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MATTI FRITSCH

*The Russian Dimension
in European Spatial
Development Policy*

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ABSTRACT

This study examines spatial development interaction and co-operation between Russia and the European Union at a variety of spatial scales and varying time periods ranging from the early 1990s to 2010. More specifically the work focuses on the way in which the Russian dimension is either included or excluded from European initiatives and fora for spatial development policy. The study builds on theoretical insights gained from the cross-fertilisation of the literatures on political geography, political science and European spatial planning, and argues that territory and territoriality – notions that largely have been neglected in the majority of analyses in this policy field – are key concepts and variables in interpreting the development of European spatial development policy and territorial governance. Bearing in mind the multi-level nature of European (Union) spatial development policy, case studies from different territorial and administrative scales are analysed. These include territorial governance in the Baltic Sea Region, subnational regional/spatial co-operation across the Finnish-Russian border, and the interrelationship between CEMAT (Council of Europe Conference of Ministers Responsible for Spatial/Regional Planning) and EU activities in spatial development policy. The case studies shed light on existing/potential collaborative mechanisms of EU-Russia spatial development interaction and illustrate the prevailing mix of regional, macro-regional, national/bilateral and pan-European/supranational collaborative processes serving as arenas for the elaboration of tools and mechanisms for spatial development policy. The analysis points to the fact that despite a progressing institutionalisation of European Union spatial development policy in an internal EU setting, and an increasing involvement of the European Union and its institutions in territorial governance, collaboration with Russia continues to be deployed ‘by proxy’ through mainly national but also regional/local initiatives.

Keywords: Spatial development policy, spatial planning, European Union, Russia

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Väitöskirja

ABSTRAKTI

Tämä tutkimus käsittelee aluesuunnittelua koskevaa vuorovaikutusta ja yhteistyötä Venäjän ja Euroopan unionin välillä eri aluetasoilla 1990-luvun alusta vuoteen 2010. Tutkimuksessa keskitytään erityisesti siihen, miten Venäjä on ollut esillä eurooppalaista aluesuunnittelua koskevissa aloitteissa ja niitä käsitelleillä keskustelufoorumeilla, tai minkä vuoksi Venäjä-ulottuvuus on jätetty tässä yhteydessä huomiotta. Viitekehyksen perusta on poliittisen maantieteen, politiikan tutkimuksen ja aluesuunnittelun piirissä käydyssä teoreettisessa keskustelussa. Lähtökohta oletus on se, että territorio ja territoriaalisuus – vaikka ne usein sivuutetaan tässä yhteydessä – ovat eurooppalaisen aluesuunnittelun kehityslinjojen ja tulkinnan avainkäsitteitä.

Tutkimuksen osatehtävät koskevat eri alue- ja organisaatiotasoilla harjoitettavaa aluesuunnittelualan yhteistyötä. Analyysin kohteina ovat Itämeren alue, aluetason ja kansallisen tason yhteistyö Suomen ja Venäjän rajan yli sekä Euroopan neuvoston ja Euroopan unionin keskinäiset suhteet Venäjään liittyvissä aluesuunnittelukysymyksissä. Kokonaisuutena nämä osatutkimukset valottavat olemassa olevia ja potentiaalisia yhteistyörakenteita tällä toimintakentällä, jolla aluetason, kansallisen tason, makroaluetason ja eurooppalaisen tason prosessit ovat monitahoisessa vuorovaikutuksessa keskenään. Yleinen johtopäätös on se, että aluesuunnittelualan yhteistyö Venäjän kanssa on pääosin kansallisen ja aluetason varassa siitä huolimatta, että tämän aihepiirin yhteistyö on edennyt ja myös institutionalisoitunut Euroopan unionin puitteissa.

Asiasanat: aluesuunnittelu, Euroopan unioni, Venäjä

Foreword

This doctoral dissertation is the result of a somewhat longer than expected journey. This work has been based on collaboration between two departments at the university, and many people have helped me and provided guidance along the way. First of all, I would like to thank Professor Heikki Eskelinen of the Karelian Institute for his invaluable academic and practical support and for making this dissertation possible in the first place. Apart from this dissertation, I have enjoyed immensely our collaboration on joint papers, numerous trips to conferences and seminars and, sometimes last-minute, preparation of project reports. I also would like to thank Professor Markku Tykkyläinen for his expert guidance concerning my studies at the Department of Geography, the place where I began my academic life in Finland. I also am grateful to this dissertation's pre-examiners, Professor Andreas Faludi from the Delft University of Technology (who also agreed to be my Opponent) and Dr Antti Roose from the University of Tartu, whose comments and suggestions have helped me to improve the synopsis of my work. Lea Kervinen did the lay-out and Dr Paul Fryer checked the language of substantial parts of this dissertation – many thanks to them!

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1 Background and Aims of the Study

To make the point, I would say that our vision is of a 'European village' where understanding would reign, where economic and cultural activities would develop in mutual trust. But if I were asked to depict that village today, I would see in it a house called the 'European Community'. We are its sole architects; we are the keepers of its keys; but we are prepared to open its doors to talk with our neighbours. (Jacques Delors, Address given to the European Parliament, 17 January 1989)

1.1 A NEW EUROPEAN TERRITORIAL SETTING

The territorial and geopolitical setting of the European continent has been thoroughly re-shuffled since the coming down of the Iron Curtain and the collapse of the Soviet Union over 20 years ago, at a time when also the interest in the territorial development of the European Union (EU) and the territorial impact of European Union, as well as its Member States' policies, increased significantly. Since the breaking down of Cold War barriers in Europe, the majority of the Central and Eastern European countries, some of them former Soviet republics, have firmly re-oriented themselves towards the West and, to varying degrees, adopted Western European formal and informal planning approaches. In addition, the formation of the Russian Federation and its increasing interaction in political, societal and economic terms with the European Union itself and its Member States has given rise to an emerging, and sometimes uneasy, EU-Russian dialogue in numerous policy fields. Spatial development policy represents a rather modest one of these fields, which however became more topical after Finland's EU-accession in 1995 and the subsequent formation of the first common EU-Russian border resulting in a budding 'northern dimension' in European Union policy-making. Considering these large-scale changes and upheaval in the late 1980s and early 1990s on the European continent, Jönsson *et al.*'s (2003, 25) claim that "the former political and economic parameters were altered, as were the premises for governance and planning" illustrates the magnitude of change that European planning and territorial governance systems faced in these times of transition. At the same time, space or territory has progressed from "a neglected dimension in European studies" to become an increasingly important topic in the study of contemporary Europe and European integration (Rumford 2004, 225). Moreover,

territory and territoriality, as will be shown in the following, are key concepts and variables in interpreting the development of European spatial development policy and territorial governance. It is against this background that this work analyses spatial development interaction and co-operation between Russia and the European Union at a variety of spatial scales and varying time periods ranging from the early 1990s to 2010. Dealing with the Russian involvement in European spatial development policy obviously requires attention to be paid to the external dimension of EU territorial governance.

I see the study of this topic as a timely undertaking. The advancing development and enlargement of the European Union, with its territorial shape, has recently reached a watershed in the sense that no large-scale enlargements are foreseen to take place in the near future. The current mood appears to be leaning towards increasing integration amongst the existing Members rather than further expansion, which could contribute to the formation of a European Union territory in the sense of a more clearly delimited, increasingly integrated and coherent political space. However, the financial and subsequently economic crisis that has engulfed the European Union recently can of course change this trajectory. Nevertheless, if consolidation of the European Union will indeed be the order of the future, answers to important questions that relate to practices of inclusion, exclusion and boundary-making as regards the territory of the European Union, and in particular as regards the external borders, will have to be found. This obviously relates to the nature of territoriality that the European Union is assuming and touches upon the question of where the outer limits of the Union will be, if there will be any, and how territorial interaction and governance across these external borders will be managed and organised. From a viewpoint of the European Union, the latter has to be seen, on the one hand, against the background of an increasing awareness of, and interest in, both the effects and potential management of advancing territorial integration *within* the European Union space/territory and, on the other hand, its inter-relationship with the surrounding neighbourhood.

Generally, territorial integration represents an advanced stage in processes of economic, political and also societal integration that ultimately has significant territorial impacts and, as such, is part and parcel of the 'European Union project'. Some of the most visible manifestations of this have, for example, been the successive removal of barriers to internal trade, movement and migration (reduction of the barrier effect of internal borders), that have normally, to varying extents, been the hallmarks of traditional state borders. Drevet (2002, 166) emphasises that the European Union has been "striving to transform the old political borders into simple administrative boundaries". This emphasises the underlying aim to integrate the European Union territory into a functionally integrated and cohesive space by enabling the free circulation of goods, capital, people and labour, but also knowledge, ideas, policy cognitions and planning approaches. More specifically, the latter aspects relate to the proactive

promotion of territorial integration at variety of spatial scales ranging from the regional/cross-border level to the European Union territory as a whole. Böhme *et al.* (2011, 20) define territorial integration in this context as

the process of reshaping functional areas to make them evolve into a consistent geographical entity; this entails overcoming the various negative effects stemming from the presence of one or more administrative borders, which hamper harmonious territorial development.

As a consequence, striving for territorial integration within the EU calls for a reduction in barrier effects and increased transnationality in terms of spatial development policy territorial governance. This requires a willingness on part of the practitioners and policy-makers to engage in co-operation across borders and beyond their national planning communities, which may result in, and has indeed done so, transnational spatial planning co-operation resulting in reference documents, integrated planning strategies, territorial visions, joint policy and research approaches in support of EU territorial integration.

There is a growing trend to perceive the European Union as an increasingly integrated territory and single space for planning and territorial governance. However, despite this increasing territorial co-operation and the lowering of the barrier effects of intra-European Union borders, the salience of the most well-established territorial entity or level – the state, as well as the significance of borders – should not be underestimated. Regardless of processes of Europeanisation, multi-level governance and supranational as well as subnational territorial governance, Member States of the European Union retain exclusive political and policy competences and there is no common European Union territorial policy as such. The resulting lack of democratic legitimacy and competences at the European Union level thus continues to support state-centric orientations in territorial governance.

Before taking the territorial integration of the European Union space as a given, we also should remind ourselves that European Identity/Identities, which in essence are also spatial categories (Paasi 2001), have significant effects. The construction of a 'European identity', which has been more vigorously advanced since the Copenhagen European Community (EC) summit in December 1973, remains today in a complex relationship with national and regional identities by being "*both* an active element of national, and of other identifications *and*, at the same time, something different and separate from national and other identifications" (Stråth 2002, 390, *my emphasis*). Culture, history, language and other emotive aspects remain important factors, and often inhibitors, in European Union territorial integration and co-operation. An underlying goal of European (Union) integration, however, is to overcome these challenges without compromising the diversity that exists in Europe, which generally is seen as a strength, rather than as a weakness. The motto of the EU, after all, is "Unity in

Diversity". Also the European Spatial Planning Perspective¹ (CEC 1999, 20), a key document in European spatial planning, for example, emphasises the need for "the preservation and deepening of regional identities and the maintenance of the natural and cultural diversity of the regions and cities of the EU in the age of globalisation". There is, however, a flip-side to advancing European integration and the formation of a common European Identity. Str ath (2002), for example, underlines that a European identity might be of limited value as it requires demarcation, as well as the identification of an 'Other' and of 'insiders' and 'outsiders', and calls for new conceptualisations of Europe that emphasise 'bridge-building' and 'openness'.

The question thus is whether the removal of barriers and strivings for cohesion and territorial integration, in all their variations, within the European Union leads to a setting up of new borders at the edges of the centre of gravity of European integration, i.e. the European Union. Indeed, processes of territorial governance transcending state borders within European Union territory are probably the most advanced anywhere in the world, taken as a differentiated whole. This situation changes, however, as soon as one moves from the internal to the external border setting of EU territorial integration and in regard to its external environment. Here, the situation is defined by a completely different set of preconditions, in which the void left by the lack or insufficiency of institutional, financial and political frameworks – and the potential lack of a long-term option for accession to the European Union – may hamper and complicate collaborative initiatives in spatial development policy. In addition, co-operation and integrative action can be hampered by distrust and geopolitical tensions. These factors are certainly an item worth of investigation in the case of EU-Russian interaction.

1.2 EUROPE, THE EUROPEAN UNION, RUSSIA; AND SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT POLICY

'Europe' is a contested concept and geographical expression and means different things to different people and in different contexts. Agnew (2005, 578-579) points to the widespread confusions about the two different notions of "Europe as an 'idea' and [...] Europe as a 'project'", where the former relates to a "geographical entity" with clearly definable borders and the latter to a "Europe-based project of political-economic integration". Richard Sakwa (2006, 21-25) makes a useful distinction between "Official Europe", "Pan-Europe" and

¹ The European Spatial Planning Perspective (ESDP), published in 1999, represents one of the key documents that have emerged from the European spatial planning discourse. Despite its non-binding nature, it provided a common planning framework for the then EU-15 by defining common objectives and policy options for spatial development in the EU and providing a framework for sectoral policy measures that have spatial impacts (CEC 1999).

“Civilisational Europe”. Civilisational Europe is perhaps the weakest conceptualisation of the three and encompasses culture (music, art, literature) and traditions. Sakwa emphasises that Russia certainly belongs to this wider European civilisation pitching him against the idea of Huntington (1996), who draws a civilisational border between Western Europe and the Orthodox civilisation, including Russia. Pan-Europe refers to the initially federalist ideals of Europe, which, as history has shown, have not been fulfilled (see Dedman 1996) and nowadays are characterised by mainly inter-governmental relations between European countries, including the Council of Europe and the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). Pan-Europe encompasses a larger geographical and more inclusive notion compared to the most important and exclusive form of European integration: Official Europe. Official Europe refers to the development of a supranational European Union, which over time has eclipsed all other forms of Europe. The expression ‘EUrope’ is also frequently invoked to denote this fusing of the institutional embodiment and its territory (see, for example, Bialasiewicz 2011). ‘Europe’ is today, maybe unfortunately, often equated to the European Union. Broadly-speaking, this work investigates interfaces in spatial development policy between ‘Pan-Europe’ (including Russia, which obviously does not belong to the European Union) and the ‘Official Europe’ signified by the European Union and its Member States, of which the supranational organisation is comprised.

The internal territoriality of the European Union, i.e. Official Europe, is obviously influenced and conditioned by a variety of social, political as well as economic processes, some of which only have been briefly outlined above. In this work, I consider EU spatial development policy and territorial governance, for which definitions and more detailed explanations will be provided in later sections, as an integral element of an emerging European Union territoriality. As a consequence, an examination of the extent to which debates and practices in spatial development policy reach beyond the current external borders of the European Union, in this case the Russian Federation, are deemed to give valuable insights into the potential pathways that the process of European Union territoriality is taking and might take in the future. After all, “any discussion on European territorial development” that neglects the Russian dimension would be rendered “incomplete” (Adams *et al.* 2011, 19). It is exactly this question of potential inclusion or exclusion of the Russian dimension in European spatial planning and development – a component of what could be termed the ‘EU’s external territoriality’ – that this work aims to address.

In this context, it is important to note that a rather long tradition of widening and extending both the geographic and thematic scope of European spatial planning and spatial development policy and its surrounding debate across new frontiers does exist. This, for instance, includes the early initiatives to make spatial planning a European affair within the context of the European Economic Community during the 1960s and within the activities of the Council of Europe

framework starting in the 1970s (see Faludi 2010a), the extension of the European spatial planning debate into the Nordic countries particularly after the accession of Sweden and Finland in 1995 (see Böhme 2002) and the recent challenge of including Central and Eastern Europe into European spatial planning as part of the recent territorial expansion and enlargement of the European Union (see Pallagst 2006; Davoudi 2006; Adams *et al.* 2011). In my view, one of the next important challenges and questions to answer is how to extend and organise spatial development policy interaction with countries in the EU's eastern neighbourhood that are not foreseen – or do not desire – to become members of the EU, Russia being here the case in point. In other words, if spatial development policy and territorial governance have progressed from an exclusively domestic domain to an item of interest at the European Union level, a logical next question would be how this policy field potentially extends into the EU's external environment. Not much scholarly engagement with this topic exists; this is a gap that this work aims to fill.

