

Land-based spatial planning and the added value of cross-border cooperation

Background paper



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1 Introduction

In the light of an increasing integration between European countries, the need for closer cooperation regarding spatial planning has been emerging. Through its cohesion policy, the EU supports territorial cooperation between member states in order to create growth and jobs, tackle climate change and energy dependence, and reduce poverty and social exclusion. Aside from the political agenda, there are issues that have a truly transnational nature for example air pollution, water management, fishing and shipping and call for joint agreements or joint solutions. Also the fact that countries and regions share common challenges such as for instance demographic development, climate change, unemployment and economic development leads to a need for cooperation and exchange across borders.

However, there are a number of institutional differences between countries that challenge cross-border cooperation. For this reason, it is important to generate understanding among stakeholders about each other's concerns, interests as well as institutional structures. These include the legal and administrative structures, planning systems, norms, regulations, and the individual history, cultural values, political landscape and other unique context-related factors that may be an obstacle for cooperation.

Based on the experience on land-use planning and cross-border cooperation on land, **this background paper provides a number of useful insights and inspiration for future processes and hopefully also for cross-border cooperation in maritime spatial planning.** This report covers: 1) a general description of the planning families and traditions in Europe; 2) a general description of the formal administrative and planning systems of selected Baltic countries; 3) an insight on cross-border cooperation, including the added value of territorial cooperation, and explicit examples of cooperation across borders in the Nordic countries; and 4) the implications for joint actions when addressing cross-border and transnational issues.

2 Spatial planning

Spatial planning is a wide-ranging field covering numerous aspects of social life, development, geography and environment, and has a strong emphasis on spatial organization. According to Böhme (2002), spatial planning is deeply embedded in a *“country’s history, geography, cultural traditions, political orientation, prevailing ideology, state of economic and urban development, constitutional government structure or legal constitutional framework”*. In more practical terms, spatial planning occurs with different arrangements in different nations. For instance planning can be centralised or decentralised, reactive or proactive, regulatory or discretionary (ibid.). Furthermore, the differences in the planning systems and decision making environment shape the way in which planning is performed. For all these reasons, spatial planning in Europe is highly heterogeneous and therefore represents a challenge specifically regarding cross-border collaboration.

2.1 Planning families of Europe

In an effort to better understand differences in spatial planning in Europe Newman and Thornley (1996) group European countries into five “planning families”, including the British, Napoleonic, Germanic, Scandinavian or Nordic, and East European (see Figure 1). In mapping the European planning families, Newman and Thornley (1996) focus on two aspects that are key in determining or establishing the basis for planning systems, which are the legal and administrative systems.



Figure 1: The legal and administrative families of Europe. Source: Newman and Thornley (1996, p.29)

The British family is probably the clearest division, since its legal system stands alone from the other European nations. According to Böhme (2002), *"Its Common Law has been gradually developed from decision to decision as case law, showing a considerable empirical slant as compared to enacted continental law"*. Ireland and Britain are unitary states and thus power and the responsibility for development is centralized at the national level. Local authorities do have important responsibilities,

however far less than those in the Nordic states (ibid.). When it comes to planning, local authorities are responsible for most planning activities, while the central government is responsible of providing coordination and consistency. In terms of the planning system, the British family is much more concerned on the process rather than on the preparation of a plan or document (ibid.). Thus, in general planning in Britain is not about zoning as in most other European countries.

The Napoleonic Family includes countries from Italy to Belgium, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and Greece. It finds its name after the legal 'style' that was introduced in 1804 with the Code Civil or the Code Napoleon, which is the basis for all codes of private law within this family (Böhme 2002). Abstract legal principles and theoretical debates are used in these systems in order to anticipate potential issues and conflicts, and on that basis, a system of rules is prepared (ibid.). Although the administrative structure is pretty centralized in the Napoleonic Family, the local government is not regarded as an agency of central government but it holds local representation and important responsibilities (ibid.).

The Germanic Family finds its legal basis with the Napoleonic Family, and in practice there are no great differences between "Romanic" and Germanic legislation (Böhme 2002). The main distinction of the Germanic Family is the allocation of powers into various levels of political administration where each level possesses full responsibilities (ibid.). More specifically, countries in the Germanic Family are federal states, in which federal governments and regional administrations "*have autonomy and legislative power in specific spheres*" (ibid.). This clearly decentralized structure, demands horizontal governance and negotiations between governments of different levels as well as discussions of subsidiarity.

Countries in the Nordic family are unitary states with a strong policy of decentralization. While regional level is weakly represented, the local governments have a wide responsibility and financial autonomy. According to Böhme (2002), "*[...] local self-government has a long history stemming from the strength of peasant politics [...]. Local self-government is seen as one of the cornerstones of Nordic*

constitutions". Spatial planning, in particular, is almost entirely the responsibility of the local administrations whereas the national influence is reduced to its minimum. Nevertheless, there is a strong presence of the central government at the regional level where it usually has its own agency operating at regional level assuring the implementation of national policy.

The East European family is more difficult to describe since countries in this group have been under deep transitional processes, both in relation to their legal and administrative systems. Moreover, this categorization was done in the late nineties, and although it is still relevant for the other families, it has not been updated to the recent happenings in these countries. Nevertheless, there are many similarities between these countries due to their common past under the communist rule. During the communist period, administrative systems were highly centralized since "*the principle of uniformity of state authority gave no room for local policies*" (Newman and Thornley, 1996 p36). In addition, the regional level generally acted as an agency of central government and was meant to assure the implementation of national policy.

Today, planning systems in most East European countries are very well established, which are generally laissez-fair oriented and increasingly decentralized. One key step to develop a market-oriented planning system was the re-establishment of land and property market. Additionally, in the effort to increase the participation of subnational administrations, East European countries have implemented new planning levels (ESPON 2.3.2., 2007 p,40). "*In doing so they borrow ingredients from the comprehensive integrated, the regional economic and the land use planning style*" (ibid.). These planning styles or traditions are explained in more detail in section 2.2.

This way of mapping European countries into planning families does not, however, imply that there are no differences between planning systems within each group. In fact more and more differences emerge as one zooms-in to look at the specifics of each system. Reimer et al. (2014 p.2) state "*spatial planning systems are not exclusively dependent on the legal-administrative systems, but also on the different socio-economic, political and cultural structures and dynamics prevailing in each*

country". Nevertheless, the work of Newman and Thornley from 1996 is still valued and often cited today (ibid.).

