

ECHOES OF EUROPEANISATION OF SPATIAL PLANNING IN EU CANDIDATE COUNTRIES

THE CASES OF SERBIA AND BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA

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To Marko S., a darling friend You will always be remembered

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATION	MEANING
AESOP	Association of European Schools of
	Planning
АР	autonomous province
B&H	Bosnia & Herzegovina
Bosnia	Bosnia & Herzegovina
CEC	Commission of the European
	Communities
CEMAT	Conference of Ministers responsible
	for Regional Planning
DEI	The Directorate for European
	Integration
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
ESDP	European Spatial Development Perspective
ESPON	European Observation Network,
	Territorial Development and
	Cohesion
ESTIA	Strategies for Integrated Spatial
	Development of the Central
	European, Danube and Adriatic Area
EU	European Union
EUSAIR	EU Strategy for the Adriatic-Ionian Region
EUSDR	EU Strategy for the Danube Region
ex-YU	former Yugoslavia
IAUS	The Institute of Architecture and
	Urban & Spatial Planning of Serbia
IPA	Instrument for Pre-accession
	Assistance
NUTS	Nomenclature of territorial units for
	statistics – NUTS
OHR	The Office of the High Representative
SAA	Stabilisation and Association
SEA	Agreement Strategic Environmental Assessment
TEN	Trans-European Networks
TEN TEN TEN	European transport networks
the Community	European Union
the Union	European Union
UN	United Nations
Vision Planet	Spatial Planning Priorities for
	Southeast Europe
	Southeast Burope

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SUMMARY

Although not an exclusive EU competence, spatial planning in European countries has been influenced by a variety of Union policies and initiatives. This phenomena, labeled as 'Europeanisation', is understood as a multifaceted process of institutionalization of both formal (rules, standards) and informal (norms, concepts, ideas) Community provisions into national planning cultures. However, this process has not been limited to the EU member states only. Countries which have already obtained the official EU candidacy, as well as potential candidates, are also subject to influences coming from the Union. Spatial planning in candidate countries has been affected not only through formal requirements of the EU accession process, but also through other informal channels of Community influence, including different learning and knowledge exchange processes facilitated by the EU. The present study seeks to discover and account for evidence of Europeanisation of spatial planning in EU candidate countries on the example of Serbia and Bosnia & Herzegovina. In particular, it aims to analyse the ongoing change of spatial planning structures, instruments and discourses under the umbrella of European integration. The findings suggest that the EU has only nominally impacted domestic planning in candidate countries, often in relation to formal compliance with Union policies, and without veritable effects on planning practices and actual spatial development.

"European spatial planning must be seen as part and parcel of an emergent system of European multi-level governance. In it, power is exerted at multiple levels of government. Denying the Community a spatial planning role is not realistic, therefore."

- Andreas Faludi (2002, p. 897)

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

The European Union (hereinafter: EU, the Union, the Community) has been an important factor which has had a major impact on various aspects of the lives of European citizens over the last two decades. Despite not having formal competences in certain areas, as is the case with spatial planning, EU has still managed to boast a significant influence in many of them. Most notably, it has changed the way nation states plan and govern their territory as European policies and initiatives have been considerably (although indirectly) shaping domestic approaches to planning and management (e.g., through structural fund rules, environmental management, and nature protection directives), which has further affected planning procedures and practices (Stead, 2012; Dühr, Stead, & Zonneveld, 2007).

I still remember the speech of professor Mark Wiering from one of his lectures on EU domestic impact given at Radboud University (Nijmegen, the Netherlands) during the winter semester of 2015, which said that: "If it was not for the EU we would live in a completely different country". This statement had proved to be true even ten years before it was made, as Van Ravesteyn and Evers (2004) published their famous work on the impact of EU politics on spatial development in the Netherlands and showed that various EU policy fields (and especially, EU nature policy (Habitats and Birds Directives), EU environmental and water policy (e.g. Water Framework Directive), as well as other initiatives like the Single Sky or the Trans-European Networks (TEN)) had apparent spatial consequences, both direct and indirect. Often unseen, these effects have a considerable impact on the national spatial policy, which has led the authors to conclude that "the new institutional context posed by the EU has fundamentally changed the relationship between Member States and their territory, despite the lack of a formal European competency to engage in spatial planning" (Van Ravesteyn & Evers, 2004, p. 9).