One could of course ask the question whether there is actually any practical need and rationale for interaction and co-operation between the EU and Russia in spatial development issues. One might ask why the European Union should, on whichever spatial scale, engage in spatial development co-operation with Russia, a country that is not foreseen to become a member of the European Union in the foreseeable future, when even internal EU spatial development policy and territorial governance are dispersed, de-centred and lack, as far as the EU-level is concerned, a statutory competence. Even within an internal EU context, a number of Member States are still not convinced that spatial development merits a joint European approach. Apart from a number of visioning documents and a slow approximation of different planning styles, one only can point to a very few tangible outcomes of an emerging EU spatial policy. Thus, the necessity of externally-oriented co-operation at the highest level (EU-Russia) might be difficult to argue for, particularly as regards a number of problematic issues related to geopolitical tensions, competencies, funding, as well as differing structures of governance and government. This also represents the main challenges that had to be tackled during this work, i.e. connecting the relatively uncertain, ambiguous and sometimes fuzzy logics of European Union territorial governance and spatial development co-operation to the, in these respects rather empty, arena of co-operation across the external border. Nevertheless, whether or not the Russian dimension will ever reach high levels of integration with EU spatial development policy and territorial governance, this external dimension will shape and influence the type of territoriality that the EU will assume in the future – representing both a result and a determinant of the European Union project as a whole – and is therefore worth investigating.

What then would be the added value of potential EU-Russian co-operation in this field? Despite the above-mentioned reasonable doubts, clear normative statements based on existing and developing territorial interdependencies and

concerning the need for co-operation and co-ordination of spatial development and planning across the external borders of the European Union, particular as regards 'the other regional power' Russia, can be made. Indeed, the European Commission itself stresses, at least on paper, in the *Memorandum of Understanding for the establishing of a dialogue on regional policy* signed with the Ministry of Regional Development of the Russian Federation (CEC 2007, 1) that EU-Russian co-operation is warranted due to the fact that "[t]he continental scale of our territories calls for co-operation on territorial development policies in a much wider scope than cross-border co-operation" and that "[q]uestions regarding regional and territorial development become ever more important, not only because the European Union and the Russian Federation share common borders but also because both cover territories of continental scale which leads to similar large-scale problems" (CEC 2007, 1).

The analogous territorial challenges that exist in both Russia and the European Union are also accompanied by increasing territorial interdependencies. Russia is today the EU's third largest trading partner and economic co-operation has often taken centre stage on the EU-Russian agenda as a result of the borders between the EU Member States and Russia having become permeable to economic exchange. Particularly the oil and gas sector as an item of interest between the two regional powers has repeatedly shown its strategic nature and attracted considerable political interest. As a result, infrastructure connections between the EU and Russia, energy-related infrastructure, as well as transport and transit might be of most prominence from both Russia's and the EU's point of view. This also relates to Russia increasingly seeing itself as a bridge between Europe and Asia. Pynnöniemi (2008, 3) stresses that in Russian political thinking "[t]he rise of transport from almost complete oblivion into the sphere of state strategic interests has been rapid, and it is a subject which is likely to maintain a high profile in the years to come". Pynnöniemi (*ibid.*) cites a speech given by Dmitry Medvedev in 2007 in which he vowed that the Russian economy will "fully realize our historical mandate as Eurasia's energy and transport centre". As such, Russia's strive for economic competitiveness and indeed modernisation requires the appreciation of spatial interdependencies between the EU and Russia and subsequent planning of resilient infrastructural links. The Baltic Sea Region serves as an apt and illustrative example for this point, as this 'inland-sea of the European Union' is of strategic importance to Russia as one of its main economic trading corridors. The gas pipeline being built from Russia to Germany against the wishes of a number of other littoral states of the Baltic Sea Region also underscores this interesting geostrategic setting. In short, perceptions of interdependence clearly exist also in the field of spatial and territorial development between Russia and the European Union, which warrants a closer examination of potential extensions of external territorial governance towards the neighbouring environment of the European Union.

In terms of regional, i.e. cross-border, and macro-regional levels, co-operation between Russia and the European Union is much easier to argue for, since one can point to the significant territorial interdependencies that exist between adjacent regions at the external borders of the European Union and their adjacent, neighbouring regions in Russia. Here, aspects such as daily interaction, cross-border spatial (infra-)structures, the mitigation of peripherality in external border settings and trans-border migration and labour markets make a strong case for collaborative action to solve cross-border and joint spatial challenges. In addition, governance frameworks (such as Euregios) and funding instruments (e.g. Interreg/ENPI) for the facilitation of territorial co-operation and collaborative action also in the field of spatial development today exist along the EU's entire external border with Russia. This multi-level setting of co-operation and interaction, ranging from the regional to pan-European level, in spatial development policy between the European Union and the Russian Federation will be the focus of this work.

1.3 AIMS OF THE STUDY AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In practice, this work is inspired by the realisation that the European debate on spatial development policy and territorial governance, with the obvious exception of activities under the umbrella of the Council of Europe, has been overwhelmingly inward-looking. Having been involved in an Interreg-funded project on spatial planning in the northern periphery, having been acquainted by the work carried out by the ESPON research programme² and having read numerous publications on European spatial policy and planning, I noticed that the external border with Russia (as well as many other EU external borders) represented a noticeable rupture in the 'mental maps' of European territorial development. On maps, in plans and in policy cognitions and formulations, Russia often was represented by a 'white space'. This perception of the EU's internal territorial outlook is supported by Gaubert & Yann (2010) in their review of official documents relating to EU cohesion policy, territorial co-operation and territorial development policy, and who come to the conclusion that EU institutions continue to have a rather inward-looking and closed view of the European territory, despite the growing spatial connections and interdependencies between the EU and its neighbourhood.

² ESPON, the European Observation Network for Territorial Development and Cohesion, was launched in 2002 and is now in its second 6-year term. Born out of a perceived need for territorial evidence and data during the ESDP process, it represents an important component in the territorial 'agenda' of the European Union. Despite some criticisms directed at its work, ESPON has contributed to the creation of an evidence base with the potential of informing policy-making at multiple territorial scales.

Against the background of a continually-evolving European Union *space*, as well as EU *territoriality* (socially-produced territory of the European Union), I thus consider it a topical issue to explore the way in which the European Union looks beyond its immediate borders in the specific policy field of spatial development policy and territorial governance. Taking a European Union perspective, the aim of this work is to examine the inclusion (or exclusion) of the Russian dimension in European (Union) spatial development policy and territorial governance against the background of practices and debates on the future development and organisation of the European Union territory. The deliberation of debates and practices related to spatial development policy and territorial governance, particularly in its external dimension, form part of the symbolic and political construction of a European Union territoriality and help to explain its integrative, as well as bordering policies and practices. The formation of a European debate on transnational spatial development policy and territorial governance is seen as part and parcel of social and political processes of constructing a European (Union) territoriality. Examining processes at the interface between the external and internal dimensions of EU territorial governance, as evident in EU-Russian interaction in spatial development, underscores the relevance and contributes to the delineation of this territoriality. In order to operationalise this wider research focus, this dissertation provides answers to the following research questions:

- What are the existing and potential fora/platforms and governance arrangements for EU-Russian co-operation in territorial governance and how is interaction (co-operation) between Russia and the EU organised within them? What is their dominant mode of (external) governance?
- How is the 'Russian dimension' taken account of and included or excluded from European (Union) fora/platforms and activities of spatial planning and territorial governance?

The first research question is rather exploratory in nature and focuses on the channels of co-operation that lend themselves to EU-Russian interaction in spatial development issues. This may appear as a rather modest goal, but, to the best of my knowledge, it has not been tackled to any significant extent before. As a result, I would claim some novelty and innovativeness for this type of work. The second research question is more analytical in nature and is designed to provide insights into the way in which there is willingness and readiness in the European Union (at a variety of scales) to connect or reconcile internal and external dimensions of spatial development policy. This in turn provides insights into the potential pathways of European territorialisation processes. In terms of the theoretical framework developed as part of this work, the aim is to be innovative in the way that it brings concepts and notions such as territoriality and geopolitics into the sphere of and debate on European spatial development

policy and vice versa (see also Luukkonen 2011; Moisiu 2011). The chosen way to achieve this theoretical and conceptual integration is by applying an interdisciplinary approach through the cross-fertilisation of the literatures on political geography, political science and European spatial planning in order to theoretically frame the empirical analysis provided in the individual articles that deal with different forms and scales of interaction between the European Union and the Russian Federation.

It has to be borne in mind that the formation and development of the debate on spatial development policy is the reserve of a rather small sample of practitioners, academics and policy-makers rather than of society at large. The aim, therefore is, to provide an actor-centred approach by delving into the actual processes of co-operation within and across different arenas of collaboration and between the actors located and active within them. The focus on spatial development policy and territorial governance provides a 'practical' viewpoint on the construction of territoriality, which is often missing from the geopolitically and International Relations -inspired scholarly work on this subject. This work thus also should contribute to the often called-for "demystification" of territory, territoriality and boundaries (Paasi 2008), by providing a research setting that focuses on a specific and territorially-relevant policy field and its role in shaping European Union territoriality. I would consider this work a success if it contributed to the wider but important question of how territoriality in general and European Union territoriality in particular is socially and politically constructed through the lens of and activities of spatial development policy.

Preparing such a work naturally raises the question of what one wants to achieve with the end-product and to whom he/she wants to address the work. In my case the main aim in this respect is, firstly, to inform both academics and policy-makers about what is going on in terms of spatial policy interaction between Russia and the European Union, which has so far been notoriously under-researched. This is achieved by providing descriptive and exploratory answers to the first research question presented above. A second, and perhaps more ambitious, goal is to show how the inclusion of the Russian dimension, or lack of it, potentially affects the European Union's inter-relations with the external neighbourhood. This harks back to the second research question of how the 'Russian dimension' is included in or excluded from EU spatial development policy and territorial governance. Via this knowledge, the aim is to sensitise the academic community involved in spatial development policy research, and indeed decision-makers and practitioners, to practices of exclusion and inclusion in their field of spatial development policy. This, in turn, could potentially influence policy-making in a way that strengthens territorial governance across the EU's external borders and contributes to an inclusive, regionally integrationist conceptualisation of European Union territoriality. The latter aim

is rather normative in nature and obviously is a result of the author's rather subjective view on this topic area.

1.4 METHODOLOGICAL CONTEXTS

The main goal of any scientific inquiry is to produce new knowledge. Simplistically speaking, the social sciences are about finding answers to research questions by collecting relevant empirical material and making descriptive and causal inferences on the basis of them (see King *et al.* 1994). To give meaning and relevance to empirical findings, a researcher has to engage in the interpretation of pieces of evidence. As Sayer (2000, 17) puts it: “[m]eaning has to be understood, it cannot be measured or counted, and hence there is always an interpretive or hermeneutic element in social sciences”.

Consequently, the underlying objective of this study is, in essence, to discover, describe and interpret social processes on the basis of pieces of evidence – or borrowing from Healey (2004; 2006) “episodes” – that is, in the case of this dissertation, processes of interaction in spatial development policy between the EU and the Russian Federation. Healey (2004, 50) succinctly explains how “episodes” of co-operation and strategy formation in strategic spatial planning “arise in many different ways and in many different institutional contexts” and “involve complex multi-dimensional interactions between the institutional context of a planning episode and the creative force of agency in realizing it”. This complexity and multi-dimensionality also had a defining impact on this work, which is reflected in the focus on diverse actor relations and a variety of scales of governance.

Most research projects face a variety of challenges along the way. In this respect, my doctoral research has been no exception. In line with good scholarly practice, these challenges and limitations experienced during the research process should be clearly stated and are outlined briefly in the following.

Firstly, despite the existence of a number of definitions of what spatial development policy and spatial planning entails, it must be emphasised that there remains considerable insecurity about the delineation of the field resulting in significant ambiguity. This ambiguity is exacerbated at the European Union (supranational) level where no statutory competence exists as compared to, for example, national activities. As this work focuses on collaborative processes between different actors and arenas rather than the outcomes of these processes ‘on the ground’ (infrastructure investments, regional policy initiatives, etc.), this work aims to avoid an unnecessary limitation brought about by rigid definition and therefore takes a broad view on spatial development policy by focussing on collaborative processes that have resulted in some form of strategic and visionary planning exercise. These are found mainly in forms of, firstly, planning documents and strategic frameworks and, secondly, the formation of a

surrounding debate among policy-makers and experts. The former, i.e. strategic frameworks and their surrounding documentation produced in certain arenas of co-operation, provided the main empirical sources for this work in the form of the review and analysis of the content of these documents. The latter, i.e. the surrounding debate among policy-makers and experts, was captured through interviews with experts and policy-makers involved in these collaborative processes and through direct observation at seminars and conferences dealing with European spatial development policy, thus enriching the analysis of documents by providing information on the actual collaborative processes of co-operation that led to them in the first place.

A second methodological challenge involves the inherent multi-level nature of European Union spatial development policy and territorial governance. Indeed, speaking of a European Union spatial development policy or territorial governance is misleading in the respect that there does not exist a well-defined and established policy field at this level. The European Union hardly speaks with one voice in these issues and should not be seen as a unified actor. The dispersed, multi-centred and inter-connected nature of EU spatial development policy and territorial governance – and the involvement of many spatial and politico-administrative levels – make it a characteristic example of multi-level governance (see Hooghe & Marks 2001a; Bache & Flinders 2004), key characteristics of which will be elaborated on in a later section.

As a third challenge, resulting from the relative broadness of the policy field and its multi-level nature, there is also a considerable variety of actors involved. On an EU-level it is rather difficult to clearly delineate the actors, coalitions and initiatives that carry the European spatial development debate and action forward. The ‘European spatial planning community’ is a numerically rather limited but complex web of actors who are engaged in – and indeed often promote – the possibility of trans-/supranational approaches to spatial development and territorial governance. This community includes, for instance, the European Commission and the Ministries of the Member States, often organised in a number of committees that deal with spatial development issues, but also those policy-makers, researchers and planners that are involved in Interreg and ESPON projects (Waterhout 2008).

It has to be stated that the geographic, and thus also thematic, gravity of this work, particularly in terms of the macro-regional and regional case studies, clearly is located in north-eastern Europe and can therefore not be taken as representative for the entire European territory. It also should be noted that particularly at the cross-border/regional scale obviously many more episodes of co-operation exist in addition to the Finnish-Russian case, which forms one of the case studies in this work. However, a comprehensive treatment of all existing activities would by far be outside the scope of this dissertation. As a result, I do not in any way claim to provide an all-encompassing stock-taking of all activities and interactions that there are, but nevertheless maintain that an

important contribution and new perspective to the debate on European spatial development policy is being provided. In addition, it is also important to emphasise that this work also takes a rather 'EUrocentric' viewpoint by framing the empirical findings through a discussion of the development of an emerging European Union territoriality and its inclusionary and exclusionary practices vis-à-vis Russia, rather than focussing on Russian views, perceptions and practices as regards European spatial development policy.

When extending the debate beyond the external borders of the European Union, it also should be taken into account that spatial development policy is a policy field that has evolved within and is very specific to the intra-European Union context and its epistemic and policy communities. The ESDP process, for example, has played an important role in the development of this specific episteme. This means that one can expect a lack of equivalent or similar understanding of these policy contexts outside the EU context, rendering interaction and co-operation across the external border an intricate affair. However, since the focus of this work is on an evaluation of the extent to which and the way in which (actors in) the European Union conceptualises and takes account of the Russian dimension in European spatial development policy – rather than on how this policy field is understood in Russia – this does not represent a major methodological issue.

The nature of the research questions stated in the previous section mainly relate to 'what' and 'how' (exploratory and explanatory) questions and specific 'episodes' (in its wider meaning) as regards interaction and co-operation between the EU and Russia. As a consequence, I chose case studies as an appropriate methodological tool to provide answers for them (see Yin 2003). According to Yin (*ibid.*, 1), case studies represent a good strategy when:

- 'why' or 'how' questions are posed
- when the investigator has little control over the events
- contemporary phenomena and real-life situations are under investigation

The research questions and the organisational (collaborative) processes, as well as their contextual settings that form the empirical part of this dissertation, fit these preconditions well. The case studies (articles) that will be presented in the next section represent distinct but inter-connected units of analysis at different territorial and governance scales. The cases representing these different territorial scales have been chosen on the basis of their relevance to EU-Russian co-operation in the policy field.