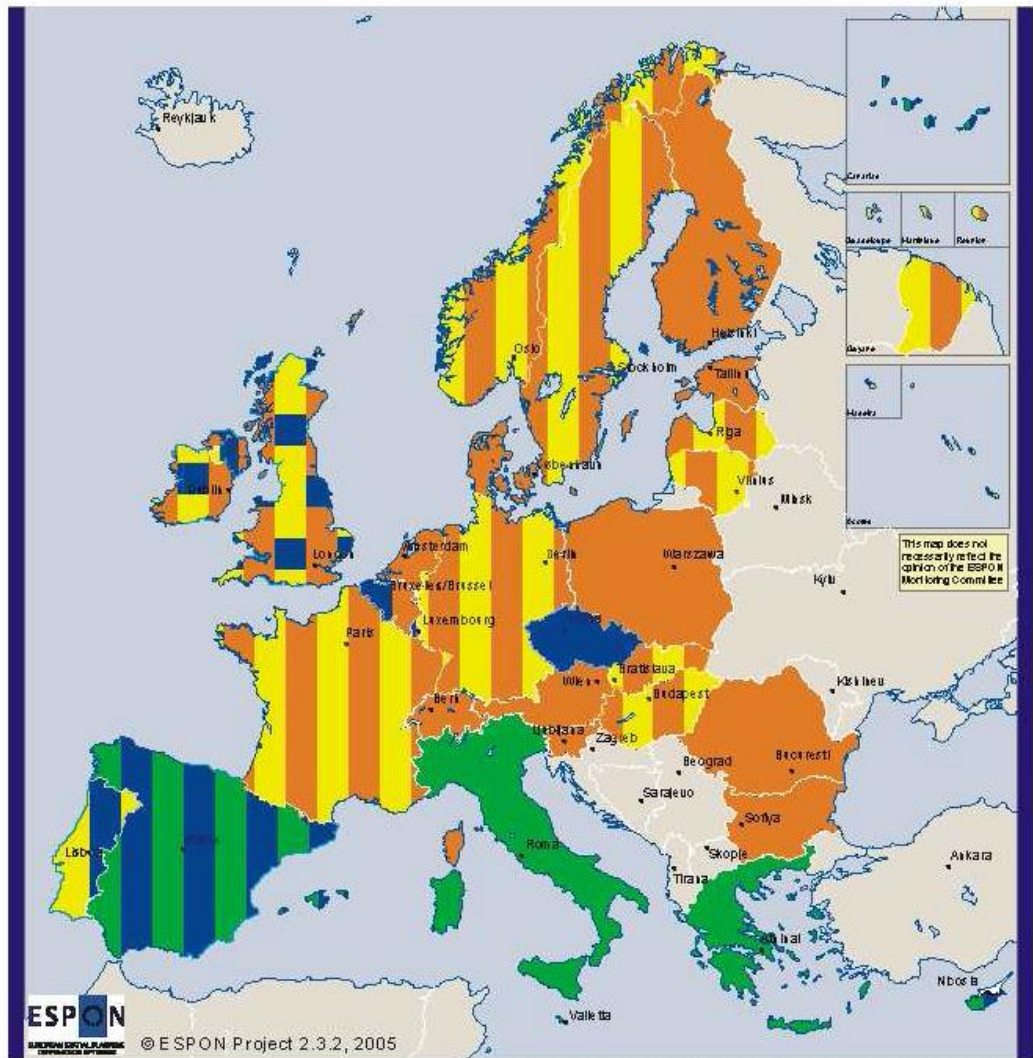
2.2 Planning traditions

In a more practical manner, the EU Compendium of Spatial Planning Systems and Policies (EC 1997 p.36-37) identify four main categories of planning traditions by looking at the main aspects that shape national planning systems (Böhme 2002):

1. **The regional economic planning approach** is focused on "*the pursuit of wide social and economic objectives, especially in relation to disparities in wealth, employment and social conditions between a country's different regions*". In this approach, the central government is responsible for coordinating development issues and for funding development across the country.
2. **The comprehensive integrated approach** is typically characterised by the presence of "*formal hierarchy of plans from national to local level and a coordination of public sector activities across different sectors*". In general, this approach is more concerned with spatial organization rather than economic development, as opposed to the regional economic planning approach.
3. **The tradition of land-use management** "*is focused on the narrower task of controlling the change of land use at strategic and local levels*". In this approach, regulations are the main instrument to assure sustainable development and growth.
4. **The urbanism tradition** is mostly focused on architectural aspects, issues of urban design, townscapes and building control.

According to ESPON 2.3.2. (2007, p. 119) the majority of European countries is moving to categories **1. The regional economic planning approach** aiming at balanced economic, territorial and social development as well as **2. The comprehensive integrated approach** with a focus on vertical (multi-level) and horizontal (cross-sectoral) coordination (see Figure 2).

This diversity of planning traditions is related to the vast number of elements that influence the way planning systems are organized as well as the means through which planning practices take place. In turn, the context-specific developmental, geographical, cultural and historic conditions of each country, determine the establishment of norms, policies and institutions. Thus, context is essential when understanding planning systems.



- Comprehensive Integrated approach
- Regional Economic approach
- Land Use planning
- Urbanism tradition

Figure 2: Movement within the EU 15 between the categories of spatial planning and characterisation of New Member States + 2 +2. Source: ESPON 2.3.2. (2007 p.119).

3 National planning systems

The previous section expanded on the differences between planning families and traditions and showed the importance of context-specific factors in shaping national planning systems. This section provides a general description of the administrative and planning structure of several of the Baltic countries. The aim is to spread understanding between planners and practitioners of different Baltic countries on each other's institutional differences.

3.1 Spatial planning in Denmark

After national elections in Denmark in June 2015 the main responsibility for spatial planning has been moved from the Ministry of the Environment to the Ministry of Business and Growth who is in a process to establish a new Planning Act. However, how the Danish spatial planning system will look like in detail in the future has still to be seen. The following text describes the current spatial planning system.

The current Planning Act is the legal basis for spatial planning in. The Planning Act aims to “[...] ensure that the overall planning synthesizes the interests of society with respect to land use and contributes to protecting the country's nature and environment, so that sustainable development of society with respect for people's living conditions and for the conservation of wildlife and vegetation is secured”. It leaves most of the responsibility to the municipalities, giving them almost full planning control – for urban areas as well as for the countryside. The regions do no longer have responsibility for spatial plans, which are binding for the Danish municipalities.

On the national level, the Ministry Business and Growth is responsible for spatial planning. It provides an overall framework through national planning initiatives, directives and guidelines. After parliament (Folketing) elections, the Ministry of Business and Growth is responsible for submitting a National Planning Report; including proposals, potential alternatives, visions as well as perspectives for topical

planning themes. Moreover the Ministry of Business and Growth shall publish an overview of national interests (e.g. gas pipelines) in municipal planning

The Environment and Nature Protection Board of Appeal, which is an independent organ under the Ministry of the Environment, may appeal for a revision of the local plans when they present legal issues. However, they cannot appeal for change in the content of a plan itself. National level actors also have the possibility to influence local planning by asking municipal councils to consider a particular issue or special content and prepare a plan including solutions for the requested topics.

Each municipality has a **Municipal Plan** valid for a period of 12 years. The plan must establish “*[...] a general structure that outlines the overall objectives for development and land use in the municipality, [...] guidelines for land use [...] and a framework for the content of local plans for the specific parts of the municipality*”.

Moreover, an additional report must be prepared, in which the premises used as basis for the plan are described. During the first half of the planning period (i.e. within the first two years), the municipal council must publish a strategy for municipal planning. The strategy needs to include information about the previous revision of the municipal plan and determine the changes made in the new version.

The municipal council may produce **local plans**. Local Plans must be prepared “*[...] before large areas are parcelled out and before major development projects, including demolition, are carried out, and also when it is necessary to ensure the implementation of the municipal plan*”. Local plans must be accompanied by a report outlining how they relate to the Municipal Plan and other plans for the area affected.

The Ministry of Business and Growth assist the municipal councils with guidance. The ministry may veto municipal if they contradict national planning guidelines or national interest.

3.2 Spatial planning in Sweden

The **Planning and Building Act** (PBA) is the legal basis for spatial planning in Sweden. The act covers land and water areas as well as buildings and aims at “*[...]*

promoting a society with equal and good social conditions and a good and sustainable living environment for people in today's society and for future generations" (PBA 2010:900, Chapter 1, §1). Moreover the requisites of the Environmental Code for the management of land and water must be applied (PBA 2010:900, Chapter 2, §2). In Sweden the municipalities have the main responsibility for land-use and water planning. The national level does not produce any plans for land-based spatial planning however sets up objectives for municipal planning in terms of laws and ordinances. The government agencies provide advice and guidance and are responsible for the presentation of national interest and the development of sectoral plans. For instance the National Board of Housing, Building and Planning (Boverket) is in charge for the general supervision of planning and building administration.