There is a consensus among researchers that, ever since the turn of the been century, planning in Europe has undergoing important transformations (Healey et al., 1997; Albrechts et al., 2003) which can be attributed to the rise of international regimes (i.e., international cooperation) influences coming from the EU most prominently, to the and. (Giannakourou, 2012; Nadin, 2012; Stead, 2012; Böhme & Waterhout, 2008; Dühr, Stead, & Zonneveld, 2007; Stead & Cotella, 2011). Giannakourou (2012) notes that domestic legal and administrative contexts, as well as planning discourses and contents of policies have become increasingly Europeanized, while the European debate on spatial planning has generated broader transformations in national institutions and policies. These domestic institutional adjustments are often seen as a response to EU sector policies that have a considerable spatial impact (e.g., in the fields of environment, transport, rural development, etc.), all of which, consequently, noticeably affect national spatial planning systems, policies and processes (Dühr, Stead, & Zonneveld, 2007), i.e., "the way spatial planning decisions are made at any given administrative level" (Böhme & Waterhout, 2008, p. 234). Likewise, further adaptations of domestic planning discourses and practices are ensured through so-called 'learning processes' (Faludi, 2008) instigated by the increased international cooperation under the umbrella of European integration as planners across Europe are being more and more involved in transboundary and interregional collaboration networks and initiatives (Dühr, Stead, & Zonneveld, 2007). This impact of EU on national planning systems and practices can be summarized under the term 'Europeanisation' - a concept which is not primarily related to the field of spatial planning, but to the area of political science and European policy integration studies (Dühr, Colomb, & Nadin, 2010). The notion of Europeanisation will be further explained in the following section.

However, despite being the most prominent in the current period, the aforementioned influences of EU on domestic planning have not been the fashion of the current decade only. For some time now, various authors have been debating on the possible convergence (growing similarity) of national spatial planning policies across Europe (Stead, 2012). For example, it was in 1994 that Davies (1994) contended that there was apparent evidence of a gradual convergence of planning policies and practices that could be attributed to the increased mutual learning and cooperation processes among planners in Europe (Stead, 2012) and to "the growing influence of EU and other intergovernmental initiatives" (Koresawa & Konvitz, 2001, p. 30). On the other hand, opposite to this and similar opinions, some authors are not convinced that convergence actually takes place as they question the real and substantive impact of European influences in the field of spatial planning (Stead, 2012; de Jong & Edelenbos, 2007; Fürst, 2009; Nedović-Budić, Tsenkova, & Marcuse, 2006).

While convergence remains to be debatable, there is, nevertheless, evidence of a considerable EU impact in the area of spatial planning (Van Ravesteyn & Evers, 2004) in different EU member states, which tells a story, if not of converging transformations, of rather unique effects that are intrinsic to the domestic institutional context and planning culture (see: Böhme & Waterhout, 2008). In support to this argument, Waterhout (2007) argues that unique national characteristics (e.g. in terms of governance, prevailing political discourse and dominant policy issues), that is, "specific histories and geographies of particular places, and the way these interlock with institutional structures, cultures and economic opportunities" (Healey & Williams, 1993, p. 716), largely determine the pace and the character of the EU impact on domestic planning. Therefore, there is a growing body of literature today deliberating on the Europeanisation of spatial planning in different European countries (Nadin, 2012), i.e. it is concerned with "identifying the influence of the activities of the EU on domestic planning systems and on institutions, policies and processes of urban and regional planning" (Dühr, Colomb, & Nadin, 2010, p. 359).

European influences on spatial planning in North-West Europe have received a lot of attention from the academic community (see Sykes et al., 2007). For instance, Tewdwr-Jones and Williams (2001) illustrate how the work of planning practitioners in Britain has been influenced by various EU legal and financial instruments and especially through the implementation of Structural Funds programmes. The authors also recognize considerable EU impact on the British planning at the local level that can be traced back even to the late 1980s (Dühr, Colomb, & Nadin, 2010). Several years before them, Davies et al. (1994) analyzed the EU influences on land use planning in the United Kingdom, pointing out the clear and direct effects of European legislative provisions (see also: Shaw & Sykes, 2003).