The case study approach facilitates the utilisation of multiple sources of evidence (Yin 2003). This has been applied in this work during the collection of empirical evidence, which has taken place in an exclusively qualitative manner. Although the methodological approaches have varied slightly from article to article, and will be presented in more detail in the next section, they generally

have included the review and analysis of the literature, as well as published and unpublished policy documents, newspaper and internet resources that are relevant to each 'episode', and interviews with experts and actors involved in the activities and the wider policy field. Participation in a number of seminars and conferences organised by the different platforms of co-operation³ has provided additional opportunities for direct observations and fostered a learning process regarding the ways in which spatial development policy, practice and research is discursively shaped. My work also has benefitted immensely from the research for and co-authorship of several articles that have been published in addition to the ones included in this dissertation. Not focussing directly on the Russian dimension in European spatial development policy, these articles have helped me to deepen my knowledge on, for example, the influence of European Union integration on Finnish territorial governance (Fritsch & Eskelinen 2011) and the adoption and adaptation of European spatial planning concepts, namely polycentricity, in domestic, Finnish settings (Eskelinen & Fritsch 2009).

1.5 THE RESEARCH PROCESS AND STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

For better or worse, the work leading up to this dissertation as a final product has been a process. With this I mean that neither the exact topics and episodes nor the particular methodology for their examination were cast in stone at the beginning of the research work. Rather a significant amount of learning has taken place and an increasing understanding of the topic has enabled me to sharpen and redirect my focus and adapt methodologies along the way. This development is certainly visible in the content of the individual articles. Yeung (2003, 442) in fact advocates "process-based methodological frameworks" that deploy "different methodological practices as different 'moments' of a research process that is sensitive to specific research questions and/or contexts". Producing an article-based dissertation also meant that the contents, approaches and methodologies in the articles to some extent had been adapted to the needs of the individual channels of publications. This was particularly the case in relation to the two book chapters (Articles 2 & 3), which had to correspond to the general themes and 'conceptual frames' of the books in which they appeared.

At the initial stages of the research, I realised that examples of collaborative activities in spatial development policy and territorial governance, and indeed

³ These include, for example, a number of ESPON seminars, the All-Russia "Forum Strategic Planning in Regions and Cities of Russia" and a variety of academic conferences that included sessions on spatial planning.

the general 'inclusion' of the Russian dimension, was relatively scarce on the ground. Nevertheless, an important topic is worth studying even if 'not so much is going on' and 'little information is actually available'. Embarking on inquiries into spatial development interaction between the EU and Russia, it became apparent that an exclusive focus on the highest, EU-Russia –level (supranational, pan-European) of interaction and co-operation would not suffice to provide an accurate picture of what is going on between the two super-regions. The multi-level nature of and variety of actors involved in the field in question became rapidly apparent and thus required me and, in a sense, guided me to broaden the thematic area and institutional as well as geographical scope of inquiry, i.e. focussing also on macro-regional and cross-border scales in order to provide a relatively comprehensive analysis of what is going on in spatial development co-operation between the European Union and Russia. The work carried out for Article 1 (see Table 1) played an important role in acquainting me with the existing and potential channels/platforms of co-operation between the EU and Russia and enabled me to identify the most relevant episodes and arenas of collaboration, which the subsequent articles delve into and analyse in a more detailed and nuanced fashion. The geographical extents (countries included) of the key arenas of co-operation in spatial development policy that have been examined in the individual articles and are referred to in this synopsis are mapped in Figure 1. In the following, research processes and the empirical materials used for the individual articles will be detailed briefly.

Article 1 represents the initial, extensive phase of my dissertation project, which enabled me to sharpen my research questions and design. The research for this article took place in 2007 and relied more on desk-based work and secondary sources as compared to the subsequent articles. As opposed to the three other articles, Article 1 presents the principal platforms of co-operation between the EU and Russia in spatial development policy, instead of focussing on one particular case or 'episode'. It thus contributes to a major extent to answering the first research question posed in this study. The subsequent three case study articles (episodes) represent the intensive, in-depth phase of the project.

The research for Article 2, which analyses cross-border and bilateral co-operation in spatial development between Finland and Russia, already was carried out in 2007, but only will be printed in an edited book on regional co-operation in EU-Russian borderlands published in 2013. The empirical material for the article consists of in-depth analyses of documents produced in Finnish-Russian collaborative projects on spatial development (involving both national and regional levels of government), which has been enriched by four structured interviews with Finnish key actors from Finnish Regional Councils and the Finnish Ministry of the Environment in order to trace the genesis of, reasoning behind and attitude towards cross-border spatial development in the Finnish borderland and its adjacent regions on the Russian side.

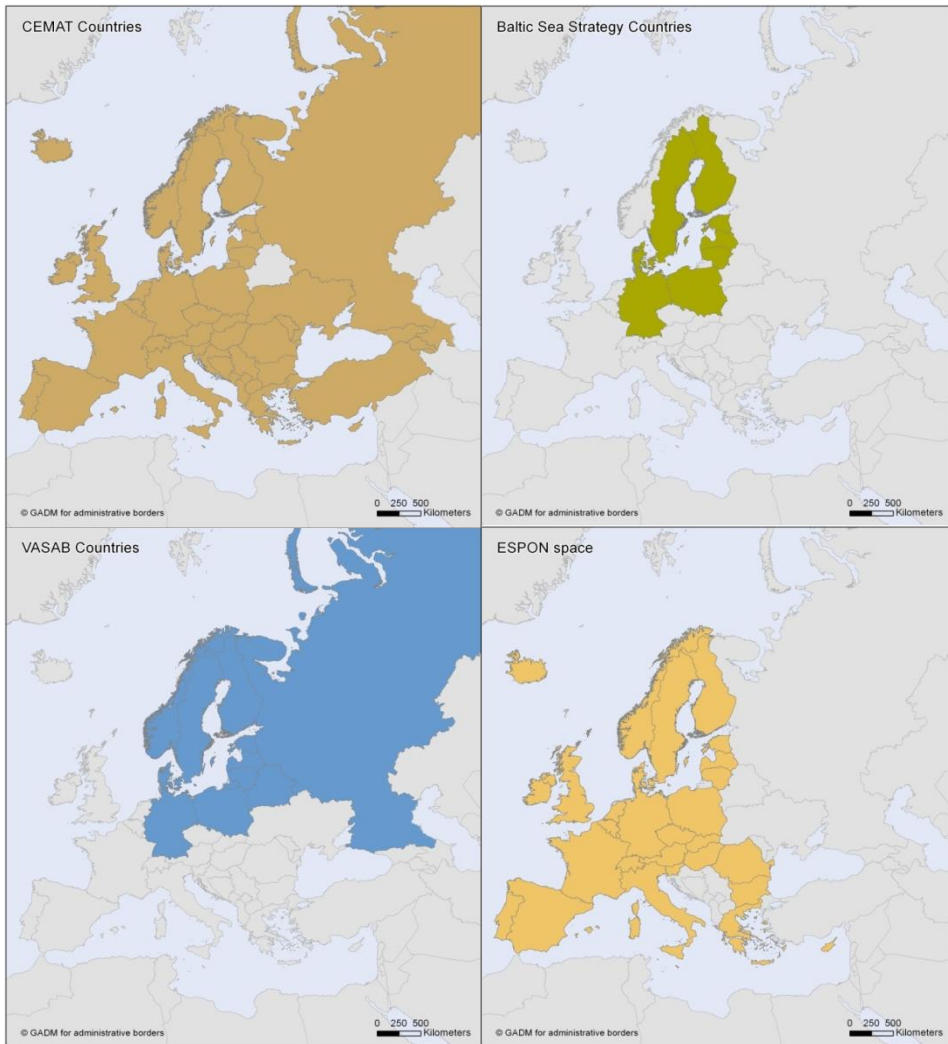


Figure 1: Geographical extents (countries included) of the key arenas of co-operation in spatial development policy that have been examined in the individual articles

The theme of Article 3, the EU's Baltic Sea Strategy (CEC 2009), was initially not planned to be part of the work, but emerged unexpectedly in 2009 as an interesting and important tool for macro-regional governance at the disposal of the European Commission, and as such as a new inroad into spatial development policy and territorial governance in this geopolitically sensitive macro-region. In empirical terms, the research for this article is based on an intensive study of the Baltic Sea Strategy documents with regard to its handling of the Russian dimension and a comparison between the working mechanisms, as well as external outlook of the Baltic Sea Strategy and the inter-governmental

collaborative organisation of VASAB⁴ (Visions and Strategies around the Baltic Sea). Additional structured interviews were held in autumn 2009 with two Finnish experts that were involved in the process leading up to and the drafting of the strategy.

Article 4 explores (dis)connections between CEMAT⁵ and European Union activities in spatial development co-operation and thus contributes to the debate on the inter-linkages between ‘pan-Europe’ and ‘official Europe’ (see Sakwa 2005). The findings of the paper are based on a wide-ranging analysis of EU and CEMAT documents and interviews carried out in 2011 with six experts (national representatives, consultants, executive secretaries) from four different countries (Russia, Finland, Germany, France) who have long been involved in CEMAT or EU activities, or in some cases both.

Table 1: Territorial scales and thematic/geographical foci of the case studies (articles)

	Territorial scale	Thematic and geographical focus	Title of the Article	Publication
Article 1	Supra-national/ Pan-European	Arenas of co-operation between the EU and Russia, geopolitical aspects of co-operation	“European Territorialization and the Eastern Neighbourhood: Spatial Development Co-operation between the EU and Russia”	European Journal of Spatial Development, No. 35, May 2009, 1-27
Article 2	Cross-border/ inter-regional scale	Cross-border, bilateral co-operation in spatial development between Finland and Russia	“Re-connecting Territorialities? - Spatial Planning Co-operation between Eastern Finnish and Russian Subnational Governments”	In: Eskelinen, H.; Liikanen, I. & Scott, J. W. (eds) (2013) <i>The EU-Russia Borderland - New Contexts for Regional Cooperation</i> , Abingdon: Routledge, 100-113
Article 3	Macro-regional scale	The Russian dimension in the EU’s Baltic Sea Strategy	“Interfaces of European Union Internal and External Territorial Governance: the Baltic Sea Region”	In: Adams, N., Cotella, G. & Nunes, R. (eds) (2011) <i>Territorial Development, Cohesion and Spatial Planning; Knowledge and Policy Development in an Enlarged EU</i> , Abingdon: Routledge, 382-401
Article 4	Pan-European	Inter-relationship between CEMAT and EU activities in spatial development policy	“Connecting Territorial Knowledge Arenas – the Inter-relationship between CEMAT and EU Activities in Spatial Development Policy”	European Journal of Spatial Development, No. 47, March 2012, 1-25

⁴ VASAB, Vision and Strategy around the Baltic Sea 2010, was launched in 1992 in order to provide spatial development perspectives, guidelines and transnational co-operation between 11 countries around the Baltic Sea.

⁵ CEMAT refers to the Conference of Ministers Responsible for Spatial/Regional Planning, which is organised under the umbrella of the Council of Europe (CoE). The acronym is derived from its French name, Conférence Européenne des Ministres responsables de l’Aménagement du Territoire. CEMAT is the oldest forum for international co-operation in spatial and regional planning in Europe and represents a specifically pan-European or ‘continental’ forum for spatial policy co-operation and interaction including many non-EU countries among its 47 members.

2 Definitions and Theoretical Considerations

2.1 WHAT IS SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT POLICY?

The specific contents of episodes in European spatial development policy and spatial planning involving Russia are dealt with in detail in the individual articles. At this stage, however, it is useful to introduce the reader to a basic delineation of this policy field and the surrounding academic debate. In relation to the present study, the provision of a satisfying definition of what spatial development policy entails is made difficult by the fact that a number of different platforms and arenas of co-operation are under investigation in the individual articles, each revolving around varying foci, activities and actors.

Spatial development policy and territorial governance at the European level are part of a somewhat ambiguous and hard-to-grasp field of policy debate and action. Evers (2008, 303) even describes the field as being “rather esoteric”. The inherent wide scope produced by taking space, or territory, as a basis and starting point for the elaboration and co-ordination of policy, makes the academic work on and policy development of spatial planning vulnerable to accusations of ‘anything goes’. Nevertheless, the work of a group of academics and practitioners forming an admittedly diverse group from the national and European levels over the last couple of decades has contributed to the emergence of European spatial planning as both a discipline and academic field of inquiry. Over time, this territorially-inclined epistemic community also has contributed to a clarification of what the contents of European spatial development policy are and what kinds of actors, organisational platforms and collaborative initiatives are involved. The actor-centred notion of epistemic community, defined here as “a network of professionals with recognized expertise and competence in a particular domain and an authoritative claim to policy-relevant knowledge within that domain or issue-area” (Haas 1992, 3; see also Article 4), focuses on knowledge and learning as a seedbed for finding solutions to problems that are often identified and defined by the epistemic communities themselves. Indeed, much of the practice and academic debate on EU spatial planning and development has been carried forward by a group of professionals and academics that could be termed as a ‘territorial club’ (Böhme *et al.* 2011) or, in the earlier context of the preparation of the ESDP, as a ‘roving band of planners’ (Faludi 1997). Sharing normative and causal beliefs that

spatial planning merits a European or transnational approach, their work has resulted in, according to Böhme *et al.* (2011, 6), a shared vocabulary, new collaborative platforms, numerous reference documents, territorial strategies, and has filled territorial co-operation with content.

There also exist some problems in relation to terminology as various labels are assigned to the policy field that is being analysed here, including spatial planning, spatial/territorial development policy or territorial governance. These terminological challenges are illustrative of the relatively early developmental stage, broadness of the field, but also differing national planning traditions. The term most widely used for essentially the same field of action and inquiry is 'spatial planning', a 'Euro-English' term for which equivalents cannot be found in all European languages (Williams 1996; Böhme 2002; Faludi & Waterhout 2002; Faludi 2002). Here, a strong semantic link to 'planning' has been retained. The ESDP, on the other hand, mainly referred to spatial development policy rather than spatial planning, probably in order to stay clear of what could be perceived as an encroachment on national competencies in this field. According to Faludi (2010a, 2009), the avoidance of the term 'spatial planning' in the present context of EU policy is, however, merely down to an apparent misconception of spatial planning being related to land-use planning or regulatory planning, for which the European Union has no competence, rather than as guiding action through strategic spatial frameworks, in which the EU, in addition to national and regional actors, is certainly an important actor. As an illustrative example of this uneasy relationship between the EU Commission and 'spatial planning', an episode from an ESPON seminar in 2010 can be mentioned, in which a representative from the Commission presented the contents of the Fifth Report on Economic, Social and Territorial Cohesion. During the subsequent discussion, a seminar participant from the Netherlands commented that most of the content of the Cohesion Report corresponded very much to his view on what spatial planning is all about. The Commission representative, however, remained adamant that the EU has no other role than an 'informing' one in spatial planning matters.

Nevertheless, the EU's concern about uneven territorial development and the setting up of cohesion policy as a remedying tool has certainly been an important factor in European approaches to spatial planning and development. Despite their generally 'lukewarm' attitude towards territorial issues and spatial planning (Waterhout 2008), the European Commission, and particularly the Directorate-General (DG) Regio, can be considered an increasingly important player due to its involvement in the ESDP process, the ESPON research programme, the recent macro-regional strategies and its wider concern with (territorial) cohesion policy. The European Parliament has also been a supporter of a European Union spatial approach, but has never become involved in the operational side of things (Waterhout 2008). The complexity of this group results in a variety of opinions and agendas, which has been evident in the interviews

carried out as part of this research. It is interesting to note that much of the recent debate on spatial development policy at the EU/transnational level has shifted towards the EU's policy objective of 'territorial cohesion', now a shared competence between the EU and the Member States that has been inscribed into the Treaty of Lisbon. Territorial cohesion certainly shares important aspects with 'European spatial planning' through its concern with the territorial effects of EU policy-making, harmonious and balanced development, territorial specificities, as well as a focus on horizontal co-ordination between sectors and vertical integration between levels or tiers of territorial governance. In relation to these considerations, Waterhout (2008) suggests that it may nowadays be more appropriate to use the term 'European territorial governance' rather than spatial planning or spatial development policy.