The municipalities have a planning monopoly. This implies that changes of land use have to be in accordance with municipal planning. Each municipality is obliged to set up a **Comprehensive Plan** covering the entire municipality (PBA 2010:900, Chapter 3, §1). The Comprehensive Plan should provide *"[...] guidance for decisions about the use of land and water areas and on the development and preservation of the built environment"* (PBA 2010:900, Chapter 3, §2). It must specify how the municipality intends to satisfy national interest. The County Administrative Board is responsible for making sure that national interests are taken into account and reviews the plan proposal. During the planning process the municipality must consult the County Administrative Board, relevant municipalities, regional planning bodies and other local government agencies responsible for growth and transport planning (PBA 2010:900, Chapter 3, §9). The municipality is also responsible for involving, during consultations, the community, other government agencies, associations and individuals that have substantial interest in the plan (ibid.). The Comprehensive Plan is not legally binding for authorities or individuals (PBA 2010:900, Chapter 3, §3).

In cases when the comprehensive plans of several municipalities need coordination; the State has the capability of establishing a regional planning body (PBA 2010:900, Chapter 7, §1). The responsibility as regional planning body is generally assumed by

the association of municipalities. In Stockholm, however, the County Council (landstinget), the elected body at the regional level, is responsible for spatial planning. The regional planning body is in charge of monitoring regional issues and delivering data as a basis for municipal and state planning (PBA 2010:900, Chapter 7, §5).

The Regional Plan is to be adopted by the regional planning body (PBA 2010:900, Chapter 7, §6). The government may amend or annul a regional plan if it does not satisfy national interest. However, Regional Plans are not mandatory. In practice, Regional Plans in Sweden are only being formally developed for the Stockholm County and its implementation is not legally binding. Instead other counties have opted for other informal arrangements of regional planning. For example, the *Strukturbild* (Structural Picture) for the Skåne Region, is pretty much a regional plan but is not produced under the rules of the planning legislation nor is it mandatory for any of the associated municipalities to enforce it. Instead, the *Strukturbild* has been formulated in agreement between the 33 municipalities in the region and with the support of the regional administration.

At the regional level, the County Administrative Boards are responsible for the supervision of planning and building. They provide guidance and details concerning the national interests. According to the PBA the **Regional Plan** should “[...] *serve as guidance for decisions on comprehensive plans, detailed development plans and area regulations*” (PBA 2010:900, Chapter 7, §6). The Regional Plan should also establish the basis for the use of land and water areas and the guidelines for the construction of building and structures (ibid.).

Furthermore, **Detailed Development Plans (DDPs)** are binding instruments. The DDPs cover only certain parts of the municipal territory. These plans consist of maps of the area and determine the limits of public spaces, blocks of land and water areas; and use and design of public spaces” (PBA 2010:900, Chapter 4, §5, 16, 30). The DDPs include a suitability evaluation of a development site and regulations concerning the design of the built environment” (PBA 2010:900, Chapter 7, §16). It

also evaluates the impact development projects on surroundings. A DDP is not required where sufficient regulations exist. For a part of a DDP a **Property Regulation Plan** may be required concerning the division of land into real estate units, on easements, and/or public utility easements and joint facilities. The municipality is furthermore responsible for conceding building permits and producing **Sectoral Plans** for housing, streets, water, education etc. (COMMIN).

3.3 Spatial Planning in Poland

The **Act on Spatial Planning and Land Development**¹ is the legal basis for spatial planning in Poland. The act aims at introducing spatial planning and to ensure spatial cohesion and sustainable development. Sustainable development is understood as socio-economic development, offering the highest standard of living possible, while minimizing the impact on the environment. Spatial planning in Poland covers all spatial scales and follows the territorial administrative division of the country – state, ‘voivodeship’ (regional level) and communes.

The Act on Spatial Planning and Land Development distinguishes between the outline and implementation of spatial planning policy. On the national level the Council of Ministers is responsible for formulation and conduction of national spatial policy expressed in the **National Spatial Development Concept (NSDC)**. An advisory body to the minister responsible for building, local planning and housing in matters of planning is the Main Committee for Urban and Architecture. The NSDC is a conceptual and strategic plan that provides the main direction and general vision for spatial management and is fundamentally based on a national strategy of sustainable development. It covers the topics of settlement (especially in metropolitan areas), protection of the environment, localisation of social infrastructure, technical and transport infrastructure, specific problem areas and thematic planning. The National Spatial Development Concept is only internally binding but serves as a basis for the regional plans.

¹ Dated 27 march 2003

At the regional level the Voivodeship Board is responsible for the development of the **Regional Spatial Development Plan (RSDP)** which is integrally connected to the Regional Development Strategy. The RSDP determines the spatial and economic development of the region on a broad scale covering the entire territory. The main elements that the plan defines are settlements, protected areas, social and technical infrastructure, locations of public investment, areas at risk (e.g. by flooding) and exclusion areas. Besides the RSDP, thematic and specialised spatial plans are elaborated, for instance concerning transportation. These plans have to be in line with the National Spatial Development Concept. The RSDP must be assessed by the voivodeships' Committee for Urban Planning and Architecture, the Voivodeship Board and the Minister for Regional Development before being adopted by the regional Council. It is only internally binding.

At the local level the, municipal council, is responsible for spatial planning. According to the Spatial Planning and Land Development Act local spatial policy consist of two main instruments: the Study of Conditions and Direction of Spatial Management and the **Local Spatial Development Plan**. The Study of the Conditions and Directions of Spatial Management initiated by the head of the municipality is a municipal spatial development policy document, which should take national and regional directions into account. It should coordinate the arrangements in Local Spatial Development Plans. The Committee for Urban Planning and Architecture as well as by the Voivodeship Board must assess the plan before entering into force. The study is not an act of local law, but its arrangements are binding for the municipal authorities in the preparation of local spatial plans.

The Local Spatial Development Plan is the primary instrument to implement comprehensive, long-term spatial policy. The plan must define land use, spatial planning, principles for the protection of environment, nature and cultural heritage as well as guidelines for designing public space, infrastructure and buildings. Moreover it covers aesthetics and architectural parameters of buildings and landscape management since no other regulations for these are in place. The Plan is legally binding for local bodies, public institutions and all citizens. It is to be adopted by the

council after considering that it is not infringing the Study of the Conditions and Directions of Spatial Management. If a private development project takes place in an area not covered by a Local Spatial Development Plan, Conditions of Development and Spatial Management must be defined.

3.4 Spatial Planning in Germany

The **Federal Spatial Planning Act from 2008** is the legal basis for spatial planning in Germany. The act aims at developing, organizing and protecting “*the entire territory of the Federal Republic of Germany and the regions of which it is made up [...] by integrative general regional plans and the harmonizing of regionally significant plans and measures*” (ROG §1 (1)). The overall concept is to establish sustainable regional development in order to “*[...] link the social and economic demands with ecological functions in a well-balanced manner*” (ROG §1(2)). Thereby the ‘*principle of countervailing influence*’ shall be adhered, which means that regional development must be in line with the requirements set by the National government while at the same time the development of the whole country should allow for the requirements of individual regions (ROG §1(3)). Currently the act is under revision to – inter alia - include amendments in consequence of the 2014 EU MSP Directive.

In Germany, the Federal Ministry of Transport and Digital Infrastructure is in charge of coordinating spatial planning between the different administrative divisions at national level. Generally no actual terrestrial spatial plans are developed at the national level but a general framework and guidelines are provided in the Spatial Planning Policy Guidelines and the Framework for Action in Spatial Planning. Special cases and exceptions are being regulated in ROG §17 (1) – (3), naming national spatial concepts for airports and seaports, and – most importantly – Maritime Spatial Planning in the German EEZ in the North and Baltic Sea.