Furthermore, the Europeanisation of spatial planning in the Netherlands has been widely researched. The already mentioned study of Van Ravesteyn and Evers (2004) has been recently updated by Evers and Tennekes (2016) showing that, on the one hand, different EU policies cover nearly the entire territory of the country, while, on the other hand, domestic Dutch spatial planning is becoming more and more Europeanized (also due to domestic policy choices). Similarly, Zonneveld (2007), as well as Waterhout (2007) identify several episodes of Europeanisation of the Dutch national spatial planning (although the former is less assured of the substantive changes in the domestic planning as its consequence) and highlight different types of influences and their varying character throughout time. Moreover, the prominent role which Dutch planners played in the debate on European spatial planning, and especially in the development of the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP), has been often highlighted (for instance, Faludi, 2008; Dühr, Colomb, & Nadin, 2010).

Also, the Europeanisation of spatial planning in southern, Mediterranean member states, has been studied by Rivolin and Faludi (2005), and Pedrazzini (2005), as well as by other authors. For instance, Giannakourou (2005) shows that various EU-led planning instruments, and ESDP in the first place, have generated important changes in the domestic patterns of spatial planning systems of Mediterranean countries (i.e., in France, Greece,

Italy, Portugal and Spain). Significant contributions have also been given by Cotella and Rivolin (2011) who studied EU influences on spatial planning in Italy. The authors argue that over the last two decades spatial planning practice in Italy has been influenced and changed by the EU territorial governance agenda, but this process has lost its momentum since the strong initial uptake due to the resilience of professional culture. Likewise, Giannakourou (2011) has specifically analyzed EU influences on spatial planning in Greece through the actor-centered approach and has shown that resulting effects are most evident in the two important episodes of planning policy formulation, the one being the development of the ESDP and the other concerning the adoption of the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) Directive. However, similar to the Italian case, the pace of these influences has declined since the financial crisis and due to the rise of Eurosceptic attitudes as its consequence. In Portugal, Europeanisation of spatial planning has been less straightforward as the planning system and planning instruments evolved differently, reflecting different ways of combining institutional change (underpinned by the process of EU integration) with the resilience of domestic context (Oliveira & Breda-Vázquez, 2011).

The Europeanisation of spatial planning in Nordic countries has also been studied. In his doctoral thesis, Böhme (2002) argues that, at the time, developments in Nordic spatial planning systems and policies provided a good indication of European integration by policy discourses and actor networking. Similarly, Galland (2008) presents the case of changing roles and orientations of national planning policy in Denmark throughout the last two decades and highlights the importance of European and international channels for the adoption of the current, strategic role. In Finland, despite the fact that there is no significant evidence for planning policy convergence, findings show that country's specific territorial characteristics have been taken into account when engaging with European planning concepts which has led to unique responses of the domestic planning practice and spatial arrangements (Fritsch & Eskelinen, 2011).

European influences on spatial planning in Baltic countries have been researched, in large part, by Stead (2014). The author refers to the process of spatial rescaling in the creation of 'soft' spaces, which has, consequently, led to the 'soft' planning as an overall response to European territorial cooperation and development strategies in the Baltic region. Countryspecific example of the Europeanisation of spatial planning in the Baltics can be found in the case of Latvia (Kūle & Stead, 2011) where the country's planning system and regional policy approach were reformulated with an eye to European policy proposals, but also with some evident national concerns (e.g. regarding social cohesion).

East European countries have not been included in the debate on European spatial planning only until recently, when the big eastern enlargement happened, which has turned the attention of scholars and academics to this region. Therefore, it is understandable that there is not a rich body of literature on the topic of Europeanisation that targets these countries. However, some examples can be identified. Maier (2012) explores the European impact on domestic planning in East-Central EU member states (namely, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Slovenia). The author argues that the EU has had a weak penetration into domestic planning so far which he labels as 'incidental' (as it mainly comes from EU funding instruments), but expects a more systematic and concrete influence when different EU instruments, and especially cohesion policy, affect national planning continuously and for a longer time. However, the case of Poland (Zaucha, 2007; Zaucha & Szydarowski, 2005) shows that despite the fact that Polish spatial planning has explored and creatively used experience and know-how of European spatial planning and incorporated its main concepts into spatial plans and other planning instruments at different territorial levels, learning processes have been very limited (mostly to medium-level civil servants) and thus, their effects were short-lived. Other findings show that, for example, in Slovenia, national strategic planning documents are very much influenced by EU territorial (and planning) policy especially by the ESDP and transnational cooperation initiatives. instruments (Peterlin & Mckenzie, 2007).

Opposite to the most cases presented above, it is evident that Balkan countries are largely excluded (Greece as a long-serving EU member is an exception) from the debate on European spatial planning and from the studies on Europeanisation of planning as well¹. This can be attributed to the fact that the Balkans have been a 'white hole' or a 'grey zone' on the map of 'EUrope'² (Figure 1.1) for a long time, i.e. most Balkan countries lack a formal EU membership, while those that do not, have a short European career³.