Leaving aside the terminological challenges, it is useful to turn to some of the definitions of spatial planning and spatial development policy that exist in the literature. The 'EU Compendium of Spatial Planning Systems and Policies', for example, which was prepared for the European Commission (DG Regio) to provide a comparative overview of the EU15's national planning systems states that:

spatial planning refers to the methods used largely by the public sector to influence the future distribution of activities in space. It is undertaken with the aims of creating a more rational territorial organisation of land uses and the linkages between them, to balance demands for development with the need to protect the environment, and to achieve social and economic objectives. Spatial planning embraces measures to co-ordinate the spatial impacts of other sector policies to achieve a more even distribution of economic development between regions than would otherwise be created by market forces, and to regulate the conversion of land and property uses. (CEC 1997, 24)

An early definition was put forward in the Council of Europe's European Regional/Spatial Planning Charter (Torremolinos Charter) in 1983, which emphasises that:

regional/spatial planning gives geographical expression to the economic, social, cultural and ecological policies of society. It is at the some[sic] time a scientific discipline, an administrative technique and a policy developed as an interdisciplinary and comprehensive approach directed towards a balanced regional development and the physical organisation of space according to an overall strategy. (Council of Europe 1983, 13)

As can be readily seen, both these definitions also refer to physical or land-use aspects of spatial planning, which is due mainly to the fact that both relate strongly to national planning systems. Spatial planning's link to land-use planning may thus be a source of the above-mentioned misunderstanding of the

meaning and content of spatial planning in the European context. The European Union has made it clear that it does not have any interest in interfering with or taking hold of this domain of planning, as is clearly evident from the below quote from the Green Paper on Territorial Cohesion published by the European Commission in 2008. It is stated that development of European spatial development policy:

...has not progressed as far as it might have until recently. This is perhaps partly because of a perception in the Member States that national – or regional – competence over matters concerning land use and development planning was open for discussion. It should be made clear that it is in no way intended to call into question national and regional competences in these areas. These issues remain outside the scope of the debate launched by this Green Paper. (CEC 2008, 10)

Rather, spatial development policy at the European Union level, and its inter-relations with activities at lower spatial scales that are facilitated by multi-directional processes of Europeanisation, emphasises concerted spatial co-ordination, strategy-building, horizontal integration (between sectors), vertical integration (between different levels of government) and combining environmental, social, and economic objectives. Spatial development policy can be understood as multi-level governance action that focuses on the spatial implications and effects of policy action at a variety of scales. These activities do not include specific land-use planning, which is strictly controlled by and under the competence of the Member States and their subnational administrative bodies. As such, land-use planning, in this work, generally is not being seen as part of European spatial planning and development policy. However, as a result of the focus on collaborative activities that also include national, macro-regional and subnational actors, some of the episodes of spatial development co-operation analysed within the individual articles contain minor references to land-use and physical planning.

Spatial development policy and territorial governance within the context of the European Union thus refers to processes of developing or co-ordinating policy objectives in a way that adheres to spatial/territorial spatial considerations or approaches and involves a multitude of arenas, numerous actors from a variety of institutional scales and encompasses numerous policy fields; some more (e.g. regional policy, transport policy), some less (e.g. social affairs). A sufficiently broad and therefore useful definition from the academic field for this work, particularly as it refers to the concept of territoriality, is provided by Buunk (2006, 136), who delineates planning as “the complete repertoire of ways in which the territoriality of processes and problems in society are brought to the core of EU policy processes and decision making of various policy fields”. Allmendinger & Haughton (2009), building on work by Jessop (2004), add another dimension to the understanding of the policy field by

linking it to the concepts of 'meta-governance'. In terms of policy focus, the strategic and to some extent abstract nature of spatial development policy, as opposed to specifically-focussed and project-based incrementalism, also frequently is emphasised in the relevant literature (see, for example, Healey 2004; 2006). In the words of Patsy Healey (2006, 302), territorial governance encompasses and describes the way in which diverse actors "cluster around a territorial focus, and create the capacity to act (collective actor capacity) for a territory".

What does this mean in practice? Faludi (2010a, 1), and according to him planners in general, views spatial planning in its widest sense "...as the formulation of integrated strategic spatial frameworks to guide public, as well as, private action". These strategic spatial frameworks mainly relate to reference documents, visioning exercises, development frameworks and regional policy action elaborated in a variety of collaborative mechanisms and initiatives for a variety of different territories within and beyond the European Union (for the role of visions and visioning in European spatial planning, see, for example, Zonneveld 2005; Nadin 2002). The crucial goal of such collaborative mechanisms is to develop methods, in the widest sense of its meaning, for "influencing and managing spatial change" (Albrechts 2006, 1152). As a result, spatial development policy takes on a rather normative character and it is often difficult to identify potential concrete effects that it has 'on the ground' (Albrechts 2006). The apparent lack of specific evidence of spatial change on the ground as an outcome of spatial development policy, in turn, may exacerbate the above-mentioned accusations of ambiguity and 'anything goes'. However, Newman (2008) argues that the inability of planners to live up to the goals of the spatial imaginations and collective action promoted by strategic planning frameworks, and to make a difference 'on the ground', is due to the fact that uncertain planners often have far more modest and short-term goals that do not quite match the 'transformative and progressive institutions' envisaged by the academic literature.

Generally, the European Union's implicit spatial interests and the work and initiatives of the earlier-mentioned 'territorial club' have resulted in an intensifying dialogue on multi-level EU spatial development and the emergence of an EU spatial agenda. This, in turn, has produced a growing academic interest and a body of works as regards the spatial dimension of policy-making in Europe. The following and by no means exclusive list provides some key examples of their work:

Initial studies that started from the notion that planning should not stop at national borders, such as those prepared by the *Conference of Ministers Responsible for Spatial/Regional Planning* (CEMAT) – the first major platform for pan-European co-operation on spatial development (see Déjeant-Pons 2003; Faludi 2010b; Article 4) – and, in an EU context, Europe 2000 (CEC 1990) and Europe 2000+ (CEC 1994), prepared the ground for more ambitious

undertakings. This was exemplified by the drawing up of a strategic planning framework for the European Union territory, the European Spatial Development Perspective or ESDP (CEC 1999), around which much of the early academic discussion on European spatial planning revolved. Despite its non-binding nature, the ESDP, which was drawn up in long inter-governmental negotiations with support from the European Commission, certainly represents an apex in European Union territorial governance. By providing a spatial development framework for the EU, the ESDP conceptualised it for the first time as a common planning space and thus resulted in a spatial turn in European planning (Davoudi 1999; Faludi & Waterhout 2002). More recently, Waterhout (2008) and Faludi (2009) have examined the twisting and turning road towards an increased institutionalisation of European spatial planning, which includes the processes leading up the Territorial Agenda of the European Union (BMVBS 2007) and its recent successor, the Territorial Agenda 2020 (Hungarian Presidency 2011). Jensen & Richardson (2004) have critically reviewed the EU's wider role and, in particular, the role of multi-level EU spatial discourses and practices, particularly those of 'frictionless mobility' and 'the transgression of borders', in the creation of a 'single European space'. Faludi (2007) provided an edited work on the inter-linkage between the policy objective of territorial cohesion (and spatial planning) and the 'European Model of Society'. Dühr (2007) explored how cartographic representations, or spatial images, are part and parcel of European spatial planning. Böhme (2002) analysed the way in which European spatial planning was received and echoed in the Nordic countries, whereas Faludi & Janin Rivolin (2005) and Giannakourou (2005) pondered Southern European perspectives on, and implications of, transnational spatial planning. Adams *et al.* (2011) provided an edited work on the challenges and implications of the eastern enlargement for spatial development policy and planning by focussing on experiences from the Central and Eastern European countries. The inter-relationship between territorial co-operation and European spatial development policy was explored by, for example, Colomb (2007) and Nadin & Stead (2008). Increasing focus also is put on the role of knowledge and research (evidence-based planning) in spatial development policy, which bears particular relevance to the work carried out as part of the *European Observation Network for Territorial Development and Cohesion* (ESPON) (Faludi ed. 2008; Faludi & Waterhout 2006; Davoudi 2007). Last but not least, Dühr, Colomb & Nadin (2010) have provided a comprehensive and up-to-date textbook that sits well with the comprehensive history on European spatial planning provided by Faludi (2010b).

2.2 CORE CONCEPTS: TERRITORY AND TERRITORIALITY

What should be evident from the above debate is that European spatial development and planning, and attached elaborations of territorial visions and development frameworks, is frequently linked to emerging territorial identities other than that of the state. Jensen (2002, 119) underlines that visioning and strategic planning exercises, including the ESDP, are part and parcel of a “process of reimagining European territorial identity”. Moisisio (2011, 19) sees European spatial planning as a “geopolitical narrative (and practice) that seeks to fundamentally re-think Europe’s spatial and scalar organisation”. Territory and territoriality thus represent important underlying concepts in any analysis of any activities that have as their goal to affect the European spatial order.

Nevertheless, framing European spatial development policy and territorial governance within the notion of territoriality, from a spatial development policy/planning perspective, may not be an immediately obvious choice, particularly as this notion has been largely neglected in the majority of analyses in this policy field; some references to territory and territoriality have been made in the planning literature by, for example, Schön (2005) and Waterhout (2008). Also the emerging debate on ‘soft spaces’ amongst spatial planning scholars has set off an increasing interest in ‘territory’. Despite these brief references to the concept, the planning literature, particularly the one focussing on international and transnational co-operation within the field, by and large has, however, ignored the relevance of their field of practice, policy-making and indeed research for wider discussions on territory in political geography, geopolitical thought and international relations. Likewise, the aforementioned disciplines and academic fields have largely neglected spatial planning and territorial development policy, at least at scales higher than the regional and national, as a relevant empirical field of inquiry that would facilitate a sharpened understanding of the concept of territory (for an exception, see, for example, Luukkonen 2011). What else could be a more appropriate field of investigation regarding territory and territoriality than actual collaborative, transnational action to plan and order a certain territory, at a variety of spatial scales, through spatial strategies, visions and debates?

The neglect described above is rather surprising as *territory* is an established and often used concept in (political) geography, in which planning scholars often have their academic roots. The concept also is used frequently in border studies, which has recently gained momentum along with inquiries into the territorial effects of the end of the Cold War, globalisation and the increasing significance of supranational institutions such as the European Union (Anderson *et al.* 2003). Nevertheless, also within the discipline of political geography, there appears to be a consensus that, despite it being a key concept, ‘territory’ is notoriously under-theorised (Elden 2005; Painter 2010; Brenner & Elden 2009).

Jönsson *et al.* (2000, 3) define territory as “a cohesive section of the earth’s surface that is distinguished from its surroundings by a boundary”. It therefore represents a bounded, and sometimes homogenous, portion of geographical space (Painter 2010, 1091). However, boundaries and socio-political orders can change over time, which is why territories cannot be taken as a constant. They are constantly produced, abolished and re-produced. As Painter (2010, 1094) puts it:

...territory is necessarily porous, historical, mutable, uneven and perishable. It is a laborious work in progress, prone to failure and permeated by tension and contradiction. Territory is never complete, but always becoming.

Human agency in the production and reproduction of territory emphasises the social and political dimensions of territoriality. Sack (1986, 1-3) identifies territoriality as “the key geographical component in understanding how society and space is inter-connected”. The socio-political and non-physical aspects of territory are also emphasised by Berezin (2003). In her view “[t]erritory is social because, independent of scale, person inhabit it collectively; *political* because groups fight to preserve as well as to enlarge their space; and *cultural* because it contains the collective memories of its inhabitants” (*ibid.*, 7). The interest in the social dimension of space and territory has also been significantly influenced by the work of sociologist and philosopher Henri Lefebvre. Lefebvre, arguing that “(social) space is a (social) product”, proposes a conceptual triad to analyse the social production of space that includes the concepts of “spatial practice” or “perceived” space, “representations of space” or “conceived” space, and “representational spaces” or “lived” space (Lefebvre 1991, 33, 38-39). The first refers to how people in their daily life perceive and relate to the physical spaces surrounding them. The second refers to the way in which space is “intellectually worked out” or conceived and analysed verbally (*ibid.*, 39); this is the domain of, amongst others, planners. The last refers to the way in which space is “lived through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of ‘inhabitants’ and ‘users’ [...]” (*ibid.*, 39). The link between planning and the work of Lefebvre is also elucidated by Brenner and Elden (2009, 367), who describe Lefebvre’s use of the work of the French planning agency *Délégation à l’aménagement du territoire et à l’action régionale* (DATAR - founded in 1963) as an example of states’ spatial management or spatial development policy and a wider ‘politique de l’espace’ or state territorial strategies. DATAR still exists today and has been, in addition to other national planning agencies, an important actor in spatial development policy not only within France but also in a European context. For example, one of the first spatial metaphors for the European territory – the ‘blue banana’, signifying an area of socio-economic concentration stretching from southern England to northern Italy – originated in a report published by DATAR.

Territoriality has traditionally been conceptualised in terms of power and power relations, which explains its common use in International Relations and political geography (for an analysis of the use of the concepts of territory and territoriality in political geography, see, for example, Johnston 2001; Paasi 2008). In a similar fashion, Jönsson *et al.* (2000, 3) equate territory to a “political space” or “power sphere”. Sack (1986) defines territoriality as being about the control over and access to an area. Access and control over an area in turn ultimately pertains to the power of either inclusion or exclusion, or indeed a combination of both, and as such focuses on the inter-linkage between the ‘inside’ and the ‘outside’ (see Smith 1996). Paasi (1996), in his analysis of the social construction of territories and boundaries as exemplified by the Finnish-Russian border, emphasises the importance of socio-spatial integration as well as distinction (inclusion or exclusion) by employing a different terminology using ‘us’ and ‘them’. Anderson & O’Dowd (1999, 598) emphasise that “[w]hether employed for benign or malign purposes, by peaceful or violent means, territoriality is inherently conflictual with a marked tendency to generate rival territorialities”. In a similar fashion, Paasi (1996, 15) points out that “it is reasonable to argue that space, territoriality and boundaries is based on a dialectic between two languages, the language of *difference* and the language of *integration*”.

The geographical reach or, in other words, the extension of power and the resulting potential for dialectics in terms of ‘inside-outside’ and ‘inclusion-exclusion’ also emphasises the role of borders and boundaries in the social and physical production of territory and territoriality. Sack (1986) succinctly points out that borders are needed to delimit and assert control over a geographic area. The external borders between the European Union and the Russian Federation certainly bear potential for such a dialectics. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that border studies have garnered an increasing interest also concerning the internal EU border regions despite the ongoing striving on the part of the European Union to reduce their barrier effects and make them – at least in the internal context – more permeable. This points towards the salience of borders as markers of territoriality also in the European Union context. It also appears that the perception of borders as becoming obsolete and irrelevant, or even disappearing in an increasingly ‘borderless’ world, has been premature. As a result, it is arguably more useful to see borders, amidst processes of ‘de/re-territorialisation’, as becoming more varied, fluid, flexible, and differentiated (Agnew 1994; Paasi 1996; Anderson & O’Dowd 1999; O’Dowd 2002). This is particularly relevant to developments within and beyond the European Union with its continuously shifting and overlapping territorialities and significant differentiation in the nature of internal and external borders.

Borders also play an important role in distinguishing between the related concepts of ‘space’ and ‘territory’. Schön (2005, 391) sees territories as clearly bounded spatial units that are endowed with administrative and political functions, whereas space is a more abstract and analytical concept that

emphasises non-boundedness. On the face of it, space appears to be the more value-free and politically neutral concept of the two. In this context it is interesting to note that the European debate on spatial development policy and territorial governance has moved away from the usage of the politically neutral term 'space' to the politically-laden notion of 'territory'. In a French publication, Guigou (2000, cited in Waterhout 2008) points out the "warm-blooded" nature of the concept of territory in French thinking, emphasising, among others, history and local identities. Thus, equally 'warm-blooded' aspects such as political tensions, historical animosities or geopolitical interests may be important variables in EU-Russian interaction in spatial development policy.