The federal states hold the strongest position in spatial planning. To maintain a consensus on the aims and purposes of spatial planning, the Conference of Ministers for Spatial Planning (MKRO), consisting of federal ministers and ministers of the federal states, meet regularly (ARL et al. 2001). Each federal state produces a

Spatial Planning Act for their territory, which must specify the Federal Spatial Planning Act. Spatial planning on the level of federal states (sub-national level) is – with the exception of the “city states” Berlin, Hamburg and Bremen - two-staged, meaning that there is one regional plan and various sub-regional plans. The **Regional Plan** is a comprehensive plan that covers the entire federal state’s territory and specifies the federal principles of spatial planning. It must include the details of the spatial structure, such as desired settlement structure, open space structure and infrastructure routes and locations. The plan may designate certain areas as ‘reserved’ for specific functions or use (ROG §8).

Sub-regional Plans must be prepared according to the Regional. Again the principle of countervailing influence shall be adhered, as Sub-regional Plans must take regional planning as well as municipal planning into account. In practice different associations and authorities are responsible for the preparation of Sub-regional Plans. These range from associations set up by local authorities (e.g. Bavaria, Brandenburg and Saxony-Anhalt), middle-tier state bodies (e.g. Hessen, North-Rhine-Westphalia), counties (e.g. Lower-Saxony), to government level (e.g. Schleswig-Holstein) (COMMIN 2007). Regional and Sub-regional Plans are binding for all public authorities.

Local spatial planning is mandatory and legally binding for the municipality and all public authorities as defined in the Federal Building Code. The aim of the act is to “*[...] prepare and control the use of land within a municipality, for buildings or for other purposes*” (Federal Building Code §1(1)) in order to “*[...] safeguard sustainable urban development, [...] a socially equitable utilisation of land for the general good of the community. [They] [...] shall contribute to securing a more humane environment and to protecting and developing the basic conditions for natural life*” (ibid. §1(5)). Urban land-use plans comprise the Preparatory Land Use-Plan and the Legally Binding Land-Use Plan.

The Preparatory Land-Use Plan “*[...] shall represent the type of land use arising for the entire municipal territory in accordance with the intended urban development*”

which is proposed to correspond to the anticipated needs of the municipality” (Federal Building Code §5(1)). It must be prepared in accordance to regional planning and is to be approved by the higher administrative authority (ibid. §6) – again with the exception of Berlin, Hamburg and Bremen, where the Preparatory Land-use Plan (or two plans in the case of Bremen) covers the whole state territory and also serves as a regional development plan. City states are also single municipalities, except of Bremen that has two.

The legally binding land use plan covers part of a municipality and must be developed on the basis of the Preparatory Land-Use Plan and the Sub-regional Plan. The municipality is in charge of preparing the plan (Federal Building Code §1(3)). It sets out legally binding (for everybody) stipulations for urban structure, e.g. type and degree of building and land-use, regulation on plots, spaces for common facilities and public infrastructure (ibid. §9).

3.5 Spatial Planning in Estonia

The **Planning Act** from 2015 is the legal basis for spatial planning in Estonia. The purpose of the Planning Act is “[...]to create, through spatial planning (hereinafter, 'planning'), by promoting environmentally sound and economically, culturally and socially sustainable development, the preconditions that are necessary for democratic, long-term and balanced spatial development that takes into account the needs and interests of all members of the Estonian society to occur, for democratic, long-term and balanced land use pattern that takes into account the needs and interests of all members of the Estonian society to form and for high-quality living and built environment to develop.” (Planning Act §1(1)). The spatial planning system in Estonia is hierarchical, thus local plans have to follow the requirements established at higher levels. However, national and regional plans are more general, which gives power to local authorities to decide upon land use in more detail (COMMIN 2007).

The Planning Act distinguishes between four different plans: a National Spatial Plan, County-wide Spatial Plans, Comprehensive Plans and Detailed Plans. However, as of July 1st, two additional plans have been introduced to the Planning Act – **national**

specific spatial plan and **local specific spatial plan**. These plans focus on specific purposes that are of great national interest, such as railroads, airports, and high voltage wiring. Local level specific plans focus on wind farms and retail malls bigger than 20 000 square meters. In both specific plans, it is compulsory to include at least two different location alternatives for such infrastructures during the planning process.

At the **national** level, the administration and supervision of spatial planning is within the competence of the Ministry of the Finance (Planning Act §13(6)). For the entire territory of Estonia a **National Spatial Plan** is normally prepared which is to be initiated by the national government (ibid.§16(1),). The aim of the National Spatial Plan is to define the principles and directions of the spatial development of Estonia (ibid. §13(3)). The plan is prepared as a spatial development strategy rather than as traditional land use plan (COMMIN 2007). , Associations of local authorities as well as affected ministries are normally involved in the preparation of the National Spatial Plan (Planning Act §15). The National Spatial Plan is to be approved by the ministries, county governors and county-wide associations of local authorities (ibid. §17).

At the **regional** level, the county administration is responsible for the administration and supervision of spatial planning (Planning Act §4(1)). The **County-wide Spatial Plan** is to be initiated by the county governor. The plan may either cover the entire territory or part of it (ibid. §55(1)). Furthermore it is possible to draw a thematic spatial plan as well as a plan for several counties if there is a consensual agreement between the county administrations (ibid. §73(2)). The aim of the County-wide Spatial Plan is i.a. to “define the principles of and directions in the spatial development of the entire county or a part of the county. A county-wide spatial plan is prepared primarily in order to express interests that transcend the boundaries of individual local authorities, and in order to balance national and local needs and interests regarding spatial development” (ibid. §55(1)).The plan is meant to serve as the basis for municipal comprehensive plans. Therefore, local authorities involved during the

planning process as well as county governors of neighbouring counties and staff from relevant ministries (ibid. §57(1),).

On **municipal** level the local authority is responsible for spatial planning and is responsible of ensuring “[...] the existence of spatial plans which are required as a basis for land use and building work” (Planning Act §4(2)). The local authority is responsible of initiating the preparation of a comprehensive plan and a detailed plan for the municipality (ibid. §74, §124)).

A **Comprehensive Plan** is prepared for the entire municipality or parts thereof. It is moreover possible to prepare a thematic plan (Planning Act §75). The functions of a Comprehensive Plan are i.a. to define the principles of and directions in the spatial development of the entire territory of a rural municipality or city or a part of such territory (ibid. §75(1)). A Comprehensive plan serves as a basis for the preparation of Detailed Plans (ibid. §74(5)) and has a legally binding effect to areas where the preparation of detailed plans is not mandatory (ibid. §74(5)). It is to be prepared in cooperation with neighbouring local authorities and the county governor and with the involvement of the local society (ibid. §76).

A **Detailed Plan** is prepared in respect of a part of the territory of a local authority and, where necessary, to plan construction works that have a permanent connection to the shore or that are functionally connected to the shore. The purpose of the detailed spatial plan is, above all, to implement the comprehensive plan and to create an inclusive spatial solution for the planning area. The detailed spatial plan forms the basis for the building work conducted in the near future (ibid. §124(1)). The aim of the plan is i.a. to divide land into plots and define their purpose of use, establish land use and building provisions and restrictions and to determine the location of infrastructure e.g. roads and utility network. A Detailed Plan serves moreover as a basis for the formation of new cadastral units (ibid. §126(6)). It has a legally binding effect only when its preparation is mandatory (ibid. §125(1)) Residents living in the planning area and others property owners shall be involved in the preparation of the plan (ibid. §127(1)).

