets of the topic. Both the subsection and this publication aimed to find answers to the following questions:

> How are these current developments changing the constellations of stakeholders and institutions in regional development and spatial planning?

> What is the significance of borders as spatial elements in the context of these dynamic developments?

> What are the opportunities and challenges presented by the new instruments and trends for planning and regional development practice?

In the next section, this article first outlines the starting point before presenting an overarching conceptual context for the analysis of cross-border spatial development in section 3. Both the institutional and political dimensions are considered as well as the functional, socio-economic dimension. This discussion aims to create a conceptual background for the rest of this volume by referring to the most significant current debates in the literature on border studies. It should be noted here that the articles in

this volume consider very different scales and different sub-regions and have different focuses for their arguments. What they have in common, however, is that they all illustrate and analyse the significance of borders and the political and functional developments that cross those borders. The article concludes with a discussion of the implications for Bavarian federal state planning. In this discussion we also touch upon the key findings presented in the rest of this volume.

2 The border areas from an institutional and political perspective

Border areas are spatial entities that directly touch the national borders. Bavaria borders the Czech Republic, Austria and – across the condominium of Lake Constance – Switzerland.

Cross-border cooperation along the internal borders of Europe in principle dates back to the 1950s, but gained greater significance for everyday policy in the 1990s. This is particularly true for Bavaria. The role of the Czech-Bavarian border for instance changed considerably following, first, the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1990 and, second, the coming into force of the Schengen in Agreement in 2011. Yet, the Czech Republic still remains outside the eurozone. In political terms the Bavarian-Czech border area is one of the most unusual in the whole of Europe, as cooperation in recent decades has taken different forms on the various levels. On the national level – between Prague and Berlin – there has been a treaty guaranteeing proper functioning between the neighbouring countries since 1992 (Scherhag 2008: 15 et seq.; cf. Maier 2003; Schramek 2014). On the local level the two Euroregions (EUREGIO EGRENSIS and the Bavarian Forest – Bohemian Forest – Lower Inn EUREGIO) have played important roles in the consolidation of the border area for over two decades (cf. for more detail the article by Chilla/Fráně/Sielker/Weber in this volume). On the other hand, the axis between Prague and Munich has been influenced by the historical experiences of the World War and forced displacements. It is only under the Bavarian Minister-President Seehofer that cooperation in day-to-day politics has developed on this level. Cross-border cooperation in a more comprehensive sense has thus only been possible since free movement has been allowed across the border (2007/2011) and political opening has progressed. Elsewhere, in both western and eastern Europe, this occurred significantly earlier. Against this background, it is appropriate to speak of catch-up integration. For example, in the Upper Rhine region of Pamina intensive work has been progressing on a spatial development strategy since the 1990s, but in the German-Czech border area this process only began in 2014. Even on the eastern German borders (e.g. Stettin, Frankfurt an der Oder) such efforts began several years earlier.

In the south, Austria only became a member of the European Union in 1995. Intensive cooperation was therefore also initiated later in the German-Austrian border area than on the western borders of Germany. However, the political and cultural differences in this area are comparatively small, especially as the Schengen Agreement has been fully implemented and both countries are part of the eurozone. Owing to the somewhat late accession of Austria to the EU, bi- and multi-lateral agreements are particularly important – especially in spatial development. A pertinent example is the

German-Austrian agreement on cooperation in the field of spatial planning from 1973 and the subsequent establishment of the German-Austrian Spatial Planning Commission (*Deutsch-Österreichische Raumordnungskommission, DÖROK*). This was very active in the 1970s and 1980s and led to numerous cross-border agreements and collaborations. The Alpine Convention, a multi-lateral international treaty, is particularly important and has as its objective the protection and sustainable development of the Alps. Its spatial coverage is delimited on the municipal level while formal political anchoring is on the national level.[2] There is a long tradition of other forms of multi-lateral cooperation, such as the Association of Alpine States (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft Alpenländer, Arge Alp*), which has existed since 1972.[3]

In the meantime numerous forms and spaces of cooperation have been established throughout the entire border area of Bavaria, many of which overlap. Figures 1 and 2 illustrate that the border area itself is a question of scale and demarcation, and there can always be alternative scales and demarcations. This image of very dense institutional cooperation can be reflected upon in the light of several complementary concepts from border studies.

2 The framework convention for the protection of the Alps was signed by Germany, France, Italy, Liechtenstein, Austria, Switzerland, Slovenia, Monaco and the European Union.