Spatial development policy and territorial governance is about the organisation, ordering and developing of space according to certain criteria that are based on both 'hard' foundations, such as planning laws and land-use acts, as well as 'soft' ones that are derived from discursive practices and rest on normative agendas and strategic planning exercise and frameworks. Particularly these 'soft' agendas are derived from and frequently adjusted to social and political processes of debate and negotiations that, for better or for worse, are influenced and shaped by existing power relations that set the agenda in terms of what the priorities are, which territories are targeted and who is included or excluded. Despite its technocratic and benign nature, spatial development policy – i.e. a certain control over the developments in space and territory – always has questions of sovereignty and geopolitics attached to it, particularly when we shift the focus from intra-European Union to external contexts in the particular case of EU-Russian interaction. And it always features aspects of both inclusion and exclusion. Already the long-standing wrangle over competence issues in spatial planning within the EU points to the sensitive inter-relationship between planning activities, in whatever form, and the notion of territoriality; traditional, state-based notions of which are continuing to be keenly guarded by the Member States.

Territory has recently re-emerged as a much discussed topic in economic and political geography, particularly in regional studies. This discussion has focussed on vertical and scalar relationships and has been mainly grouped around the 'region' as an increasingly important 'territorial' manifestation and its changing role in economic, social, political and cultural life. At the same time, however, this debate has increasingly questioned the relevance of 'territory' and scalar categories – understood as bounded and closed entities – as useful geographical categories and instead started to "advocate a radically 'relational' approach to the study of cities and regions" (MacLeod & Jones 2007, 1178) that sees regions as open, discontinuous and embedded in and shaped by relational networks and spatial flows (see, for example, Allen *et al.* 1998; Amin 2004). Relational approaches to thinking about space and territory certainly have their merits in the analysis of regions and their spatial relations in an increasingly networked and globalised world, particularly if one only focuses on economic

dimensions or on what Jones & MacLeod (2004) conceptualise as 'regional spaces'. When it comes to regional politics and policy-making, or "spaces of regionalism" in Jones & MacLeod's (2004) words, considerable doubts about the value of exclusively relational approaches can be raised due to the fact that politicians and policy-makers still root their thinking and activities in bounded and discrete territories (Jones & MacLeod 2004; see also Painter 2008). In addition, the state, still an important actor and level of policy- and decision-making in a number of policy fields including spatial planning, certainly escapes most relational conceptualisations. It now appears that a number of scholars favour 'both/and' rather than 'either/or' perspectives and a combination of both relational and territorial approaches to thinking about space and place, which is certainly helpful in the analysis of phenomena that relate to both spaces of place and spaces of flows (Hudson 2007; Jones 2009).

Relational thinking in the treatment and conceptualisation of space has also entered the works of planning scholars. Healey (2006), for example, analyses how relational geographies are visible in the spatial content and imageries of different European strategic planning concepts. Allmendinger & Haughton (2009, 618-619), on their part, argue that in the planning domain we can witness "the insertion of new scales for planning intervention" and the territorial relativisation of scale coupled with the emergence of "soft spaces" and "fuzzy boundaries", which in turn require "soft planning" approaches. Nevertheless, also these works do not call for an abandonment of territory, scale or scalar notions altogether, but argue that there may be new scales emerging that supplement the existing scalar categories of localities, regions or the state, which are morphing due to continued socio-spatial practices.

2.3 SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT POLICY AS AN ELEMENT IN EUROPEAN UNION TERRITORIALITY

As is already evident from the above discussion, the notion of territoriality has generally been used in traditional, state-centred contexts. As a consequence, the utilisation of this notion in a European Union context poses some significant challenges. States are generally seen as the traditional locus of territoriality. As such, state territoriality is signified by sovereignty over a certain bounded space. State territoriality, particularly its "disjoint, fixed and mutually exclusive nature", is, according to Ruggie (1993, 168), the "most distinct feature of modernity in international politics". The strong and almost exclusive link between territoriality and the state (sovereignty) has led Agnew (1994) to talk about a 'territorial trap' that perpetuates a static and narrow definition of territoriality and neglects the way in which territoriality is socially constructed and contested. However, processes of globalisation and European Union

integration have challenged deeply rooted assumptions territory and territoriality.

Consequently, the frame for analysing European Union territoriality has to go beyond the confinements of traditional state territoriality, which certainly remains one important element of it. Speaking about a 'European Union territoriality' in general is an intricate matter due to the fact that in traditional readings of territoriality, the European Union, since being a *sui generis* organisation rather than anything that resembles a state, should not have a territory at all. Nevertheless, despite the significant differences between traditional state territoriality and the spatial effects of European Union integration, it is reasonable to assume that the European political project over time promotes and fosters an emerging territoriality of the EU, which, however, does not, and maybe should not, automatically assume a form that is identical to traditional state territoriality. Supranational formations such as the European Union, but also phenomena such as globalisation or the IT-revolution, have indeed prompted scholars to re-think and re-conceptualise territoriality away from the narrow focus on state territoriality (see Ruggie 1993). According to Ruggie (*ibid.*), the territoriality of the European Union represents a wider shift away from a 'single-perspectival' polity so typical for modern state-territoriality towards a 'multi-perspectival' polity and attached conceptualisations of territoriality in a post-modern environment.

If we accept that spatial development policy is an integral part of territoriality, then the individual articles that form this dissertation indicate that state territoriality is only one of many scales of a European Union territoriality that also includes regional, macro-regional and EU-level territorialities. Particularly in relation to the latter scale, or the EU 'as a whole', the crux of the question is what kind of territoriality the European Union will ultimately develop over the course of its integration process. Will it fall into the trappings of (fixed) state-like territoriality signified by clearly demarcated borders and clear identification of the 'other', or will it develop some kind of new and more inclusive form of territoriality? Indeed, Friis and Murphy (1999, 227) highlight the fact that the EU has been specifically established "as a response to regional interdependence which undermined the link between the nation-states territory and authority" and at the same time warn that "the Member States have tried to restore that very linkage between authority and territory as a defining feature of the EU-system". In a similar fashion, Scott and van Houtum (2009, 271) criticise that "territorial anxieties" on part of EU Member States have recently undermined inclusive notions of Europe and European territoriality.

The ambiguities of an EU territoriality are also highlighted by Bialasiewicz, Elden & Painter (2005) in their analysis of the treatment of 'territory' in the Draft Constitution of the European Union (later to become the Lisbon Treaty). They argue that territory is invoked in two senses or meanings that are to some extent in tension with each other. On the one hand, they see territory taking on a *hard*

meaning, which “is organized through border controls, jurisdictional limits and a concern with territorial integrity and sovereign rights” (*ibid.*, 335). On the other hand, territory is treated in the Draft Constitution as “more open and *aspirational* and relates to Europe as a putative space of values and area of solidarity; it evokes the ideal of territorial cohesion” (*ibid.*, 335). In its ‘hard’ sense, territory in the Draft Constitution/Lisbon Treaty is thus related to traditional, state-centric conceptions, whereas in its aspirational sense it relates to something new, soft and ideational related to harmonious and balanced development. In this context it is interesting to note that a number of scholarly analyses of the EU policy objective of territorial cohesion have invoked the equally aspirational ‘European Model of Society’, which allegedly strives for equity, spatial justice and a situation in which people should not be disadvantaged by where they live, as an important determining factor (see, for example, Faludi 2007; Peyrony 2007). Aspirational territoriality includes the wider aim of advancing the development of a territorially-integrated space and emphasises the politically-laden visioning process of how the European space, and its components, should develop internally by referring mainly to territorial cohesion, but this also may be extended to transnational spatial planning and territorial governance at a variety of administrative levels. In these respects, significant advancements at the internal borders of the EU have been made. There is a general agreement that the barrier effect of borders within the space that is covered by the European Union has to be lowered in order to reduce current or historic hostilities and animosities, i.e. to create peace, and to enable borderlands to be integrated into the Single market and compete successfully with so-called-central areas. This does not mean that national planning systems and territorial governance have been replaced by a European approach on planning, but there is little doubt that the perceptions of interdependencies and common challenges advanced by the progressive removal of internal barrier and supported by the European spatial development debate and the EU’s ‘actorness’ in many territorially relevant policy sectors.

Although Bialasiewicz *et al.* (2005) identify hard and aspirational understandings of EU territoriality in both internal and external dimensions, one can expect that the ‘hard’ sense, and indeed the continued significance and relevance of borders (as markers of territoriality), comes to the fore in settings where the increasingly integrated EU territory comes in touch with countries that are not foreseen to become members of the EU. The situation at the interface between the European Union and its neighbourhood, particularly in the case of Russia, is obviously less straightforward as compared to the intra-European Union situation with the low barrier effects of the internal borders and approximation of planning practices and governance structures. At the external border hard territoriality and geopolitical aspects have to be taken into the equation. Cronberg (2003, 223) describes this setting well by highlighting that interaction and potential integration across the EU’s external borders frequently

shows the “ambiguity between co-operation and control” both in terms of rational as well as emotional aspects. An example of this expression of territoriality is the Schengen Agreement which controls and regulates access to the European ‘territory’ on its external borders according to standards commonly agreed upon between the Schengen countries. After the 2004 and 2007 accession rounds, controls on the Polish-Ukrainian and Romanian-Ukrainian/Moldovan borders, for example, became more stringent and impeded the access of citizens from the neighbouring countries to the Polish and Romanian (European Union) territories (Popescu 2008), giving rise to conceptualisations such as ‘fortress Europe’. With regard to Schengen, there was, however, no uniform shift towards more exclusionary practices. Border practices on the Finnish-Russian border, for example, only changed minimally in 1995 when Finland became a member of the European Union. Nevertheless, increasing separation between the ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ of the European Union represents an item of concern as “[a] putative Europe Without Frontiers – the European version of the ‘borderless ideology’ – coexists with tendencies towards a Fortress Europe [...]” (Anderson & O’Dowd 1999, 602).

The external border functions as the European Union’s marker of territoriality, which sets limits to territorial integration in the interface regions between the EU and its external neighbourhood and conditions any collaborative action in spatial development policy. This carries the danger that the European Union project is entangling itself into what is generally referred to as a bounding or bordering process (see Scott & van Houtum 2009; Agnew 2005), which also could be present and reflected in processes of spatial development interaction between the EU and Russia. The unprecedented magnitude of the latest enlargements has given rise to a pronounced ‘enlargement fatigue’ in many EU member states, which, in turn, has sparked a discussion on where Europe (more precisely the European Union) should end. This would emphasise the hard dimension of an emerging European Union territoriality and works against the fundamental idea of the EU, as envisaged by Monnet, Schuman, De Gasperi and Adenauer, as a geographically and institutionally open “project that was inherently opposed to drawing neat, fixed boundaries” (Agnew 2005, 578).

This difference between the internal and dimensions of territoriality, although obviously not in a specific European Union context, has already been highlighted by Gottmann (1973, cited in Johnston 2001), who emphasised that territory signifies both ‘internal’ relationships between communities as well as external links between communities and their neighbours. Indeed, in relation to the external neighbourhood, the inter-relationship between integration and conflict should not always be seen in the way that increasing integration automatically leads to a decreasing potential for conflict (Diez *et al.* 2008). In the context of European territorialisation and its relation to the neighbourhood, it should be borne in mind that increasing integration in the ‘inside’ can lead

simultaneously to increasing securitisation and exclusionary practices, and thus separation from the 'outside'. Van Houtum (2003, 46) illustrates this well at the level of individual citizens by stating that "inside the European Union club, citizens of the member states are encouraged to network and wander around freely in order to increase the comfort for all, while at the entrance gates of the club are strongly patrolled and guarded". In their work on border conflicts, Diez *et al.* (2008, 8) emphasise that the Schuman Declaration, i.e. the plan to place the coal and steel industries of France and West Germany under a common authority that led to the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), made clear that "European integration is a political project that seeks to overcome the inside/outside divisions". This has been obviously successful in the intra-EU context. However, the question of how to overcome these kinds of divisions at the external border of the EU, particularly with countries that are not foreseen to become members of the European Union – and also in the rather modest policy field of spatial development policy – remains an entirely different and unanswered question for which also European Union policy-makers should be seeking answers and solutions. The question of how to reconcile these often conflicting aspects of external and internal territoriality is thus at the heart of this work.

We may now move on from a general perspective on EU territoriality to its inter-relationship with the specific arena of spatial development policy and territorial governance. In this respect, there is some indication that the European Union – despite a remaining weak link between the wider European political project and the territorial dimension of European governance (Gualini 2006) – is in the process of sharpening its territorial profile that is both a result and a trigger for the above-described process of advancing European integration and its territorial implications. On a more specific level, the emergence of a European territoriality could be the result of the EU's increasing ambition to achieve a certain degree of control over activities in its territory, which obviously also includes the ordering and planning of spatial or territorial development. However, it has to be borne in mind that European Union territoriality is inherently ambiguous. It is not confined to the supranational level, but, in addition to the well-established territorialities of the Member States, is also formed at lower spatial scales as facilitated by the multi-level system of governance so typical for EU modes of operation. This also relates to the fact that the development of a European Union territoriality is generally tied to and inter-connected with changes in other forms of territorial organisation and the re-scaling of governance arenas (see Brenner 1999; Brenner 2004; Heeg & Ossenbrügge 2002; Swyngedouw 2005). Along with the re-scaling of governance processes, the territoriality of the European Union in this context should be seen as neither static nor limited to clearly defined geographical containers, but is constantly evolving between and across spaces of governance and proceeding along trajectories of both integration into an increasingly integrated space as

well as fragmentation into regional and macro-regional territorial entities and formations (see Jönsson *et al.* 2003). It is thus worth a look at both trajectories in more detail and from the perspective of spatial development policy.

At the supranational EU-level, European Union territorialisation through spatial development policy is related to the mounting tendency to conceptualise the EU as an increasingly integrated and borderless space or indeed territory. Any discussion on the European territory is, however, complicated by the fact that the European territory is not very static. Successive rounds of enlargement have re-located and re-defined internal and external borders of the European Union, mainly in an eastwards direction. The European Union territory thus has been so far in a constant state of flux, although the recent enlargement fatigue may put an end to this in the near future. In addition to the 'geographical' enlargement of the territory through the accession of new Member States, one can identify multiple territorialities that co-exist and overlap within the EU (Bialasiewicz *et al.* 2005; Mamadouh 2001). Nevertheless, there is a clear trajectory towards an increasing conceptualisation of the European territory as a single and integrated space – Richardson & Jensen (2004) invoke the notion of 'monotopia' – manifestations of which increasingly are visible in the emerging field of European (Union) spatial development policy.

A number of examples can be used to illustrate this point. For instance, the realisation that most policy areas in which the European Union has policy leverage have significant territorial impacts that require spatial co-ordination have prompted decision-makers to look beyond national borders. These include Common Agricultural Policy, Structural Policy, Environmental Policy, as well as Competition and Research Policy. The removal of internal borders and abolition of border formalities have also led to an increasingly integrated planning of the European traffic infrastructure. Highways, railroads and other infrastructural investment are increasingly co-ordinated at the European level as part of the so-called Trans-European Networks (TEN) and furnished with significant funding from the Structural Funds. Moreover, European territorial data and indicators are collected according to the NUTS classification of territorial units and according to common EU standards rather than national criteria making it possible to form a comprehensive view of EU territorial development. In this context, the European Spatial Observatory Network (ESPON) has played a crucial role in developing a wide-ranging territorial knowledge base – or evidence-base – covering the whole EU territory and beyond. The advancing perception of the EU as a single space has also triggered an intensifying debate on European spatial planning resulting in common socio-spatial visions and development frameworks for the European (Union) space and territorial co-operation. The apex of this debate so far has been the already-mentioned European Spatial Development Perspective, followed by the Territorial Agenda and the Territorial Agenda 2020, which has prompted European planners and decision-makers to look at territorial development from a European rather than

national viewpoint and conceptualised the European Union territory (EU 15) as a unified planning space. The emergence of European spatial development policy both has resulted from and contributed to the 'spatialisation' of European Union integration by coming up with a range of spatial concepts or spatial metaphors that move along the broader lines of core-periphery conceptualisations (e.g. the 'blue banana' and 'the Pentagon') or towards more balanced development (e.g. 'polycentricity') (Dühr *et al.* 2010). Nowadays a significant number of European institutions, in the wider sense of the concept, exert influence or 'power' on European territorial development and, as such, its territoriality.