3.6 Spatial Planning in Latvia

In Latvia, spatial planning and regional development have different legal frameworks. The aim of Regional Development Law is “[...] to reduce the unfavourable differences among [the entire State territory and separate parts thereof], as well as to preserve and develop the features characteristic of the natural and cultural environment of each territory and the development potential thereof” (Regional Development Law §2).

The Spatial Planning Law is the legal basis of spatial planning in Latvia, which aims “[...] to promote sustainable and balanced development in the State” (Spatial Planning Law §2). It determines several principles that must be addressed during planning processes. A spatial plan shall take sustainability as well as the diversity of cultural environment, human and material resources and economic activity into account and shall ensure equal preconditions for entrepreneurial activities. In addition, it must be developed in accordance with other plans and by involving the public (ibid. §3). The Spatial Planning law provides five different kind of spatial plans: the National Spatial Plan, Planning Regions Spatial Plans, District Local Government’s Spatial Plans, Territorial Local Spatial Plans and Detailed Plans.

The **National Spatial Plan** covers the entire territory of the country and, “[...] sets out all national interests and requirements for the utilisation and development of the territory of the State” (Spatial Planning Law §5, 6). The Ministry of Environmental Protection and Regional Development is in charge for the development of the National Spatial Plan and manages, supervises and co-ordinates the development of spatial plans (ibid. §7(3)). The National Spatial Plan must be developed according to the State Policy Guidelines, the National Development Plan and sectoral development programmes (ibid. §6(1)). The National Regional Development Council is responsible of evaluating the National Spatial Plan, which is finally approved by the Cabinet (ibid. §7(2)).

A **Planning Region Spatial Plan** is developed by the Planning Region Development Council and specifies “[...] the development possibilities, directions and restrictions of

the planning **region** territory” (Spatial Planning Law §5, 7(4)). It is a strategic plan and shall apply to the whole territory of the region. In the development the State Regional Policy Guidelines, the National Spatial Plan as well as sectoral development programmes shall be considered (ibid. §6(2)). The National Regional Development Council is responsible for evaluating the Spatial Plans of the planning regions (ibid. §7(2)).

At the **local** level, the district local government sets up a **District Local Government Spatial Plan** which defines “[...] the development possibilities, directions and restrictions [...], the present and planned (permitted) utilization of the district local government territory graphically represented, as well as details of the requirements, territories and objects specified in higher level spatial plans” (Spatial Planning Law §5). It must cover the entire extensity of the local jurisdiction and shall take the spatial plans of neighbouring district local governments into account during the planning process (ibid. §6(3)).

The **Territorial Local Government Spatial Plan** covers the whole territory of the territorial local government and establishes “[...] detailed requirements, territories and objects specified in higher level spatial plans” (Spatial Planning Law §5). A Detailed Plan may be prepared if the Territorial Local Government Spatial Plan does not cover the spatial utilisation and building conditions of specific land areas. Both Plans should take into account spatial plans from neighbouring territorial local governments (ibid. §6(4)).

3.7 Conclusive remarks

Institutional differences between the different Baltic countries planning systems are evident. Some of them belong to different legal and administrative families, such as Germany and Sweden or Poland and Denmark, while others belong to the same, such as Sweden and Denmark. Also within planning families, there are similarities and differences in the planning traditions. All national planning systems are unique, have unique structures, regulations and institutions responsible for planning (see Table 1). Acknowledging these differences is of key importance when several states

come together to address transnational and cross-border issues. Overcoming institutional differences is necessary for the implementation of common solutions.

Table 1: Structure and instruments of the Baltic Countries' planning systems

Country	Level	Instrument	Authority	Document
Denmark	national	National Planning Report	Ministry of Business and Growth	Planning Act
		National Planning Directives		
	regional	Regional Spatial Development Plan	Regional Council	
	municipal	Municipal Plan	Municipal Council	
	local	Local Plan		
Estonia	national	National Spatial Plan	Government of the Republic, Ministry of Internal Affairs	Spatial Planning Act
	regional	County-wide Spatial Plan	County Governor	
	local	Comprehensive Plan	Local government	
		Detailed Plan		
Finland	national	National Land Use Guidelines/ Objectives	Ministry of the Environment, Council of the State	Land Use and Building Act
	regional	Regional Land Use Plan	Regional Council	
	local	Local Master Plan	Local municipality	
		Local Detailed Plan		
Germany	national	Spatial Planning Policy Guidelines, Framework for Action in Spatial Planning	Conference of the Ministers for Spatial Planning	Federal Spatial Planning Act
	regional	Regional Plan for the Territory of a Land	Responsible Ministry on Länder level	Spatial Planning Acts for the Territory of a Land
	sub-regional	Sub-regional plan	Differs from state to state (special associations, middle-tier state bodies, government level)	
	Local	Preparatory Land-use Plan	Municipal Council	Federal Building Code
Legally Binding Land-use Plan				

Latvia	national	National Spatial Plan	Ministry of Environmental Protection and Regional Development	Spatial Planning Law
	regional	Planning Region's Spatial Plan	Planning Region's Development Council	
		District Local Government's Spatial Plan	District Local Government Council	
	local	Territorial Local Government's Spatial Plan	Territorial Local Municipality's Council	
		Detailed Plan		
Poland	national	National Spatial Management Concept	Council of Ministers, Ministry of Regional Development	Act on Spatial Planning and Management
	regional	Voivodeship Spatial Management Plan	Voivodeship Board	
	local	Local Spatial Management Plan	Commune Council, head of commune	
		Study of the Conditions and Directions of Spatial Management		
	Sweden	national		
regional		Regional Plan	County Councils	
			County Administrative Board	
local		Comprehensive Plan	Municipal Council	
		Detailed Development Plan		

4 Cross-border cooperation

Increasing cross-border cooperation has been on the EU agenda for a long time. Different measures have been taken to enhance cross-border cooperation both within the EU and between EU countries and non-EU countries. In the 1980s the European institutions began to financially support cross-border cooperation. In 1990 the INTERREG initiative was launched with the aim of supporting cross-border and transnational cooperation (Hörnström et al. 2015: 4). Cross-border cooperation is a central goal mentioned in the Europe 2020 Strategy and Territorial Agenda 2020 (TA2020), mainly connected to the goal of territorial cohesion. Overcoming barriers and borders is a first step towards territorial cohesion. *“In particular, overcoming the artificial barriers placed by borders and fostering transnational and inter-regional linkages has been an important aim of cohesion policy for a long time now”* (ESPON Ulysses: 11).

4.1 Cross-border *planning*?

All countries have their own planning systems (see chapter 2 & 3) and planning is also a national (regional/local) endeavour where roads and infrastructure tend to lead towards the centre of the country rather than cross the borders (Jacobs 2014: 16). Because all countries have their own institutions and legal systems true cross-border planning (in terms of detailed planning) is very rare. Cross-border *cooperation* in planning can however be more or less developed and integrated.

Since planning is made on a national, regional or local level, cross-border planning needs to involve many layers of governance. The Fifth Cohesion Report by the European Commission stresses that national, regional and local policy actions must work together, and not to rely solely on the EU,- to achieve cohesion (ESPON Ulysses: 11). Although the TA2020 encourages actions that lead from **cooperation** to **integration**, not many practical examples can be found yet (ESPON Ulysses: 12).