3 The current members of the Association of Alpine States are Bavaria, Graubünden, St. Gallen, Tessin, Lombardy, South Tyrol, Trentino, Salzburg, Tyrol and Vorarlberg.

Fig. 1: Overview of the most significant forms of cross-border cooperation on the Bavarian border / Source: Chilla

2.1 Institutional and political explorations

Cross-border cooperation is part of the European integration process, which occurs on a step by step basis without following a master plan and which always has to take into account the options provided by day-to-day politics and constellations of local stakeholders. It should be borne in mind here that cross-border regional development is a complex policy area. On the one hand, the functional spatial interactions and institutional interconnections tend to increase. On the other hand, political competences are still clearly based on territorial authority and geographically delimited entities. This is especially true of spatial planning competences, but also of other fields, despite various European influences (e.g. transport policy).

Against this background, a complex and institutionally dense range of cooperation forms has developed in the European border areas, with different perimeters, specific focuses and constellations of stakeholders. The degree to which these cooperation initiatives are institutionalised also varies considerably. This situation can also be viewed as a manifestation of 'institutional ambiguity' in line with Haier (2006). This results from the fact that the political will towards European integration is extremely ambitious but no path has been chalked out for implementation (Europe as a *sui generis* construct). The concrete institutional action that leads to implementation must gradually be 'invented', whether in sub-areas like border regions or in the individual policy areas.

Differences also exist in how established the formats of cooperation are. Undoubtedly the most established form is the Euroregion. These cross-border regions are very closely linked to the EU funding programme INTERREG A (cf. Jurczek 2006 and in detail in the article by Teufel/Maier/Doevenspeck in this volume). Bavaria's external borders are now entirely covered by the territories of the Euroregions, which aim to initiate and coordinate INTERREG-A projects and thus themselves act as funding bodies for small projects (cf. Fig. 1; positioned with the relevant steering committees). This field of activity represents – alongside LEADER and regional management – a 'soft', project-based approach to regional development (cf. the critical reflection by Weizenegger/Lemberger in this volume).

Other forms of cooperation can be better understood as political exploration. The European Region of Danube-Vltava with its very extensive and rural territory is a current example of how spatial and policy exploration can occur (cf. in detail the article by Chilla/Fráně/Sielker/Weber in this volume). This holds also true for the European metropolitan region of Nuremberg, where ambitions to develop a cross-border axis emerged[4]. Of interest is the development study on the Bavarian-Czech border area commissioned by the Bavarian State Ministry of Finance and Regional Identity (*Bayerisches Staatsministerium der Finanzen, für Landesentwicklung und*

4 Cf. the Hersbruck Memorandum on cross-border cooperation; https://web.archive.org/web/20160707201500/http://www.metropolregionnuernberg.de/fileadmin/metropolregion_nuernberg_2011/07_service/02_downloads/01_grundlagenpapiere/141119_MEMORANDUM_unterschrieben.pdf (26 July 2018).

Heimat) (Grontmij 2015), which develops arguments in view of the developments of the districts on each side of the border.

This political context matters. Long-term diplomatic actions remain significant, while the importance of legal procedures should not be overestimated. The building up of trusting relations is at least as important as the formulation of development strategies. Thus, 'soft' instruments together with appropriate funding options are key for cross-border cooperation, while legal instruments mostly remain in the background.

2.2 Reterritorialisation – rescaling – soft spaces?

Figure 2 shows that Bavaria also cooperates in multiple ways with its neighbours across the borders in larger territorial perimeters. This includes the INTERREG-B programme, which is now supporting regional development projects in its fifth funding period. The INTERREG-A projects involve cooperation between partners from two neighbouring countries, but in the B programme the partners must come from at least three countries. Bavaria is involved in four programme areas and is thus in a very advantageous position.

Bavaria is also participating in two macro-regional strategies. In the Danube and Alpine regions these strategies largely overlap with the INTERREG-B transnational programme without any clear institutional connection. This still young form of territorial cooperation aims to achieve large-scale, cross-border endeavours to tackle 'common geographical challenges'. To date it is not envisioned that the strategies will be granted dedicated funding or instruments, but that they are embedded into the transnational programmes. In the whole of Europe four strategies have thus far been initiated; they differ substantially from one another and it is not foreseeable which role they will fulfil in the long term. Bavaria has contributed significantly to the Alpine strategy. This area is characterised by at least two geographical features – the Alpine morphology and the high density of nation state borders, which also mark different forms of regulation. The relationship between the macro-regional strategy in the Alpine region (EUSALP) and the Alpine Convention will need to be clarified in coming years.