¹ An exception can be found in the case of Bulgaria (see: Dimitrova, 2015) and in the work of Berisha & Cotella (2016) who provide a short scan of the situation in the Western Balkans.

² Refers to the formal territory of the EU

 $^{^3}$ Romania and Bulgaria acceded the EU on January 1, 2007, while Croatia joined on July 1, 2013.



Figure 1.1 'EUrope' – EU-28 map (Source: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/0/04/European_Union_ma p.svg/2000px-European_Union_map.svg.png)

Nevertheless, the author of this study is poised to believe that planning systems and planning cultures of Balkan countries are being Europeanized, regardless of their formal status in relation to the Union. There are several reasons for that. First of all, in their relation to the Community, with the exception of countries with the full EU membership, nation states in the Balkans are either candidate countries (waiting to start negotiations: Albania and The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia; already negotiating: Montenegro and Serbia) or potential candidates⁴ (Bosnia & Herzegovina). This means that the Community already possesses actual formal instruments in place that can impact domestic institutional setting and, consequently, national spatial planning policy in these countries as well. In the first place these refer to the initiatives under the EU's enlargement policies⁵, The Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) as a part of the Stabilisation and Association Process⁶, the Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance⁷ (IPA) as well as former pre-accession instruments (i.e. the Phare⁸, ISPA⁹ and SAPARD¹⁰ programmes). The relevance of the

⁴ The information is valid as of April 21, 2017, source:

https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/countries/check-current-status_en

⁵ See: https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/policy/policy-highlights_en

⁶ See: https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/policy/glossary/terms/sap_en

⁷ See: https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/policy/glossary/terms/ipa_en

⁸ See: https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/policy/glossary/terms/phare_en

⁹ See: https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/policy/glossary/terms/ispa_en

mentioned policy tools for the issue of Europeanisation of spatial planning is rather high as they mostly target planning-relevant areas like regional and rural development and cross-border cooperation, but also a wider institutional context that sets out a specific environment and conditions for the field of planning.

Furthermore, as it was mentioned hereinabove, since the turn of the century, approaches to planning in Europe have been transformed as the reforms and renewal of planning institutions and tools promoted by national governments are being informed by extensive international networking and cooperation in which the EU has played a prominent role (Nadin, 2012). Spatial planning in the Balkans was not an exception to this process, as it more or less coincides with the period of post-socialist transition (Taşan-Kok, 2004), which most of the Balkan countries have experienced or are still experiencing, and when the establishment of the new system was undertaken "with an eye to the practices in the western neighbouring countries, political patrons and the European Union context" (Nedović-Budić, Đorđević & Dabović, 2011, p. 430). It is understandable that countries in transition would look up to international experiences and, in the case of the Balkans, to the EU, which is manifested through their strong aspirations to join the Community. Moreover, already in 2002, when no Balkan country was a formal member of the Union, Demetropoulou (2002) demonstrated (on the example of the Balkans) that EU membership aspiration can actually bear significant transformations and adaptations in domestic settings and that there was a considerable potential and capacity of the Balkan states for Europeanisation.

Lastly, it is impossible to neglect the importance of the Union, as a large supranational formation, at the international scene, and to ignore influences that go beyond its borders (see: Schimmelfennig, 2009). Speaking of planning, as a 'natural' side-effect, it has found a way to impact places and areas beyond the territory of the formal 'EUrope'. Nadin (2012) reports that "a common 'European spatial planning agenda' is permeating planning throughout Europe" (p. 1), and that this process is not limited to EU member states only. Moreover, certain territorial initiatives of the Community have travelled even further and affected areas and contexts outside its nearest surroundings. Particularly interesting is the case of the ESDP, a document which is believed to have impacted planning practices and planning thought in various places (Dühr, Colomb, & Nadin, 2010), and even in the United States (Yaro, 2002). Therefore, it can be assumed that the notion of Europeanisation of spatial planning is neither inherent to the

¹⁰ See: https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhoodenlargement/policy/glossary/terms/sapard_en

nation states within the Community only nor to the formal structure of the Union, but that there are informal channels of EU influence that impact other non-EU countries of Europe as well.