Integration of transboundary spatial plans demands a certain level of institutionalization. According to Jacobs (2014: 1), the implementation of a common plan requires the existence of political and legal institutions. Cross-border planning involves stakeholders that are embedded in a diverse political, legal and cultural context. Therefore, institutional differences need to be taken into account during cross-border planning processes in order to achieve implementation. Moreover, development strategies such as national plans can also be a barrier for integration. According to Jacobs (2014: 4) *“whenever development of the territory is coupled to spatial schemes, such as national spatial plans, everything is oriented inward. The delimited territory is being planned, whereas eventual connections with the outside are just that: eventual connections”*. Thus, development strategies need to be aligned across borders for integration to be achieved.

4.2 Added value of territorial cooperation

There is the assumption that transnational and cross-border cooperation provide an added value to regional and local development strategies and programmes. Territorial cooperation across states can result in economic growth and creation of jobs. However, besides quantifiable indicators, the concept of ‘added value’ has been used to emphasize on the less measurable benefits of cooperation, which are also of great importance. For instance cross-border cooperation has been recognized as key in solving common problems, through sharing knowledge and experience, and joining efforts. With the increasing demand for more measurable results, especially in EU programmes, the challenge is to find mechanisms to quantify knowledge transfer, and other benefits of cooperation, and assess its impact on territorial development. Hörnström et al. (2012) looked at cross-border cooperation programmes in the Baltic Sea Region 2007-2013 (see Figure 3) and synthesized four types of added value that can result from territorial cooperation projects:

1. Organisational and policy learning

The 'added value' of much of territorial cooperation results from organisational and learning potential, i.e. it emerges after a process of learning and change. Cross-border cooperation is recognized as platform for exchanging knowledge and opportunities for policy learning across borders. Studies to INTERREG programmes have shown that cooperation across borders is effective in the transfer of methods, good practices, models, data, expertise, measures, ideas and visions. Furthermore, in addition to learning from each other, and added value is to learn to work transnationally. According to Hörnström et al. (p.14, 2012), "*Transnational learning implies that actors learn to work at new scales and in new types of networks in order to better address certain issues of transnational importance better or [...] to address specific local or regional issues better*". In addition, an issue that requires learning and generation of knowledge is the shift towards a low-carbon economy and climate change adaptation and risk prevention. These issues are partly dependent on innovative technologies and research that may be obtained in a cross-border or transnational setting. Finally, the joint management of projects and programmes enhances common organizational capacity. Common infrastructure, services and the removal of border obstacles ultimately improve the quality of life of people in the cross-border regions.

2. Solutions to, or progress towards, solving common problems

The added value of cross-border cooperation exists also when solving common problems; meaning problems that are not limited to either side of the border, but that affect a transnational or cross-border region. Some of these problems can be related to water management and environment, but also socioeconomic ones such as depopulation and unemployment and other challenges that are relevant to a specific border area. According to Colomb (2007, in Hörnström et al. p.14-15, 2012), added value in territorial cooperation can be divided in two types of issues: (i) transnational issues, which affect a transnational area and cannot be tackled at local, regional or national levels; (ii) common issue, which affect local

communities, cities, regions and can be tackled at local/regional/national level, but cooperation can lead to more innovative solutions.

3. Mobilisation of critical mass

The added value of territorial cooperation results from its potential of ensuring economies of scale and the achievement of critical mass. This involves a pooling of resources in order to create common potential in a specific area. This is commonly seen in projects that attempt to mobilise a critical mass for the development of a new product or service. However, mobilization of critical mass is particularly relevant in areas that are sparsely populated and have long distances between major urban centres. Sparsely populated areas from either side of a border can effectively benefit in joining efforts for the provision of a common service (e.g. transportation and education). Critical mass seems also important for common cultural and sporting events. Finally, such cooperation enlarges markets, allowing economies of scale, and thus improving the competitiveness of the cross-border region.

4. Building structures for further territorial cooperation

Cross-border and transnational cooperation happens both by building institutional capacity across borders (e.g. common administrative and institutional structures), and building physical infrastructures (e.g. a tunnel or a bridge). In turn, these first projects and collaborations serve as stepping-stones for further institutionalization of cross-border cooperation and planning. Thus, the added value of collaboration, in this case, is collaboration in itself since it keeps alive the interaction among actors across regions and borders. This in turn strengthens the concept of “transnationality”, which is the principle that issues are not limited by predefined borders, but are related to other issues in other regions and countries. Hence, solutions are to be found in close interaction among the international community. Therefore, concluding the construction of a bridge between two countries is not the end of collaboration, but the beginning of a stronger interaction across borders, and the institutionalization of common practices.

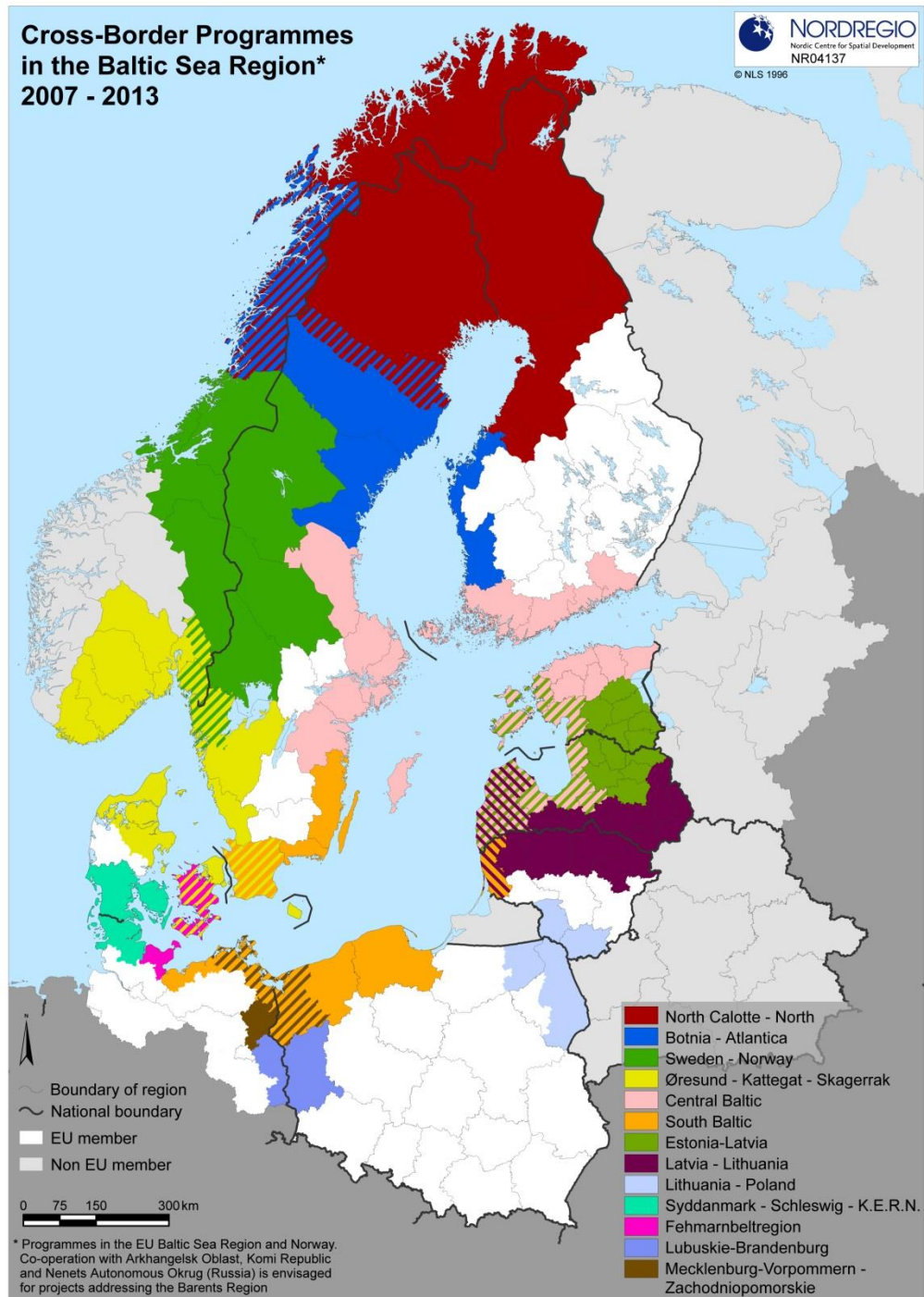


Figure 3. Cross-Border Programmes in the Baltic Sea Region 2007-2013.