It can be noted that cross-border cooperation is also a question of scale: between the local scale and that of the continent there are many diverse spatial delineations which are of relevance, and a glance at the past reveals numerous other perimeters of cooperation which were unable to survive in the longer term (cf. Perkmann 2007). For example, the European Region of Danube-Vltava was initially supposed to cover the small-scale, three-country triangle of Lower Bavaria, South Bohemia and Upper Austria before the current larger area was finally stipulated. Furthermore, there was an initial plan to establish three Bavarian-Czech Euroregions, which would have been based primarily on the Bavarian districts. This was superseded by the current division into a northern and a southern Euroregion.

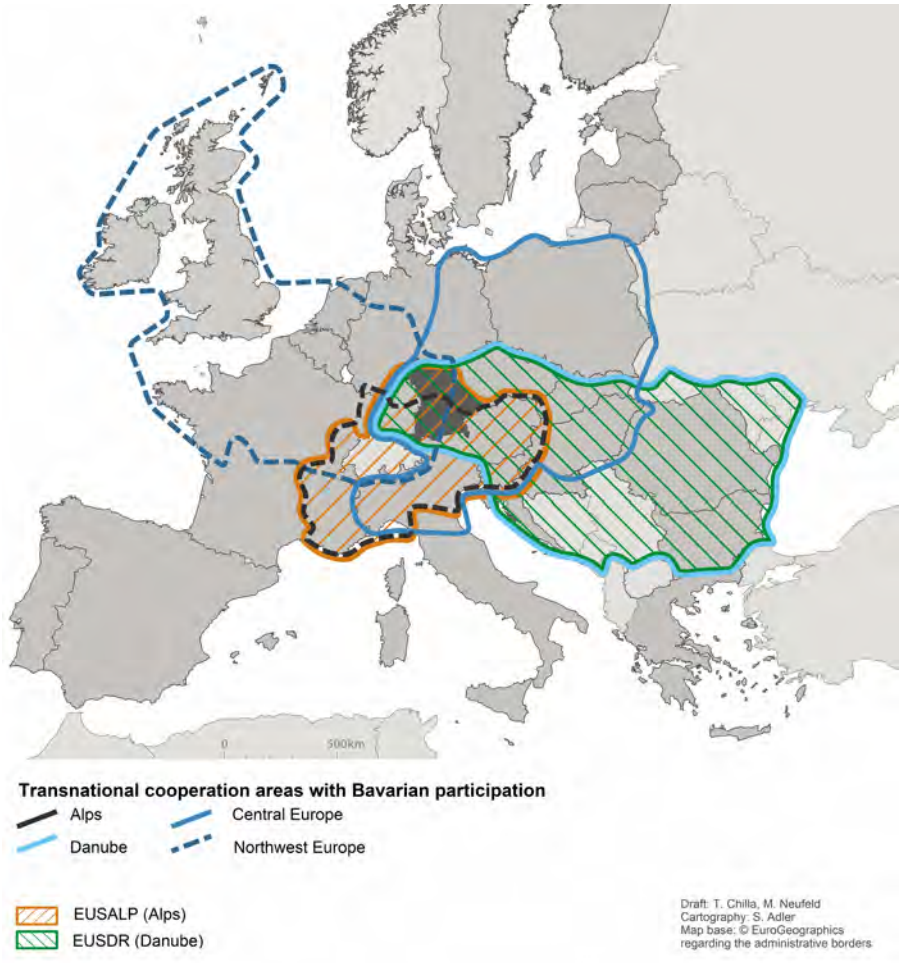

Fig. 2: Bavaria's participation in transnational cooperation areas and macro-regional strategies / Source: adapted from Chilla/Kühne/Neufeld (2016: 98)

This finding, which in principle reflects the situation on all the inner-European borders, is discussed in the conceptual debate under Rescaling and Reterritorialisation. The emergence and transformation of cross-border cooperation forms and regions is always an expression of political interests (Paasi/Zimmerbauer 2016). These new spaces of activity offer actors the opportunity to get involved in agenda setting on the levels above and below them. The potentials of this for the metropolitan level are discussed in the article by Raymond Saller in this volume.