However, this 'merging' of the European space into an increasingly integrated territory has also been accompanied by concomitant processes of fragmentation and 'regionalisation'. The role of regions and cross-border regions as increasingly important territorial units in terms of political, social and (as a result of globalisation) particularly economic life has gained increasing academic attention and given rise to notions such as 'new regionalism' or 'Europe of the regions' (see, for example, Keating 1998). In line with the multi-level governance approach, it is generally assumed that European Union integration has elevated the role and status of subnational authorities as increasingly self-determining actors in politics and policy as a result of EU requirements, for example in relation to the distribution of Structural Funds, as well as funding programmes and wider opportunity structures. In a setting that is not free of tension, regions are also increasingly understood as key loci for both economic development/competitiveness as well as territorial cohesion of the European Union as a whole (see CEC 2008). The link between regional emancipation and the European Union is also illustrated by the fact that regional politicians and policy-makers are provided with direct influence and representation within the European Union framework through the Committee of the Regions (CoR). Processes of regionalisation and regionalism, particularly in the European Union context, also include a specific and increasing cross-border dimension. This is being supported by dedicated funding instruments (for example, Strand A of the Interreg Community Initiative) and the formation of ad-hoc as well as enduring institutional frameworks and cross-border spaces for co-operation across borders. Popescu (2008) has identified institutional frameworks for cross-border spaces, such as the Euroregions, as important components of the changing nature of territoriality in the EU. Euroregions, which were pioneered at the Dutch-German border (Perkmann 2003), also have slowly spread from intra-EU borders to the external borders of the European Union (for an account of the Finnish-Russian experience in the form of the Euregio Karelia, see Cronberg 2003; also, Article 2). One, however, has to keep in mind that cross-border co-operation instruments have developed outside the realm of European Union policy as some cross-border instruments have already been set up rather early (1950s) and outside an EC/EU context. This, for example, includes cross-border

co-operation frameworks promoted by the Council of Europe (O'Dowd 2001) and, in a Nordic context, the Nordic Council of Ministers (Perkmann 2003).

As regards spatial development policy, the strengthening of the regional level of government in the European Union and the above-mentioned institutional frameworks and funding arrangements have resulted in a number of border-crossing initiatives and territorial co-operation in spatial development policy. This obviously relates in particular to the internal borders of the EU, where certain levels of territorial integration are easier to achieve as the result of the relatively low barrier effects of the internal EU borders. At some intra-European Union borders it is indeed nowadays commonplace that, for example, labour and housing markets are shared across borders. However, initiatives have also sprung up in external border settings. The situation at the external borders is obviously far more modest, although active spatial development co-operation along the Finnish-Russian border has been an integral element of cross-border co-operation, particularly in the 1990s (see Article 2).

In addition, regionalisation processes appear to be actively supported and encouraged by the EU also at higher territorial scales. Along with the rapid territorial enlargement of the European Union, and a probable concern about the 'manageability' and governance of the EU territory as a whole, macro-regional perspectives have gained increasing importance. The B strand of the Interreg Community Initiative has traditionally funded collaborative projects in large, transnational regions spanning several national territories. Despite concerns over the suitability of the geographic delimitations of these programming areas and their partial overlaps, co-operation and 'working together' within these regions can certainly have a supportive effect on the development of joint territorial development activities. In addition, the European Commission has engaged in the drawing up of macro-regional strategies by focussing on assumed functional regions along or around physical features such as the Baltic Sea, River Danube and the Mediterranean (see CEC 2010; CEC 2009). This provides some indication for an increased interest on the part of the EU in the territorial governance and development of its macro-regions. This, however, may also reflect national concerns as regards individual countries' spatial position within their larger macro-regional surroundings.

2.4 MULTI-LEVEL, EXTERNAL (TERRITORIAL) GOVERNANCE VIS-À-VIS-RUSSIA

The evolving, dynamic and multi-dimensional nature of European integration has resulted in a large body of scholarly work on potential theoretical approaches that describe and explain developments of and within the European Union project. This obviously relates strongly to general theories of European Union integration, mostly grouped into neo-functionalist/supranational and

inter-governmental/state-centric orientations, emphasising ever-closer integration into a supranational institution on the one hand, with Members States handing over some of their sovereignty to the EU, or continued inter-state, or inter-governmental co-operation on the other. Such grand theories aiming to explain the fundamental processes of European integration in its entirety are not very useful for explaining the intricate processes at work in such a policy field as spatial planning, which is characterised by relatively low levels of institutionalisation, unclear distribution of competences, involvement of diverse actors from multiple tiers of governance and general variability in activities. In comparison to inter-governmental or supranational approaches, the intricate processes of interaction are much better captured by mid-range theoretical approaches that enable us to conceptualise and explain insights into the actual workings, institutional structures and policy-making within and beyond the European Union rather than focussing on grand questions of what the European Union is as a single institution and towards which form of political organisation it is heading.

The link between European integration and its territorial, non-state manifestations to a significant extent is captured by the concept of 'multi-level governance', which takes an institutionalist view and focuses on the division of labour, initiative and responsibility between multi-level territorial forms of organisation. Multi-level governance has been criticised for being more of a description or metaphor for European integration rather than a testable theory (Rosamond 2000, cited in Dühr *et al.* 2010). The work at hand does not aim to either prove or refute a 'theory of multi-level governance', but rather aims to shed light on the inter-scalar relations and institutional dynamics in the field of spatial development policy, particularly in its external dimension, by examining whether and how the assumed characteristics of multi-level governance are visible in internal and external territorial governance practices.

The general assumption in the literature on multi-level governance is that the position of the local/regional (subnational) levels as well as supranational institutions are being strengthened through the "dispersion of authoritative decision making across multiple territorial levels" (Hooghe & Marks 2001a, xi; see also Marks 1993). The multi-level governance approach goes beyond the traditional inter-governmentalist and federalist/supranationalist approaches, which have long been the mainstay of European Union integration studies, by focussing on the actual processes of dispersion and re-scaling across and between different scales of governance.

Multi-level governance also implies a declining role of the state in terms of policy initiation, policy-making and implementation. However, it does not necessarily imply that the nation-state is losing its significance or even withering away, but that this level of policy-making and governance is only becoming one of many. Nevertheless, according to Hooghe & Marks (2001a) the multi-level governance approach opposes state-centric views on European Union

integration, which assume that national governments preserve the ultimate decision and agenda-setting power exclusively based on their national interest.

Multi-level governance also emphasises the *interconnectedness* between different levels of territorial governance. This implies that political arenas and governance arrangements are “interconnected rather than nested” in clearly stratified and separated layers (Hooghe & Marks 2001a, 4). In this respect, Hooghe & Marks cite the example of direct links between subnational actors and the European Union and the creation of “transnational associations” in the process (*ibid.*, 4).

In an article from 2001, Hooghe & Marks (2001b) have refined their notion by proposing two different, but complimentary typologies (Type I and II) of how multi-level governance is organised. Type I multi-level governance is rooted in federalism studies and refers to a limited number of jurisdictional levels that carry out multiple tasks in generally territorially mutually exclusive jurisdictions. Thus, Type I refers mainly to the dispersion of authority and responsibilities vertically between ‘traditional’ tiers of governance. In this Type I, interconnectedness is thus more limited than in Type II. In Type II, a growing number of jurisdictions active in diverse territorial scales can be inserted between and across the ‘traditional’ tiers of governance. In Type II multi-level governance, ad-hoc jurisdictions set up to deal with specific tasks result in flexible, fluid and overlapping jurisdictions (see Table 2 for the key differences between the two Types). Type II multi-level governance shares similarities with the ‘network governance’ approach, which emphasises “informal, loose structures that extend across and beyond hierarchies” (Jachtenfuchs 2001, 253-254). Faludi & Peyrony (2011) argue that cohesion policy and EU planning in a wider context is a mix between the two types of multi-level governance. According to this view, the traditional tiers of government, which clearly retain significance, are intermeshed with issue- and sector-specific networks supported by, for example, the Directorate Generals of the EU Commission and a variety of other organisations that cluster around and engage with the policy field of spatial development.

Table 2: Types of Multi-Level Governance (source: Hooghe & Marks 2001b)

Type I	Type II
multi-task jurisdictions	task-specific jurisdictions
mutually-exclusive jurisdictions at any particular level	overlapping jurisdictions at all levels
limited number of jurisdictions	unlimited number of jurisdictions
Jurisdictions organised in a limited number of levels	no limit to the number of jurisdictional levels
jurisdictions are intended to be permanent	jurisdictions are intended to be flexible

The European Union itself has taken up the concept of multi-level governance in its reports and shows an awareness of the complexities involved in coordinating policy-making at various tiers or scales of governance. The European Commission's *White Paper on European Union Governance* (CEC 2001, 34) states that "[t]he Union needs clear principles identifying how competence is shared between the Union and its Member States. In the first place this is to respond to the public's frequent question 'who does what in Europe?'" Representing the voice of subnational governments in the European Union, the Committee of the Regions (CoR) more explicitly has thrown its weight behind the concept and approach to governance by publishing the *Committee of the Regions' White Paper on Multilevel Governance* (CoR 2009). As evident from the White Paper, the Committee of the Regions' take on multi-level governance is very close to the original delineation of the concept by Hooghe and Marks. The CoR "considers multilevel governance to mean coordinated action by the European Union, the Member States and local and regional authorities, based on partnership and aimed at drawing up and implementing EU policies. It leads to responsibility being shared between the different tiers of government concerned and is underpinned by all sources of democratic legitimacy and the representative nature of the different players involved" (CoR 2009, 6). Interestingly, the CoR's White Paper also draws strong connections between multi-level governance and the territorial dimension of spatial policies, territorial indicators/impact analysis and territorial co-operation.

What then is the link between the formation of a multi-level polity and European Union territoriality and territorial development? In essence, it would be in line with a shift away from the exclusive focus on state territoriality. The increasing involvement of supranational and subnational actors in European policy-making and debate, and their varying territorial attachments, is putting weight to other territorial interests than those of the state. The European Union is consequently a key example of how other political, social and organisational constructs than the national state are assuming and expressing territorialised, but also de/re-territorialised, forms of organisations. In this context, spatial development policy represents an interesting case in point in the respect that during the last twenty years, as a result of increasing internationalisation and 'Europeanisation', non-state levels of government/governance have entered the policy field and complemented national and 'inter-national' collaborative activities. This also relates to the fact that a number of inter-woven territorial entities and forms of organisation make up and indeed aim to influence the development of the European space, ranging from municipalities, states, macro-regions and up to the EU as a whole and indeed provide input into this field of action.

While the concept of multi-level governance is a valuable tool in problematising vertical relationships and divisions of labour in the field of spatial development policy, it does not – on its own – provide us with the means

to grasp the 'inside'/'outside' relationship in territorial governance between the European Union and its external environment – Russia, in the context of this work – which has been identified as a key component in the above debate on European Union territoriality. In other words, how then can we relate European Union multi-level governance to interaction and co-operation with the EU's external neighbourhood, specifically with Russia?

In a relatively early article on the external dimension of European Union governance, Friis & Murphy (1999, 213, *my emphasis*) indeed criticise the early focus of the governance school by stating that “territorial or political space *within* the Union creates the impression that the extent of EU governance is confined to its membership, i.e. membership and governance are implicitly linked. This neglects the development of governance ‘beyond the EU’”. This, in turn, raises the question of how internal EU governance practices can have relevance for, have influence on and also can be influenced by the external environment resulting in an extension of governance beyond EU membership. Smith (1996) invokes the notion of ‘boundaries’ – not territorial borders – drawn, maintained or modified by the EU that control the inclusion or exclusion of external actors from its political spaces and modes of governance. He identifies four types of boundaries that the European Union can draw, maintain or modify with regard to its environment: geopolitical, institutional/legal, transactional and cultural boundaries (*ibid.*, 13). Against the background of slowly weakening transactional and cultural boundaries, signified by increasing economic exchange, economic and social linkages, the individual articles shed light on the geopolitical intricacies, and thus potential boundaries, between the European Union and the Russian Federation through the lens of the policy field of spatial development and planning. Reflecting the nature of the policy field in question, institutional boundaries in the policy field are approached from a perspective focussing on ‘soft’ rather than hard/legal boundaries and revolving practices of inclusion and exclusion.

Subsequently, the debate on the external dimension of European Union governance has been taken forward by a number of scholars in political science and international politics who focus on the concept of ‘external governance’. These authors see the ‘governance’ school – that has been mainly applied in intra-European Union contexts and focuses on informal, day-to-day policy-making instead of formal, inter-governmental negotiations and treaty adaptations (Schimmelfennig & Wagner 2004) – as a fruitful and valuable tool also in terms of an examination of relations between the European Union and the wider European Union neighbourhood in a multi-level and multi-actor setting (Lavenex 2004; Schimmelfennig & Sedelmeier 2002; Schimmelfennig & Wagner 2004; Lavenex & Schimmelfennig 2009). External governance is different from most other approaches used to analyse the external relations of European Union in the way that it is, overall, not about a ‘foreign policy’ of the European Union, but more about the exterior extension of intra-European Union policy. In

the words of Lavenex (2004, 681; 685), external governance of the European Union and its role as a civilian power is about the “external dimension of internal politics” and the ways in which the European Union attempts “to manage the external interdependence of the EU as a nascent political form”. In other words, the external governance perspective “addresses the external dimension of the internal processes of integration and hence adopts a sectoral optic on norms, policies and regulations and their external dimension” (Lavenex & Schimmelfennig 2009, 795). Since this work addresses the link between internal integration and its external dimension through the sectoral optic of the policy field of spatial development, which has only recently been opened up as a new field of European policy and, as mentioned already mentioned, is characterised by relatively low levels of institutionalisation, contested competences and the involvement of diverse actors and stakeholders even in the internal EU context, the external governance approach is very relevant. With “perceptions of interdependence” and “institutional roles and capacities”, Lavenex (2004, 681) identifies two main dimensions of EU external governance that also have relevance to territorial governance and the EU’s interrelationship with the neighbouring regions and territories. Perceptions of interdependence may be based on the identification of common challenges that warrant communication or even joint approaches or – in less benign cases often cited in the external governance literature – can pose certain security risks to the EU. Institutional roles and capacities, on the other hand, “refer to the dynamic distribution of competences and resources in the EU’s multi-level system and provide the background for the Union’s accountability to engage in governance activities” (Lavenex 2004, 686).

Admittedly, the ‘external governance’ school represents a rather Eurocentric viewpoint on interaction between the EU and non-European Union countries in the way that it implicitly sees the EU as a rather dominant actor that extends its rules beyond its immediate borders. As a result, this school, at least initially, focussed mainly on rule transfer, conditionality and the coercive power that the European Union exerts on third countries and on the adoption of certain aspect of the EU *aquis* in third countries. However, I would maintain that the external governance approach is also helpful in conceptualising voluntaristic collaborative action, dialogue and socialisation/interaction in a given policy field, particularly with countries that do not have an entry perspective to the European Union and, thus, are not susceptible to conditionality, coercion or even sanctions; and in policy fields where the EU level has no competence as set out in the EU *aquis* or treaties and relies on informal co-operation with a diversified group of actors and experts with an interest in the given policy field, such as spatial development policy and planning. After all, the whole developmental story of European spatial planning has been characterised by persuasion and voluntary co-operation and co-ordination. Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier (2004, 662), though again referring to the transfer and adoption of

rules, state that external governance can rest on “processes of persuasion and learning in which EU actors socialize” with external actors rather than coercing them on the basis of conditionality. In a more recent paper, Lavenex & Schimmelfennig (2009) indeed emphasise that with a decreasing scope for accession and thus enlargement after the 2004 and 2007 rounds, conditionality and hierarchy are becoming less relevant as a mechanism or mode of external governance, giving way to alternative, less hierarchical, forms of ‘new governance’ such as ‘lesson-drawing’, ‘social learning’ or ‘communication’. These more participatory governance models (Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier 2004; see also Checkel 2001 and Rose 1991) are obviously dependent on the involvement of epistemic communities forming around the issue area and connecting with their counterparts in the external environment in order to arrive at shared understandings and common styles of thinking (see Article 4).