4.3 Lessons learned from cross-border projects

Cross-border planning has been traditionally limited to a few specific issues and primarily the development of transport infrastructure. However, cross-border planning or cooperation is becoming more common in the Baltic Sea region. In various Nordic countries' border regions, as well as in other parts of Europe, strong cross-border structures and close collaboration across borders have been established to solve common problems. The question remains, what value cross-border and transnational co-operation can add to regional and local development? This section provides a few examples of cross-border and transnational cooperation projects particularly in the Nordic countries. The intention is to provide a glimpse of the type of issues that exist in cross-border regions, the implications and challenges of collaboration.

4.3.1 Cross-border learning in city planning – InnoUrba project

The InnoUrba project focused on land-use planning development in Nordic cities. It was funded by the Nordic Innovation Centre and carried out by a group of Nordic municipalities in 2009. The scope of the project was to develop "*land-use planning methods and solutions for new urban environments in Nordic cities*" (InnoUrba Green Paper 2009: 3). Three case studies were carried out in the Nordic municipalities of Oulu in Finland, Skanderborg in Denmark and Umeå in Sweden. The output of these case studies was a Green Paper that contained the 'best practices' identified in the three cases. Knowledge sharing and learning was the added value of this cooperation. The best practices identified during this project may serve planners, practitioners and consultants across national borders to improve the planning capacity and overall development of their urban environments.

A main emphasis of this project was the close involvement of stakeholders, including residents and landowners. The idea was to enhance citizen participation in decision-making process and urban planning.

Cross-border interaction and collaboration and thus learning from each other gave the participants the chance to evaluate and compare different methods in different contexts. Ultimately, this provided them with useful ideas to be applied in future

planning processes. The results of the project were in creating concrete plans for the urban areas included in the study as well as in lessons learned from the other planning methods used and deeper co-operation both between the municipalities and the private sector. The cross-border cooperation in this study was mostly about knowledge distribution, following each other's planning procedures and contributing as external commentators. All the methods used were found to be easily transferable and adaptable into different planning systems and countries, which made the knowledge transfer a useful exercise.

The InnoUrba Green Paper (2009 p.17) concludes that the internationalisation in knowledge distribution in planning practices was considered of high relevance. Inviting foreign companies to participate in architectural competitions is a good way of institutionalizing a permanent co-operation platform. Moreover, such gatherings were seen, not only as the opportunity for public administrations to learn about good practices, but also as an ideal setting for promoting investment possibilities to private companies.

4.3.2 Infrastructure planning across borders – Barents Transportation Plan

The Barents Region is yet another example of a transnational territory that demands for the cooperation of the parts. This region includes the northern parts of Norway, Finland, Sweden and Russia (see figure 5). Local industries in this vast and sparsely populated area increasingly demand for better transportation connectivity. This is why the Joint Barents Transport Plan was initiated by Barents Euro-Arctic Transport Area (BEATA) steering committee on 2012. An Expert Group was then formed to evaluate different options for cross-border infrastructure projects and create a plan that would summarize the options. The group consisted of 11 professionals, most of them working at the ministries of transport or other posts within national transport administration in their respective countries. The financing for these projects would mainly come from national budgets, but in their proposal the Expert Group also takes up the possibility for Public Private Partnership (PPP), international funding and road tolls.

The Joint Barents Transport Plan introduces 14 possible transportation corridors for the area (see Figure 4). These are however all just proposals and the project is still at a relatively early phase. However, the Expert Group reached a consensus on that planning should be “*synchronized and harmonized whenever one of the national states wishes to develop the infrastructure close to one of the borders*” (The Barents Transportation Plan, 2013). The group proposes that “[...] *planning in these areas should be handled with extra awareness regarding plans and standards on the other side of the border. Joint planning should always be considered*” (ibid.). Furthermore, the group also contemplates permanent cooperation: “*It might also be a good idea to plan joint operational and maintenance standards on important border-crossing infrastructure*” (ibid.).

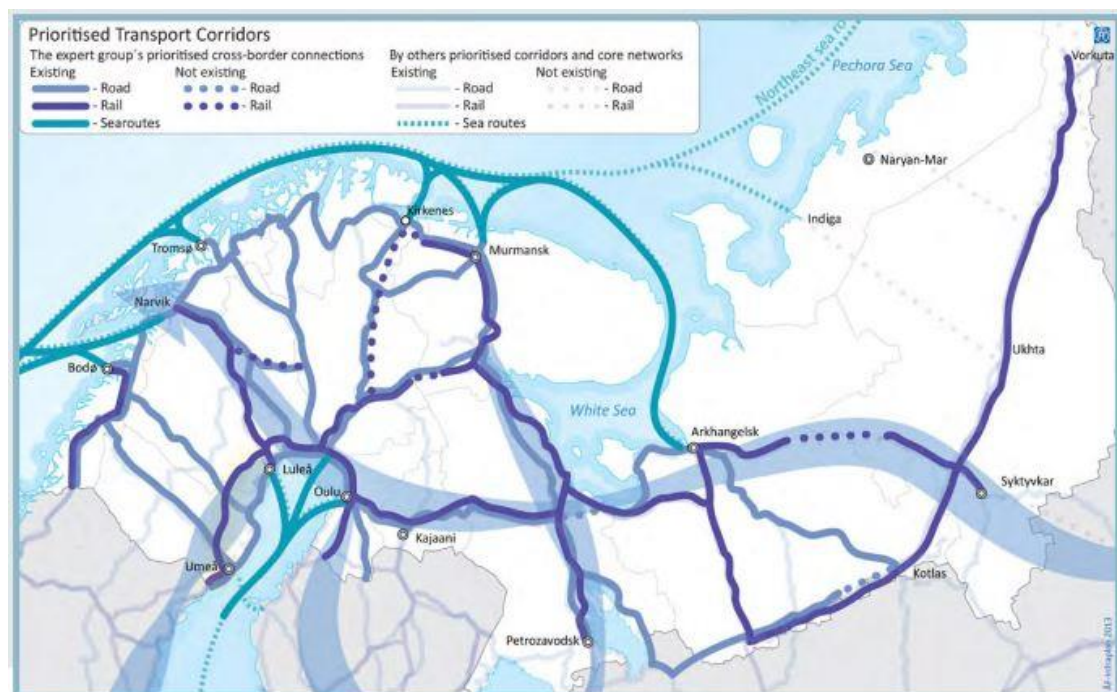


Figure 4: The Joint Barents Transport Plan. Source: The Barents Transportation Plan, 2013

The Barents Transportation Plan (2013) has shown that although the different national objectives are differently formulated, “*they are surprisingly similar in the key elements*”. This means that the challenges for cooperation are not about the countries' willingness to cooperate for a common cause. Instead, challenges that complicate the planning processes have to do with institutional differences, such as differing national regulations and planning structures, as well as to technological differences, for example different railway gauges. However, according to the Barents Transportation Plan (2013), the cooperation and close interaction during the planning process has been essential for developing a plan that best fits the interests of the individual nations, while effectively addressing the need for a robust transport system for the Barents Region as a whole. Therefore, the key has been to overcome institutional differences through close collaboration and consultation with relevant parties at local, regional and national levels from across borders.