The aim of this agenda setting is to make voices heard in the political processes so that these concerns are considered in decision-making processes. Throughout Europe a trend towards large-scale areas and more individual forms of cooperation can be seen, after the temporary 'standardisation' that occurred via the INTERREG-A/Euroregion programmes in previous years. This is also true of Bavaria, both with respect to

the two macro-regions and the European Region of Danube-Vltava. Although the scale may not be comparable with that of macro-regions, the perimeters of the development study and the border-crossing ambitions of the European metropolitan region of Nuremberg indicate an increasingly large-scale orientation in cooperation dynamics (cf. Köhler 2009).

These processes of changing the scale (rescaling) and new spatial configurations (reterritorialisation) often involve years of searching for the 'right' form of governance and suitable spatial delineations. The article by Nicolai Teufel, Jörg Maier and Martin Doevenspeck in this volume demonstrates this using the example of the northern Bavarian-Bohemian sub-region, where the search for the right constellations is particularly complex.

In this phase of searching for suitable perimeters these areas are often viewed as 'soft spaces' with 'fuzzy boundaries' (Allmendinger/Chilla/Sielker 2014). In some cases these spaces may be 'hardened', while in other cases their fluid character continues or the form of cooperation disappears completely. At present it is difficult to determine which options may exist for interlinking the European Region of Danube-Vltava, the European metropolitan region of Nuremberg and the territory of the development study for the Bavarian-Czech border area. This situation also has consequences for practice. It is a time of creativity and intense cooperation, in which new forms of political organisation are being sought in border areas. Moreover, it can also be a time of competition and duplications.

2.3 The border as friction – multi-level mismatch?

Despite all the liberalisation, despite all the dynamic developments in cross-border cooperation and despite the semantic transition from border areas to integrated regions – the border remains a friction in space. At borders legal systems meet, which differ greatly in many aspects. A case in point are motorway tolls, which are subject only to national regulation. The 'funding gap' – the different requirements for co-financing and the different levels of access to funding opportunities on both sides of the border – also demonstrates the great significance of national borders. In everyday life differences between earning opportunities on the two sides of the border and the differently regulated labour markets and social systems can be felt.

Furthermore, in cross-border cooperation the very different state and administrative structures and the administrative cultures are of great practical importance, a feature that is often perceived as 'multi-level mismatch' (Hooghe/Marks 2003; Chilla/Evrard/Schulz 2012: 966). This includes the experience that mayors or top officials on the two sides of the border do not have the same political competences, which can lead to diplomatic and technical complications. This is similarly true for district representatives, who have very different functions in the Czech Republic, Austria and Bavaria or indeed Germany, not to mention the concept of the federal states. Different political rhythms (legislative periods) and different customs in relation to the fluctuation of personnel can also count as multi-level mismatch.

On a transnational scale, the role of different national regulations on each side of the border is discussed in the article by Peter Haßlacher, Hubert Job and numerous co-authors in this volume, referring to different methodological and political understandings relevant to the conservation of open space. The article by Thomas Streifeneder, Clare Giuliani and Christian Hoffmann in this volume uses the example of policies for mountain regions to demonstrate differences in the range and effectiveness of the available instruments.

3 The functional perspective

From the functional perspective, processes of cross-border integration are also a complex matter. One of the main motives for cross-border interaction and European unification is to overcome the divisive effect of the borders. The hope is that the free movement of people, capital, goods and services will lead to lower transaction costs and increased wealth. The appropriate conditions exist for this in relation to internal European borders where the Schengen Agreement is in force, as has been the case on the Bavarian-Czech border since 2007/2011 and on the Austrian border since 1997.

The Bavarian-Czech border is fundamentally characterised by strong barrier effects that result from the presence of the mountain range and the different languages. The border area is also characterised by its low settlement and population density which do not encourage economic interactions across the border, unlike in urbanised border areas such as the area of Salzburg–Freilassing or, in other European regions, the cross-border metropolitan areas around Luxembourg, Basel and Copenhagen-Malmö. Despite all the efforts to promote greater integration, today the Bavarian-Czech border is the section of the German border with the greatest differences, particularly in the economic sense. In both the Bavarian and the Czech parts of the border area the economy is less developed than the rest of each reference area (Bavaria or the Czech Republic) (Grontmij 2015: 6). Interactions between Bavaria and the Czech Republic have greatly strengthened, such that Bavaria is the most important trading partner of the Czech Republic. However, this has only impacted the border areas to a limited extent. This is partly due to the traditional focus on the metropolitan capital, i.e. Prague and Munich.