In a relatively recent paper, Lavenex & Schimmelfennig (2009) have refined the notion of external governance by elaborating the theoretical foundations of the approach, of which the following is a summary. Focussing, firstly, on different modes of governance (hierarchy, networks, markets) and different levels of effectiveness (ranging from initial rule *selection* to *adoption* and, the most intensive stage, *implementation*), they invoke three different explanations for external governance processes; (1) institutionalist, (2) power-based and (3) domestic structure explanations. As regards the modes of governance, ‘hierarchy’ refers to vertical and formalised relationships (domination and subordination) between actors aiming at harmonisation via “steering based on formal and precise rules that are non-negotiable and legally binding” (*ibid.*, 797). In an internal EU context, the ‘Community Method’ is often linked to the hierarchical mode. In an external context, hierarchy is often prevalent in legalised and institutionalised, asymmetric relationships between stronger and weaker parties (Lavenex *et al.* 2009). The ‘market’ mode of governance, as a form of governance that receives much less attention in political science, is based on competition as a means of governance in horizontal actor constellations comprised of partners that are formally equal. Here, formalised relationships are less likely to emerge. Lavenex & Schimmelfennig (2009) identify ‘mutual recognition’, for example within the EU Single market, as a basis for the approximation of legislation and practice, i.e. a ‘regulatory dynamic’. However, for the field of spatial development policy, characterised by the involvement of almost exclusively public actors, the ‘market’ mode of external governance is presumably the least germane. The ‘network’ mode of governance is based on both formal and informal co-ordination between formally equal partners; i.e. a formally symmetric relationship. This mode of governance is characterised by voluntaristic co-ordination and agreements. In an internal EU context, network governance is seen as an alternative to the hierarchical ‘Community Method’ and is often linked to the activities of policy networks forming around certain policy or issue areas and policy sectors. Thus, it also bears relevance and is

linked closely to the Open Method of Co-ordination (OMC) (for an examination of the relationship between the OMC and European spatial planning, see Faludi 2004). According to Lavenex *et al.* (2009, 816), “[t]he co-ordination of interdependence in a network type of interactions requires a certain degree of institutionalisation and the existence of central co-ordination structures goes along with decentralized units of interaction”. In an external context, one can expect that joint agenda-setting and the identification of common topics for collaboration through ‘new governance’ practices, such as the earlier-identified ‘lesson-drawing’, ‘social learning’ or ‘communication’, are essential and important in network-like modes of governance. For a summary of the differences between hierarchy, network and market, see Table 3.

Table 3. Three Modes of External Governance (source: Lavenex & Schimmelfennig 2009, 800)

	Actor Constellation	Institutionalisation	Mechanisms of Rule Expansion
Hierarchy	Vertical: domination in subordination	Tight, formal	Harmonisation
Network	Horizontal: formal equality of partners	Medium-tight, formal and informal	Co-ordination
Market	Horizontal: formal equality of partners	Loose, informal	Competition

The effectiveness of external governance, defined as “the extent to which EU rules are effectively transferred to third countries”, is assessed by Lavenex & Schimmelfennig (2009, 800) on the basis of rule selection, rule adoption and rule application. Rule selection represents the lowest level of effectiveness and concerns the simple identification of themes that the EU has an interest in for international negotiations and agreements between the EU and third countries. Rule adoption concerns the question of whether “rules are transposed into the third country’s domestic legislation” (*ibid.*, 801). Lastly, rule application (or implementation) represents the highest level of effectiveness in terms of external governance and revolves around the question of whether rules that “are incorporated into domestic legislation” are also “acted upon in political and administrative practices” (*ibid.*, 801). Unfortunately, the focus on rules – and their selection, adoption and implementation in domestic settings in the EU’s external environment – focuses almost exclusively on the legislative, hard dimension of external governance, and as such echoes the fundamentals of the principle of conditionality – and does not resonate well with alternative external governance processes such as ‘lesson-drawing’ or ‘social learning’, which can be expected to be the most germane to spatial development interaction between the European Union and the Russian Federation. As a consequence the focus in this

work is mostly on the mode of external (territorial) governance, rather than its effectiveness.

We can now return to Lavenex & Schimmelfennig's three different explanations for external governance processes, i.e. institutionalist, power-based and domestic structure perspectives. The institutionalist explanation argues that the mode and effectiveness of external governance is a direct reflection of the EU's internal mode and structure of governance. In the words of Lavenex & Schimmelfennig (2009, 802), "institutionalist explanations stipulate that the mode and effectiveness of EU external governance depend on the quality of existing EU institutions" and thus "EU external governance is generally shaped by existing EU institutions". The power-based explanations do not stipulate that internal EU structures shape external governance, but rather that power relations and interdependence between the EU and the external environment are the determining factors. In the words of Lavenex & Schimmelfennig (2009, 804), power-based explanations "suggest that the modes and effectiveness of EU external governance vary with international structures of power and interdependence between the EU and third countries". In terms of the mode of governance, this explanation presupposes that the EU, particularly in the hierarchical mode of governance, has relatively high levels of interdependence with and power over its external environment or individual countries. In terms of effectiveness, the bargaining power of the EU is a decisive factor. Lastly, the domestic structure explanations highlight the relevance of domestic structures in the targeted countries as a variable in processes of external governance. In essence, the domestic structures explanations leave from the opposite end of the institutionalist explanations by stipulating that the governance structures and practices of the EU's external environment condition the mode and effectiveness of EU external governance. This particularly relates to the issue of compatibility between the EU's institutional structures and practices in the third countries in question. If domestic structures in third countries are similar and compatible with those governance arrangements that exist in general or in a particular policy field in the EU, one can expect that external governance is more likely to occur and yield results. In this context, the specific and 'sui generis' nature of the European Union, its above-outlined peculiar territoriality and multi-scalar governance arrangements and its 'way of doing things', can of course complicate co-operation and co-ordination with the external neighbourhood that is often characterised by very different, and generally state-centred, policy environments.

Having reviewed the theoretical foundations of the concepts of territory and territoriality as well as then multi-level and external governance approaches, the summarising and concluding sections will draw together the findings from the individual articles and relate these findings to the theoretical discussion presented above.

3 Summary of the Individual Articles

In order to work out the multi-level processes of interaction, co-operation and external governance in spatial development policy between the European Union and the Russian Federation, three case studies that deal with specific 'episodes' of European spatial development policy, being here broadly defined as processes of interaction within different arenas of co-operation, have been examined with regard to inclusionary and exclusionary practices towards the Russian Federation, or the 'Russian dimension'. A fourth article (Article 1) more generally presents European platforms of interaction between Russia and the European Union, thus representing the results of the extensive or scoping phase of my research, and ponders the implications of the geopolitical relationship between the EU and Russia as regards territorial interaction between the two regional powers.

The following summaries of each of the three articles examining the specific episodes or case studies will outline their relevance to European spatial development policy and planning and the Russian dimension, and briefly summarise their contents. More detailed findings of all four articles will be presented in the next section and related to the theoretical debate.

Article 2 is directed towards the lower echelons of European territorial governance and focuses on subnational as well as bilateral interaction in spatial development policy across the Finnish-Russian border. The focus on the case of the Finnish-Russian border is justified by the fact that this border is significant as the first common EU-Russian border and serves as an interesting example of the evolution of cross-border co-operation in spatial development since the early 1990s. The article presents an analysis of the impact of the gradual opening of the Finnish-Russian border and processes of 'Europeanisation' in Finnish spatial development policy on subnational co-operation between Finland and Russia in this policy field. The strengthening of the regional level of government, i.e. the Regional Councils, as one of the results of EU membership and their increasing role in spatial planning and regional policy in both regional/domestic and international contexts, as well as a relatively straightforward geopolitical setting led to cross-border initiatives in spatial development co-operation with Russian actors in the field. Particularly during the 1990s, an enthusiastic phase in Finnish-Russian cross-border co-operation and cross-border spatial development initiatives were mainly driven and supported by the national level,

i.e. the Finnish Ministry of the Environment, which over time devolved responsibilities to the regional level.

The EU's Baltic Sea Strategy, the main focus of Article 3, is an important initiative at both the macro-regional level and the European Union level. Macro-regions have recently emerged as an increasingly important territorial level and have garnered interest from both EU institutions and the Member States. The EU's Baltic Sea Strategy represents the first of a series of macro-regional strategies drawn up by the EU Commission for specific parts of its territory and aims to co-ordinate territorially relevant activities. The Baltic Sea Region thus has been awarded a pioneering role in macro-regional territorial governance built around the assumed functional region that is the Baltic Sea Region. This choice is not surprising due to the fact that after the coming down of the Iron Curtain, the Baltic Sea Region has undergone massive change by becoming a highly collaborative environment and shifting towards increasing territorial integration. Significant challenges as regards persistent socio-economic east-west disparities and environmental degradation, however, remain. At the European Union level, the Baltic Sea Strategy is significant due to the fact that it represents an important new approach to and inroad into territorial governance from an EU institution, i.e. the European Commission. As a consequence, the Strategy's handling of the Russian dimension, which Article 3 analyses in detail, provides important indications concerning the EU's readiness to include/exclude the Russian dimensions into its spatial development frameworks. This is particularly important in the context of the Baltic Sea Region, which obviously is of significant interest to Russia as its 'window to the West' and important trading and transport corridor.

In Article 4, the focus on the interrelationship between CEMAT (Council of Europe) and EU activities in terms spatial development co-operation is justified by the fact that this interrelationship provides interesting clues regarding the wider relationship between the different conceptions of 'Pan-Europe', as represented by the Council of Europe, and 'Official Europe', as represented by European Union activities. CEMAT, as the longest established forum for European co-operation in spatial development policy, has strong involvement from and provides an important forum for countries that are not members of the EU, including Russia. The wide membership of the Council of Europe, currently 47 countries, ensures that Eastern European countries that are not members of the European Union have access to Western ideas, experience and practice. This, of course, holds true also for the opposite direction, i.e. Western European decision-makers and practitioners can potentially benefit from, for example, Russian experiences in approaching specific territorial development challenges. The article examines existing interaction and engagement between the Russian Federation and European Union knowledge arenas in spatial planning and territorial governance and ponders on their potential interrelationship in the future. It particularly highlights the issue of knowledge transfer and exchange

between the EU and Russia, as well as other European countries that are not members of the European Union. The recent Russian CEMAT Presidency, activities of which are examined in the article, provided the country with a rather prestigious role and a voice in territorial development matters in Europe, along with a unique opportunity to shape the European debate and highlight Russia's spatial development challenges in a European context. More widely, CEMAT's existence ensures continued contacts between EU countries and external neighbours in the absence of any supranational (EU-Russian) initiatives in this policy field.

4 Discussion and Conclusions

The key aim of this study has been to contribute to the ongoing discussion of an emerging European Union territoriality and external territorial governance by analysing spatial development interaction and co-operation between Russia and the European Union. More specifically the work focuses on the way in which the Russian dimension is either included or excluded from European spatial development policy/territorial governance. Building on the theoretical insights gained from the cross-fertilisation of the literatures on political geography, political science and European spatial planning, this inquiry has been operationalised by the position of two inter-related research questions. The first one concerns the identification and exploration of existing/potential fora and governance arrangements, as well as their modes of operation, for EU-Russian co-operation. The second is concerned with the extent to and way in which the 'Russian dimension' is taken account of in European (Union) fora and activities of spatial development policy and territorial governance. Spatial development policy, being a policy field that only relatively recently has been opened up as a new field at a European dimension, and has so far – bar the policy objective of territorial cohesion – not been communitarised, remains a rather modest element of policy deliberation at the European Union level. It therefore does not come unexpectedly that this policy area has developed so far only a rather diminutive external dimension and has received understandably little attention in the academic debate on EU external governance as compared to high-level political issues such as security, energy policy or trade. Given the prevalent political and geopolitical realities of EU-Russian relations, it is also clear that one of the underlying goals of EUropean co-operation on spatial development, i.e. territorial integration at various geographical scales through multi-level processes of collaboration, is unlikely to progress between the European Union and the Russian Federation as far as it potentially does within an internal EU context. It also should be kept in mind that many development projects with spatial effects are not the result of the strategies, visions and plans produced within the collaborative arenas examined as part of this work. From a normative standpoint, however, these political and socio-economic realities should not result in a lack of ambition on the part of all actors and organisations involved to strengthen the link between the EU's internal and external realms of spatial development and territorial governance.

The foregoing theoretical discussion has aimed to show that the development of territorial governance and spatial development policy in the European Union is closely inter-linked with the wider development of the European Union political project and, particularly, its process of integration. This work has started from the assumption that there is an emerging territoriality of the European Union, which is, however, different in important ways from traditional state territoriality. The emerging multi-level territoriality of the European Union is signified by shifting and sometimes even newly-emerging scales that do not necessarily adhere to the traditional tiers of territorial governance. Indeed, in the academic debate, particularly within the realm of political geography, territory and territoriality are increasingly not tied to exclusively state-centric contexts anymore, the traditional anchor of territoriality, but have been extended to regional or supranational and even global contexts (for the latter, see Elden 2005). The strengthening of regions and the emergence of cross-border regions, most poignantly symbolised by the cross-border co-operation frameworks such as the Euregios, as well as the growing interest in macro-regions as loci for targeted territorial development strategies, for example, as evident in the Baltic Sea and the Danube Regions, provide evidence for this trajectory. Scales or territories thus should not be seen as pre-given, as new arenas and scales of policy action can emerge and be inserted in between the existing scales and territories of collaboration as a result of political and policy interest and intervention. Some authors even have gone so far to reject notions of scale and territory completely and shifted towards de-territorialised and relational in thinking about human relations and their manifestations in space. Nevertheless, in the context of this work, and in the context of spatial development policy, territory and scale are still regarded as important and indeed used as a category of practice and analysis. Spatial development frameworks, strategies, action plans and visions resulting from collaborative process still are drawn up for a certain territory, and may exclude others. Collaborative processes themselves also may include certain actors and exclude others based on territorial or other considerations.

As part of this work, the relationship between territory and spatial development policy has been established by arguing that the policy field of spatial planning and territorial governance can contribute to and influence, admittedly as one element of many, an emerging European Union territoriality though the advancement of cognitive tools such as territorial strategies, visions, concepts, evidence, etc., which in the longer term can result in changes 'on the ground', that is influencing the territorial structure of the European Union and its external neighbourhood and potentially leading to increased territorial integration. As a consequence, inclusionary or exclusionary practices towards the EU's external neighbourhood can have a significant impact on whether the EU adopts an 'open' or 'closed' territoriality. In the context of this work, the focus on a single policy field, however, limits the power of the conclusion we

can draw as regards a European Union territoriality and, as such, should not be generalised to any significant extent.

In the following, findings from the individual articles will be presented in relation to the theoretical tools of multi-level governance (i.e. the vertical dimension of European territorial governance) and external governance (i.e. the geographical extension of territorial governance) in relation to the EU's large external neighbour, which is, in the context of this work, the Russian Federation.

Initially it should be emphasised that the episodes of interaction between the EU and Russia presented in the articles reflect the prevailing mix of regional, macro-regional, national/bilateral and pan-European/supranational collaborative processes leading up to and serving as arenas for the elaboration of such tools and mechanisms for territorial governance and integration. The emerging picture is one of highly complex and interconnected networks of co-operation, which are characterised by complex and evolving interrelationships and collaborative action at and between different territorial scales and between a variety of actors. Here, a certain fluidity of ideas, initiative, knowledge and, not the least, world views between actors is facilitated by a shared epistemic or knowledge community whose members move naturally between different arenas of co-operation (Article 4).