Moreover, an additional issue is the conflict of interests between the local, regional and national administrations involved. This is normally the case since public administrations of any level are bound to serve the needs and ambitions of the territory that is under their jurisdiction, and thus are not interested and/or aware of the interests of other jurisdictions. At the same time, such administrations are also in competition, and thus drives them to defend as much as possible their individual interests. For this reason, it is often important to include an objective partner and/or to establish cross-border institutions. For instance, cross-border committees and boards bring all sides together in order for all to learn and understand the complexity of each other systems. These structures work as “icebreakers” and trust builders and thus help to mediate individual interests for the benefit of all.

A number of committees and other cross-border institutions are temporary structures formed merely for the duration of a specific project, whereas others are solid structures that remain over time to assure permanent cooperation. In other words, these structures formalize or institutionalized cooperation. Examples of this in the Barents Region and Nordic countries are: the Barents Euro-Arctic Council (BEAC), a forum for intergovernmental and interregional cooperation; the Arctic Council, forum

that addresses issues in the Arctic, including their indigenous populations; the Northern Dimension Partnership on Transport and Logistics (NDPTL), a partnership that promotes economic development and the establishment of transport connections across borders; the Conference of Peripheral Maritime Regions (CPMR); the Conference of the Baltic States (CBSS); the Barents Traffic Safety Forum; and the Barents Road Directors Meeting.

However, the Barents Transportation Plan (2013) also points out another impediment for equal status among the partnerships in the Nordic Region. According to these document: cross-border *“cooperation has to a large extent taken place through EU programmes such as the Northern Periphery Programme, the Baltic Sea Programme and the Kolarctic ENPI”* (ibid.). However, *“because Russia is not part of the eligible area for the first two programmes mentioned, [...] it has not taken part in these projects to the same extent as the Nordic countries”* (ibid.). Instead, Russian participation has been limited to associate partner terms (ibid.).

4.3.3 Planning common flood risk management - Tornio and Haparanda

The Torne River flows down through the Swedish Lapland, meets the national border between Sweden and Finland and flows down along the border ending at the Bothnian Sea (see Figure 5). The river basin along the Torne is in high risk for floods. In the past the water levels have risen to dangerous levels causing severe material damages both in the municipality of Haparanda in Sweden and in the city of Tornio in Finland, both of which are located at either side of the river and the Bothnian shoreline. This clearly cross-border issue requires of joint intervention between the relevant authorities from both countries. However, up until today, no integrated water management plan had been established. Instead, independent actions have been taken in Tornio and Haparanda, which are twin cities separated only by the river and the national borders of Finland and Sweden. One of the impediments for cooperation was simply that the consultations for the plans have taken place at different times.



Figure 5: The international river basin District of River Torne. Source: (Elfvendahl et al. 2006)

Nevertheless, the cities of Tornio and Haparanda have long history of cooperation. In spite of the presence of a national border, the twin cities share a number of services, such as education. This is true also with water management, even when a common plan is lacking, yet these are more concrete actions. For instance, walls were built at both sides of the river in order to prevent floods in the cities. Another relevant example of this close cooperation is the water treatment plant in Haparanda, which is already dealing with the wastewater from both sides of the border.

The first agreement about shared management of the border river basin area was introduced already at 1949 by the national governments of Sweden and Finland. Since then the co-operation on the area has increased, however there are still only a few joint planning projects. The responsible authorities for the common flood risk management plan are on the Finnish side the Lapland ELY Centre (Centre for

Economic Development, Transport and Environment) and in Sweden the County Administrative Government of Norrbotten. The partners included in the planning process are MSB (Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency), Lapland Rescue Services, Haparanda municipality, City of Tornio and the Swedish Finnish Border River Commission, which has the role of an objective cross-border committee in the planning process. The financing for the project is both from national budgets and possibly from the municipalities, and is to be divided equally between Sweden and Finland. The plan follows the legislations introduced in the Border River Agreement between Finland and Sweden, which was finally updated and accepted by the Finnish and Swedish governments in 2009.

The challenge now, regarding flood risk management is to strengthen cross-border institutions and administrative structures such as the Swedish Finnish Border River Commission. This in turn will allow further institutionalization of cooperation, investment in common infrastructure and establishment of common practices. Common water management will depend on the extent to which the institutional and administrative differences, as well as national objectives and priorities are overcome.

5 Implications

Cross-border cooperation is a lot about building and sharing physical infrastructure and learning and exchanging experiences when developing institutions across national boundaries. Cross-border institutions may involve, but not necessarily, the establishment of common administrative structures, committees, boards of experts or other forms of formal institutions. Yet, creating institutions is not only about structures, but also practices, rules, regulations, events or other forms of formal and informal agreements that help governments and other actors to work closely together across borders. These are therefore, the kind of actions that are to be found in practice and literature rather than cross-border planning as such. Nevertheless, close collaboration among neighbouring countries does, in practice, help the alignment of spatial plans across national boundaries.

Spatial planning as a wide-ranging field is particularly determined by the context where it occurs. Although a number of similarities can be identified between countries in relation to legal and administrative families, there are context-specific differences, such as history, cultural values, traditions and political environment, which are key in shaping spatial planning systems.

The planning families of Europe exposed in this report summarize some essential differences in the administrative structures. Differences in power and responsibilities between levels of political administrations are important in determining the planning responsibilities. For instance, important variances were identified between unitary states and federal states, or countries with a strong policy of decentralization and post-communist nations with a strong tradition of centralism. Moreover, more specific differences regarding spatial planning were identified when discussing the planning traditions and approaches present in each country. For instance, in Germany planning is mostly oriented towards spatial organization, whereas in other countries planning aims at wider social and economic achievements.

Additionally, a different kind of issue is the transitory phase of Eastern European countries, where decentralization of administrative powers has been taking place. Local administrations of Poland, Estonia and Latvia, for instance, are already today responsible for most comprehensive and detailed planning. At the same time they all have hierarchical planning systems, meaning that local plans have to respect planning defined at higher levels. Nevertheless, planning at regional and national level in all three cases is rather general, which means that local authorities have much freedom to decide about planning within their jurisdiction.

Cross-border cooperation is challenged by administrative, planning and other institutional differences. **Therefore understanding each other countries' unique context is essential for a successful and durable cooperation across borders.** What can be learnt from the examples of land-based cross-border cooperation projects is that joint actions can benefit both physical and institutional issues. Physical issues, include for instance a better transport infrastructure or water management projects. Institutional issues are for instance knowledge sharing, which is usually easily transferable, for example the adoption of 'good practices' do not necessarily require changes in the existing legislation. Additionally, one issue that is both physical and institutional is the share of efforts for service provision, such as schools or waste management.

The added value of cross-border cooperation has been evidenced in multiple ways in land-based planning, i.e. meaning that countries, regions and/or municipalities obtain additional benefits from cooperating across borders compared to working independently in addressing issues of common interest. **Based on this assumption, it is to be expected to obtain added value from close cooperation across borders also in maritime areas in the Baltic Sea.** In other words, we believe that strong cross-border collaboration during maritime spatial planning processes in the Baltic Sea will deliver better results than the sum of individual maritime spatial planning processes.

There are no concrete examples of cross-border *planning* on land up until today. **Therefore maritime spatial planning should not be seen as being ‘catching-up’ with land-based planning, but rather as a pioneer field in cross-border planning cooperation.** It is then fair to say that maritime spatial planning has the potential of becoming an example of cross-border cooperation and lead its further development.

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