The Austrian-Bavarian border is one that is minimally visible and tangible. In terms of language and landscape, there is more of a continuum than a barrier, and the economic differences are slight and little influenced by the border.

Bavaria's territory has no direct border with Swiss territory. However, Lake Constance can be deemed a water border with particular local significance from an environmental and tourism perspective. This is reflected in Bavaria's activities in the Lake Constance Conference. This area nonetheless remains somewhat in the background of the small-scale level considered in this volume.

Empirical observation reveals that overall the opening of borders benefits the affected countries in Europe. However, which regions benefit to which extent remains controversial (cf. Chilla/Neufeld 2014). The debate surrounding this issue is summarised in the following three sections.

3.1 Convergence?

One of the main hopes motivating the liberalisation of the European borders is the convergence of living conditions and economic development on both sides of the borders, and consequently the reduction of spatial disparities. Figure 3 shows that on the NUTS 2 level, the economic strength of all the sub-areas of the border regions involving Bavaria has increased (and the same is true of income levels; cf. Moritz 2011). The figure depicts the following information on the level of the Bavarian districts, the Czech Kraje and the Austrian federal states which have direct contact with the border: The size of the light-coloured quadrates is proportional to economic performance (GDP) in 2005, while the darker colours show the figures for 2015. In all cases the newer values are higher than the older as gross domestic product has increased in all sub-areas. Furthermore, it can be seen that relative differences have decreased in the sub-areas of the Bavarian-Czech border area, although there continues to be absolute differences. It can thus be noted that this area has undergone limited convergence, and spatial disparities remain a challenge. In the Bavarian-Austrian area economic development has been (very) positive on both sides of the border. Upper Bavaria and Salzburg are particularly striking here. However, the Bavarian-Austrian border area is one of the regions which was characterised by significant similarities even before the Schengen Agreement came into force, so that convergence is not a major policy aim here.

In summary, it can be stated that the border regions that include Bavaria are characterised by large-scale relative convergence but not necessarily by absolute convergence. This is, however, of great political significance only for the Bavarian-Czech area.

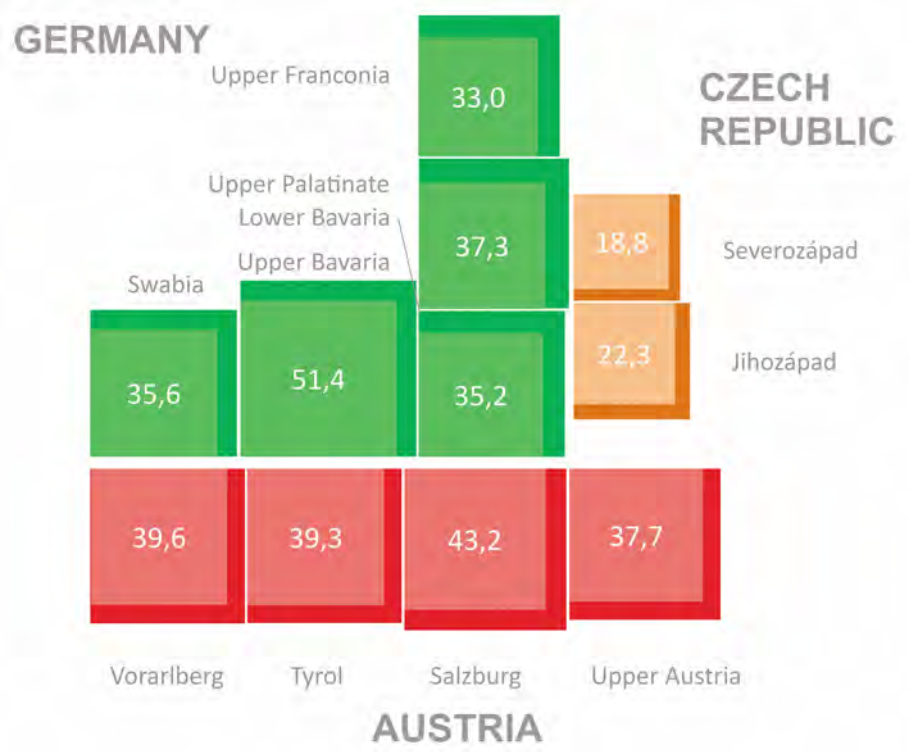

Fig. 3: GDP per inhabitant in 1,000 purchase power standards for 2005 (light quadrates) and 2015 (dark quadrates) along the Bavarian external borders on the NUTS 2 level (figures in the boxes give the values for 2015, area of the quadrates is proportional to GDP) / Data: Eurostat, Illustration: Markus Neufeld