As regards the vertical division of labour between scales of territorial governance, much of the existing collaboration between the EU and Russia, and thus outreach to the Russian dimension, rests on co-operation within international/multi-lateral organisations, such as CEMAT and VASAB. This obviously is facilitated by the fact that Russia is an active member in these organisations. CEMAT, as a traditional and long-standing inter-governmental/international forum for spatial development co-operation in Europe, serves as a key example of this continuing strong role of national governments, particularly with regard to the inclusion of non-EU European countries, including Russia (Article 4). Under the CEMAT umbrella, direct and rather active bilateral co-operation between Russia and Germany, as well as between some of their respective regions, is carried out and described in Article 1 and Article 4. VASAB, another traditionally inter-governmental forum for spatial development co-operation, also incorporates a rather strong Russian dimension, although Russian representation in VASAB is mostly reliant on the subnational representatives, in particular the Leontief Institute in St. Petersburg. Indeed, one of the major challenges VASAB faces in terms of Russian involvement is the relative lack of federal backing in the form of the Russian Ministry for Regional Development in Moscow (Article 1).

The Baltic Sea Region Strategy, the centre of attention in Article 3, illustrates the growing involvement of the European Union –level in the territorial governance and development of macro-regions located within its territory, admittedly in a manner that diverges from the traditional understanding of European spatial planning revolving around 'spatial visions', but resembling

more an 'action-oriented framework' based on the initiation and co-ordination of a variety of territorially-relevant projects. With DG Regio in the lead, the European Commission drew up the document at the request of the Council of the European Union, in order to provide impetus and co-ordination for the manifold collaborative initiatives in the Baltic Sea Region. However, also this initiative has been co-initiated by and received political backing from the Member States in the Baltic Sea Region. Due to the fact that no new institutions or sources of funding have been created for the implementation of the BSR Strategy at the EU-level, much of the success of the Strategy will indeed rest on the political will and willingness for engagement of the Member States. When it comes to the implementation of the Strategy, the European Commission is obviously dependent on national and subnational governments to co-ordinate and implement the priority areas, and on a variety of governmental and non-governmental actors to carry out the concrete project proposed in the BSR Strategy. This again points towards a complex re-shuffling of initiative and responsibilities across different levels of governance and not to a withering away of the national level. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that the European Commission actively has engaged, and thus assumed a stronger role, in providing strategies and frameworks for (assumed) functional regions in order to contribute to 'cohesion, coherence and co-operation', paraphrasing Andreas Faludi's (2010) view on what European spatial planning is essentially about. It is, a fortiori, somewhat worrying that Russia has rather straightforwardly been left outside the Strategy (see Article 3).

Proceeding to even lower scales of territorial governance, Article 2 illustrates how in Finland initiative and responsibilities in cross-border spatial development co-operation has been re-shuffled between the national and subnational levels. Initially, the national level in Finland, in the form of the Ministry of the Environment, had been the driving force in initiating cross-border co-operation in spatial development policy between Finland and its eastern neighbour Russia during the 1990s. In these activities, subnational governments on both sides were actively involved from the beginning. However, around the turn of the millennium the national level, based on the opportunity structures provided by the European Union and the strengthening of the regional level in Finland as a – though not exclusive - result of Finland's accession to the European Union made the conscious decision to retreat to some extent from active engagement. As part of this process, the Finnish Ministry of the Environment actively devolved initiative and responsibilities for spatial development co-operation with Russia down to the regional level of government (Regional Councils), utilising the opportunity structures provided by institutional frameworks, such as the Euregio Karelia, and funding from Interreg II/IIIA. At the same time, the Finnish national level aimed to strengthen its involvement and utilisation of international/transnational organisations such as VASAB and CEMAT, particularly with regard to the external (i.e. Russian)

dimension. The fact that the national level encouraged and emancipated the regional tier to become active in the field of cross-border spatial development co-operation underlines the former's remaining role in terms of agenda setting and the distribution of responsibilities. Article 2 also illustrates how Finnish-Russian co-operation in spatial development policy was at its strongest during the 1990s when it was in essence run and supervised by the Finnish state, i.e. the Ministry of the Environment. With the retreat of the national level and active devolvement of responsibilities to the regional level (Regional Councils) collaborative activities across the Finnish-Russian border in spatial development policy have somewhat slowed down at the turn of the millennium, although it has to be borne in mind that processes of centralisation in post-2000 Russia potentially has contributed to waning cross-border co-operation in spatial development policy as well.

The considerations above reinforce a picture in which the state, as a level of government and territorial entity, continues to play a strong role in spatial development co-operation between the European Union and Russian Federation. It illustrates how co-operation between EU members and non-EU members is strongest in collaborative forums where the national level retains a prominent role. In the absence of a clearly defined European Union competence, coupled with some Members States' insistence on spatial development policy to remain a sovereign national affair, which has been discussed at length in the literature on European spatial planning, the multi-level arrangement in spatial development policy thus appears to favour the lower scales of governance and government as main initiators and implementers of co-operation with the Russian Federation.

What thus also emerges from the individual articles is that the most difficult level to pin down in terms of spatial development co-operation between the European Union and the Russian Federation is the highest, i.e. the EU-Russian, level. This level, in other words, is the least integrative as regards the Russian dimension. Simultaneously, the relative weakness of the EU as an actor in terms of interaction, co-operation and agenda-setting in spatial development towards the Russian Federation becomes evident. Within this context, stipulations put forward in the external governance literature provide a helpful explanatory tool. Indeed, the fact that spatial development policy represents a policy field where the EU's complex mode of internal (multi-level) governance and unclear mandate at the EU-level conditions the relationship and collaborative linkages with its external neighbourhood, that is, in the context of this study, the Russian Federation. More specifically it can be argued that European Union territorial governance as regards Russia follows and reflects the internal structure and institutional environment of spatial development policy *within* the EU. Thus, external territorial governance towards Russia appears to resonate with institutionalist explanations as described by Lavenex & Schimmelfennig (2009).

Despite the weakness of the EU-level as an actor in external territorial governance, or rather, in terms of spatial development co-operation, and the fact that a genuine inclusion of and co-operation with the Russian Federation so far has not been achieved at the EU-level, there exist some interesting interconnections between the two in terms of territorial governance and spatial development, which can provide pointers for the development of their future inter-relationship and will be briefly summarised in the following from the content of the individual articles.

First, the perhaps most explicit basis for potential collaborative action has been the *Memorandum of Understanding for Establishing a Dialogue on Regional Policy* between the EU Commission and the Ministry of Regional Development of the Russian Federation, which is frequently referred to in the individual articles and represents a clear manifestation of the 'perceptions of interdependence' that exist between the two 'regional powers'. Here, the reference to regional policy obviously avoids the competence issue that has marred EU involvement in anything that resembles spatial planning. Nevertheless, the Memorandum was conceived also in the spirit of spatial development policy and territorial governance, particularly as it refers to ESPON and CEMAT as potential fora for collaboration. It is, *a fortiori*, unfortunate that despite creating a legal basis for co-operation in regional development, in practice the Memorandum appears to have achieved very little in terms of tangible results and thus become little more than a 'paper tiger' as a result of the inability of both Russia and European Union to reach the operational side of collaboration within the framework of the Memorandum.

Second, the ESPON research programme, one of the EU's most important sources of territorial evidence, emerges as a potential future interface between the 'official European' and 'pan-European' dimensions of spatial development policy. This is grounded in the fact that ESPON is referenced in the Memorandum as providing a basis for exchanging experiences and fostering co-operation between the Russian Federation and the European Union in spatial development policy. Moreover, CEMAT, in its numerous documents, refers to ESPON as an arena it regards important for future co-operation, which would potentially strengthen ESPON's external role to a significant extent. This, however, would require inter-institutional co-operation to be initiated in earnest. ESPON itself appears to be much less enthusiastic about co-operation with CEMAT than vice versa. Despite some minor efforts to strengthen its external dimension as described in Articles 1 & 4, ESPON's engagement with the wider EU's external environment has been very limited. The development of the 'Visions of Europe in the World', presented in detail in Article 1, is perhaps the programme's most visible achievement in this respect. It is, however, quite telling that the above report has been produced as a result of the interest and initiative of the researchers involved rather than at the request of the ESPON programme.

Due to the ESPON's significance in the EU's wider territorial 'agenda', the relative lack of engagement with the EU's external neighbourhood is regrettable. ESPON is significant at the EU-level for a number of reasons. Firstly, territorial data and evidence is collected, analysed and mapped by paying attention to NUTS areas, providing a comparable picture of the territorial state and development of the ESPON space rather than national territories. In addition, ESPON has produced territorial development scenarios for the entire ESPON space and focussed on cross-border and transnational territorial structures and processes. Secondly, the work programme of ESPON is officially adopted by the European Commission, which, in addition to the ESPON member states, is also represented in the Monitoring Committee and wherein it arguably has a strong agenda-setting role as the main contributor of funding for the research programme. Thirdly, ESPON, being funded through Objective 3 for European Territorial Cooperation as well as by contributions from the 31 participating countries (forming the so-called ESPON space – EU27 + Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Switzerland), the programme has become an important component and tool for EU Cohesion Policy. A neglect of the external neighbourhood in this respect reveals the separation and schism between internally-oriented cohesion policy (subsumed under Objective 3/Interreg, from which ESPON is being funded) and externally-oriented neighbourhood policy (organised through the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP)/Common Spaces with Russia and their ENPI funding instrument).

With regard to the future of ESPON and the fact that already at this point in time there are four non-EU members involved in the research programme, one could potentially ask whether Russia and its epistemic communities could contribute to the work carried out in the research programme. As a result of significant legal, procedural and financial intricacies, full Russian membership in the research programme remains highly unlikely. Nevertheless, project and task-specific involvement of Russian researchers, particularly in projects that would benefit from expertise on the external environment, should be considered by the decision-makers involved.

As another territorially explicit initiative with strong involvement from the EU Commission, the EU Strategy for the Baltic Sea Region – at least at the level of strategy rather than implementation – is also rather weak in its connection to external environment, namely Russia. Resulting in a rather unambiguously internal spirit, the Strategy is almost exclusively addressed at the internal European Union space and its Member States. The Strategy, which is currently entering its first review process, exclusively concerns the eight EU member states bordering the Baltic Sea and only refers to the Northern Dimension as its 'external arm'. However, it has to be borne in mind that in practice Russia is "not entirely excluded from territorial governance in the BSR, since a large number of national as well as sub-national co-operation initiatives that involve Russian partners are at work in this macro-region and are also ultimately

involved in the implementation of the EU Strategy for the BSR" (Article 3, 397). It is interesting to note that, as compared to the Baltic Sea Strategy, the more recent EU Strategy for the Danube Region has a significantly stronger external outlook by including the entire country of Moldova and a certain number of border regions from Ukraine. Unfortunately I am not able to answer the question of whether the reason for Russia's omission from the EU's first macro-regional strategy has to do with the sometimes uneasy geopolitical relationship between the European Union and Russia, the EU's or Russia's refusal to engage with each other on the issue, or the pragmatic aspect that both Moldova and Ukraine, as opposed to Russia, still have a significantly stronger EU entry perspective than Russia.

To sum up, despite the progressing institutionalisation of European Union spatial development policy and an increasing involvement of the European Union and its institutions in territorial matters and territorial governance in an internal EU setting, the articles point towards the fact that collaboration with Russia continues to be deployed 'by proxy' through mainly national but also regional/local initiatives. The interconnectedness between the EU-level and subnational actors at the external border, and as such the EU's indirect influence on practices in its external neighbourhood by facilitating territorial co-operation (through opportunity structures and financial leverage) is illustrated in Article 2. The multi-level governance setting in the field of territorial governance towards Russia is nevertheless signified by a relatively weak involvement of the highest, supranational level of governance, i.e. the European Union institutions. Indeed, those initiatives and organisations of territorial governance where the European Commission has a relatively strong role are rather inward-looking. External multi-level governance in spatial development policy, implying a dispersion of authoritative power and initiative upwards to the EU-level and downwards to subnational levels, has thus not progressed as far as in other policy fields. The strong role of the state is not lamentable as such, since it corresponds to the basic European Union principles of subsidiarity and partnership if both Member States as well as non-members, international and transnational organisations and subnational actors share and co-ordinate their activities with the European Union. However, it is somewhat paradoxical that the blurring of the boundaries of political space or 'territory' in terms of spatial development policy, and the most inclusive collaborative activities towards the Russian Federation, take place in fora where the state-level, the incarnation of a traditional territoriality, retains the strongest role.

The above-outlined continuing strong role of national level co-operation (between individual EU Member States and the Russian Federation) in both bilateral and multi-lateral arenas might not be only the result of a relative weakness of the EU-level in this field, but also may reflect the preference of Russia as regards interaction and co-operation in spatial development policy. The Russian Federation repeatedly has shown its own partiality for direct,

bilateral or multi-lateral interaction with individual EU Member States. In addition, many larger EU Member States maintain their direct bilateral relations with the Russian Federation and thereby override European Union institutions in terms of foreign policy and external governance (Gänzle 2008). The strong interest of Germany in bilateral spatial planning co-operation with Russia could be cited as an example in this respect. This is where 'domestic structure explanations' put forward in the external governance literature, particularly the issue of compatibility between the EU's institutional structures and practices in Russia, come into the equation. Here, the question concerns whether multi-level governance arrangements are in fact suitable for collaborative practices with the Russian Federation. Indeed, a more explicit shift towards more multi-level and multi-centred modes of governance in terms of spatial development policy, with higher levels of involvement of European Union institutions and subnational governments, in fact might hamper co-operation with Russia. The extension of EU multi-level modes of governance beyond its immediate borders indeed might clash with state-centred, traditional modes of government, and indeed with perceptions of territoriality, in post-2000 Russia. This echoes Gänzle's (2008, 54) thinking who emphasises that this clash might be the result of consolidation of Russia as a "modern nation-state with a strong trend toward de-federalization and central authority" and the diametrical EU's trajectory towards decentralisation and multi-level governance involving a significant diversity of actors and levels of governance, and a more or less fluid understanding of territoriality. In a similar vein, Dimitrova & Dragneva (2009, 864) emphasise that "[t]he Russian view of sovereignty is a much 'harder' concept than the EU's notion of fluid borders and multiple regimes". Also, Prozorov (2006) supports this argument by stating that EU-Russian relations can be marred by the conflict between the 'sovereign logic' of Russia – driven by a strong link between territory and identity and thereby excluding others from the domestic space – and the 'integrationist logic' of the EU, which is based on pluralistic models leading to a common space.

This brings us to another side of the 'collaborative' coin, i.e. Russia's own interests as regards spatial development co-operation. It has to be borne in mind that any closer integration of the Russian Federation into European spatial development policy also necessitates a willingness on the part of Russian policy-makers to actively engage in co-operation with the EU. This includes both the 'foot soldiers' of spatial development policy who are involved in the various collaborative arenas, as well as the higher political levels of decision- and policy-making and, not the least, the broader geopolitical environment that conditions EU-Russian co-operation. Thus, the question whether and to what extent Russia, and its epistemic community, are prepared to include or exclude the 'European Union dimension' in their activities is worth asking.

These considerations provide some important directions for future research. As this work has not addressed this issue in any great detail, an analysis of the

position of Russian policy-makers and epistemic community towards closer co-operation in spatial development policy with the European Union should be carried out in the future. This also interconnects with the fact that Russia has its own goals in terms of governance and can exert considerable power towards its neighbours and international partners (see Dimitrova & Dragneva 2009). This is against the background of an increasingly self-assertive and confident Russia that certainly has its own political and territorial agendas and sees the European Union as an important neighbour the same way the European Union sees Russia. Russia itself indeed is striving to be a normative power too, embodied by, for example, the setting up of the Eurasian Union. Bearing in mind the relative low levels of institutionalisation of the policy field of spatial development policy and territorial governance within the EU, co-operation in spatial development policy between the EU and Russia will continue to be based on network-based and rather informal co-ordination. Echoing institutionalist explanations of external governance, it can be argued that much of the future of the EU's external dimension of spatial development depends on the future role that the EU-level itself assumes in spatial development policy and planning within the European Union.

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MATTI FRITSCH
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in European Spatial
Development Policy*

Increasing interaction in political, societal and economic terms between the European Union and the Russian Federation has given rise to an emerging, and sometimes uneasy, EU-Russian dialogue in numerous policy fields. Against this background, this study elaborates on the extent to and the ways in which the 'Russian dimension' is taken account of, and either included or excluded, in European fora and activities of spatial development policy.



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