3.2 Metropolisation?

At this point a second argument becomes relevant which postulates cross-border metropolisation as a driving factor (cf. Sohn 2014). The argument underlying this debate in the field of border studies suggests, firstly, that the liberalisation of borders allows catchment areas across borders to be created. It is actually the case that there are a considerable number of commuters who travel from the Bavarian side of the border to work in the Salzburg area. Secondly, cases are discussed in which differences in regulation further strengthen this trend – prominent examples from the rest of Europe are connected to the financial sector (Luxembourg) or the pharmaceutical industry (Basel area). Such differences do not, however, play a notable role along the Bavarian border. Overall, this metropolisation effect does not play a role in the Bavarian border regions – apart from Salzburg – simply because the whole of the immediate border region is sparsely populated. There are no larger cities in the immediate proximity of the border and in any case such cities – Plzeň, for example – focus rather on domestic metropolises or on large-scale relations (Prague, Munich).

3.3 Tunnel effect?

Of relevance here is the third argument of the functional interactions, the tunnel effect. This effect refers to the situation whereby the positive effects of border liberalisation do not impact on the immediate border area. It would certainly be premature to speak of a tunnel effect in the Bavarian-Czech area, however on both sides of the border it is clear that the regions within the states experience more positive development than the border areas. Furthermore, in the early period after the opening of the border, a number of companies were founded in Czech regions by Bavarian firms, but this has largely ceased in recent years (cf. e.g. Berman Group 2013 and Teufel/Maier/Doevenspeck in this volume). To a certain extent these trends in border areas can be explained in exactly the same way as disparities within countries: economic growth today tends to concentrate in metropolitan areas.

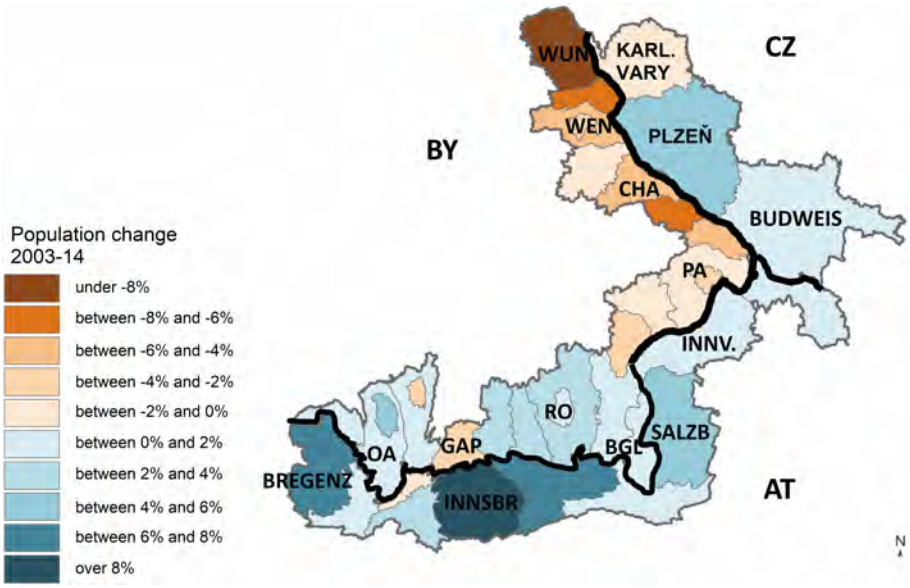

Fig. 4: Population change 2003–2014 (the size of the territorial authorities does not represent the areas they cover but rather the absolute population figures for 2014) / Data: Eurostat, Illustration: Florian Dworzak, Markus Neufeld

Figure 4 clearly shows that with aggregated population development between 2003 and 2014 on the NUTS 3 level the effects overlap in the immediate border area. Rural areas tend to perform worse than urbanised districts. Demographic development in the Bavarian border areas tends to be more negative than in the neighbouring countries, which is particularly true for the Czech Republic. This is further discussed in the article by Reinhold Koch in this volume with respect to the development of disparities throughout Bavaria. In the final analysis, the Bavarian border areas are a complex object of regional development where multifaceted trends overlap one another on various scales.

4 Implications for Bavarian state spatial planning

4.1 Development strategies and spatial observation

Reflection on cross-border spatial development is a somewhat tense process for federal state spatial planning in Bavaria. This is firstly because Bavaria is a region where the instruments of federal state spatial planning and regional development are applied in particularly diverse ways, especially in rural areas. The decade-long debate about the central place system and the recent inclusion of the postulate about equivalent living conditions in the Bavarian constitution are two examples of this. Secondly, in the Bavarian-Czech border area the political situation is particularly tricky, as discussed above, which has hindered cross-border exchanges above the local level of the Euroregion.

Current developments in border areas are not limited to Bavaria. On the contrary, in a number of other border areas developments are actually further advanced (cf. Paasi/Zimmerbauer 2016). Here it is worthwhile taking a broader view. There are a range of quite varied development strategies for cross-border spaces emerging throughout Germany and Europe. Several of them can be understood as dedicated policy documents with very strong implications for spatial planning. This is, for instance, true of the Greater Region around Luxembourg where for the sub-regions (e.g. the Upper Valley of the Mosel) and for the entire Greater Region, documents of cross-border relevance are produced with concrete criteria for national planning.[5] Other development strategies target a combination of analytical elements and declarations concerning possible development potential. Good examples here include the strategies in the Saxon-Czech area and in the German-Polish area (cf. Bergfeld 2013; *ARDP* [Spatial Development Committee of the German-Polish Governmental Commission for Regional and Cross-Border Cooperation] 2016).

In Bavaria the aforementioned development studies for the German-Czech border area are worthy of mention (Grontmij 2015). These reports argue more analytically and prospectively and only mention the implications for spatial planning in passing. This development study has a more informal three-part predecessor from the 1990s: in the northern part of the border area the trilateral development strategy for the three-state triangle of Bavaria – Bohemia – Saxony, in the central area (around Schwandorf and Cham) a bilateral (unpublished) development strategy and in the south the trilateral development strategy Bavarian Forest – Bohemian Forest – Mühlviertel.

For the Bavarian-Austrian area there is to date no comprehensive spatial development strategy. It should be mentioned here that the Bavarian Federal State Development Programme (*Landesentwicklungsprogramm*) from 2013 explicitly mentioned cross-border development strategies, thus further activities may be expected in this field. Note should also be taken of the numerous studies and analyses that developed in the context of the Bavarian-Austrian cooperation programme and the implementation projects (which also applies to the Bavarian-Czech region).

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5 Cf. http://www.sig-gr.eu/de/cartes-thematiques/amenagement-territoire/schema-developpement-territorial-gr/dimension_metropolitaine.html (09 March 2018).

4.2 Spatial planning stipulations

It is interesting that Bavaria has not yet participated in efforts to establish cross-border monitoring for spatial development. Of relevance here are the Model Projects for Spatial Planning (*Modellvorhaben der Raumordnung, MORO*) of the Federal Institute for Research on Building, Urban Affairs and Spatial Development (*Bundesinstitut für Bau-, Stadt- und Raumforschung*) on border-crossing spatial development (from 2015 to 2018), which involve seven pilot regions, mostly from the western and northern German borders. Bavaria is not involved here. The aim of this Model Project for Spatial Planning is to substantiate the requirement for federal reporting on spatial development that is anchored in section 25 of the Federal Spatial Planning Act with respect to the border regions.[6]

Reference is made here to developments in France where the Mission Opérationelle Transfrontalière (MOT) has been established at government level as a central office for border issues. Throughout Europe the availability of data on issues of cross-border spatial development is unsatisfactory – small-scale information on cross-border commuters is at best piecemeal. Continuous spatial observation based on standardised data would undoubtedly have great potential. Finally, reference should be made to the European Commission, which recognises the role it has to play in improving the knowledge base but has to date done little in terms of concrete measures (cf. European Commission 2017).

Explicit spatial planning statements on border areas were already included in the Federal State Development Programme of 1994. Its overriding goal was: 'The position and importance of Bavaria within the united Germany and the European Communities and vis-à-vis other countries in a Europe of the regions should be consolidated. […] Hereby in particular in the border regions with the Czech Republic and the neighbouring regions of Saxony and Thuringia, cross-border cooperation with the adjacent regions and a reciprocal complementarity with planning and measures of spatial development, especially through coordinated, specific initiatives and projects, should be sought' (Bavarian State Government [*Bayerische Staatsregierung*] 1994 A I.9 Z). These cross-border stipulations were further advanced in the course of later updates of the programme. It is unequivocally welcomed that Bavarian spatial planning has recently emphasised that the 'cross-border central places defined with Austria and the Czech Republic […should] particularly advance cross-border development and cooperation' (Bavarian State Government 2018: point 6 no. 2.1.11 G). The expert reports on the partial update of the central place system in Bavaria shows that – despite the limited data – the designation of cross-border multiple-location centres with centrality functions is useful (Flex/Greiving/Terfrüchte et al. 2015: 28 et seq.). In the partial update of the Federal State Development Programme in February 2018 the following cross-border multiple-location centres were listed (all subject to agreement with the partners on the other side of the border):

6 Cf. https://www.bbsr.bund.de/BBSR/DE/forschung/programme/moro/studien/2015/angrenzende-regionen/01_Start.html?nn=2540226 (11 May 2021).

Bavaria – Czech Republic:

> Selb – Aš (Asch) – Higher-order centre

> Waldsassen – Cheb (Eger) – Higher-order centre

> Furth im Wald – Domazlice (Taus) – Middle-order centre

Bavaria – Austria:

> Lindau – Bregenz – Higher-order centre

> Neuhaus am Inn – Schärding – Middle-order centre

> Simbach am Inn – Braunau am Inn – Middle-order centre

> Laufen – Oberndorf – Middle-order centre

The structural map also indicates the close proximity of the joint higher-order centre Freilassing–Bad Reichenhall to Salzburg, which is designated as a level A central place in the Salzburg Federal State Development Programme.

Also of interest is the current regulation (Bavarian State Government 2018: 3.3.G), which facilitates procedures for derogation from spatial planning goals in retail planning in border regions. These statements certainly do not exhaust the potential of federal state spatial planning. The issues of transport, tourism and conservation areas are aspects that offer starting points to extend the scope.

4.3 Looking to the future: Cross-border federal state spatial planning?

This volume is not a position paper or a spatial planning recommendation in the narrow sense. Nonetheless it offers diverse inspiration for how cross-border cooperation, regional development and spatial planning can be further developed. In particular, potential can be seen in the following points.

Despite all the recent activities concerning cross-border integration, knowledge about interactions across borders remains limited. Commuter data and spatio-economic interactions are just two examples that demonstrate that spatially related knowledge is not available in a systematic and comprehensive form. Cross-border spatial observation has potential here that has hardly been tapped as yet. Further efforts should ideally be linked to spatial monitoring activities throughout Germany and Europe.

There is to date a lack of comprehensive, binding and long-term spatial development strategies along the Bavarian border; here too other European border regions can provide inspiration. Spatial development perspectives are a traditional format; a new chapter in the Bavarian Federal State Development Programme on the development of border areas would be significantly more binding. In addition to existing cross-

border central places, an across-the-board approach that targets transport priorities, cross-border nature potential and other issues would be valuable. These specific steps should certainly be undertaken in close coordination with neighbouring regions and countries.

Alongside classic spatial planning strategies, the supporting regional development instruments should be systematically employed for the development of border areas. Finally, it should be conceded that cross-border spatial development cannot be primarily based on legal stipulations. The 'soft' instruments that rely on exchange, creating networks and project-based advancements must undoubtedly be the focus of attention (cf. the article by Weizenegger/Lemberger in this volume). This includes economic policy instruments such as a potential cross-border cluster policy.

It can be concluded that to date policy endeavours affecting the Bavarian border areas have been rather piecemeal. A general perspective on the border areas which takes a standpoint on the various overlapping perimeters of cooperation and stakeholder constellations, and which identifies substantive and instrumental priorities, undoubtedly holds significant potential for border regions. The articles in this volume flesh out this potential.

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The authors

Prof. Dr. Tobias Chilla *(b. 1973) is a geographer. Since 2012 Tobias Chilla has held the professorship in applied and European regional development at the Geographical Institute of Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg. Prior to that, he held academic positions in Cologne, Bamberg and Luxembourg. His work particularly focuses on cross-border cooperation in the Bavarian-Czech and Alpine regions, in the greater region around Luxembourg and a comparative European perspective.*

Dr. Franziska Sielker *(b. 1986) is a spatial planner. Since 2019 she has been Lecturer in Planning and Housing in the Department of Land Economy, University of Cambridge. Prior to that, she was a Postdoctoral British Academy Newton International Fellow at the University of Cambridge and Interim Professor of International Planning Studies at TU Dortmund University. Following her first degree at TU Dortmund University, she earned her PhD at Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg. She works on cross-border cooperation in the Danube, Alpine and Bavarian-Czech regions and on cooperation in maritime spatial development.*