1.2 Research problem, research questions and objectives

The reasons presented hereinabove make a strong case for researching Europeanisation of spatial planning in EU candidate and neighbouring countries, and Balkan countries when it comes to this study. Actually, that is the research gap the present research will try to fill in as the current discussion on Europeanisation does not concern EU influences on planning in countries that are candidates or potential candidates for the Union membership. The study will address this issue on the example of Serbia and Bosnia & Herzegovina (hereinafter: Bosnia, B&H).

Therefore, the main objective of this thesis is to discover and explain evidence of Europeanisation of spatial planning in Serbia and Bosnia, their effects and underlying impact factors (and channels of impact), as well as possible areas for improvement from the perspective of the Union influence. In particular, it aims to analyse spatial planning in the case countries and its changing role under the umbrella of European integration. Serbia and Bosnia provide relevant (and interesting) case studies for two interrelated reasons. The first one is that both of them stem from the common socialist background and once were parts of the same federation, i.e. former Yugoslavia (ex-YU), and thus, share the same planning history until 1990s which can facilitate certain points for comparison. The other reason is that each country is, at the moment, at different stages in the EU accession process: Serbia has already been negotiating its membership as a candidate, while Bosnia still remains to be a potential candidate. This allows the research to relate the character and the intensity of Europeanisation to specific phases of the process of becoming the Community member.

Beyond these two lie other reasons as well. They are mainly related to the specific characteristics of each country in question. The one is that, in contrast with other ex-YU countries which soon after the break-up of the common union established new models of state and market intervention, closely mimicking the approaches of their western neighbours, Serbia experienced a more lingering, complex and less predictable transition process (Nedović-Budić, Đorđević & Dabović, 2011) which is labeled in the literature as 'a moment of discontinuity' (Thomas, 1998). As the overall reform process lagged, including the re-centralization of political power and planning controls, the situation in Serbia has allowed for a rich set of observations on how planning profession and practice respond to changing societal circumstances and on the relation between planning practice and

its broader context (Nedović-Budić, Đorđević & Dabović, 2011). On the other hand, Bosnia is a country with a highly complex and complicated governance and territorial structures, which implies specific characteristics of the planning system as well. Moreover, as a post-conflict society, the country has been strongly influenced by various international organizations, from the United Nations (UN) to the EU¹¹. All this provides interesting points for the analysis and comparison. However, it is important to note that comparisons will be drawn only where relevant and that the overall significance of having two case studies is the one of enriching the relevance of the discussion and research findings.

The study will be guided by the following main research question:

Whether and how does the EU influence spatial planning in (potential) candidate countries and more specifically, in Serbia and Bosnia & Herzegovina?

This broad research question is broken-down into several supporting questions or areas of interest that are central to the study:

- a) In the first place, the research aims to discover and explain the concepts, notions and values that come from the EU and influence domestic planning in candidate countries, and in Serbia and Bosnia in terms of this study.
- b) Furthermore, it is necessary to analyse how these concepts are conceived in domestic planning practice; were they already there and if, have they changed with the EU influence; are they applied in a different way than in the EU context; what concepts are most dominant, what changes have they brought, etc.
- c) Likewise, of specific interest to this study is to determine the main channels of Europeanisation of spatial planning in (potential) candidate countries, as well as to define the areas of planning most affected by the EU which also includes explaining the character of that impact.
- d) Furthermore, the study seeks to identify and analyse the factors influencing the uptake of EU concepts and other Community provisions in domestic spatial planning and the way they affect this process.
- e) For more pragmatic reasons, it is also necessary to reflect on the planning problems and *problems with planning* that the Union has helped addressing so far and the other planning-relevant issues that

¹¹ Interesting international institution that enhances the presence of the EU in the country is The Office of the High Representative (OHR) in Bosnia & Herzegovina. For further information, please see: http://www.ohr.int/?page_id=1139

can be further tackled through EU initiatives. This is expected to bring important messages and lessons about planning for both the Union and the countries in question regarding the possible future membership, but also on the accession process in general.

f) In the end, the research strives to provide the overall picture on the actual impact of the Community on changing domestic spatial planning in candidate countries, i.e. it aims to explore to what degree the transformation of planning and space can be attributed to the process of Europeanisation.

1.3 Societal and scientific relevance of the research

The main relevance of this research lies in the fact that it enlarges the discussion on Europeanisation of spatial planning by including the topic of EU impact on candidate countries. Fundamental findings of the study can have a wide range of implications for both researchers and policy-makers.

First of all, the societal relevance of the study can be found in the messages and lessons it will bring for:

- a) The Community, regarding the accession process and notion of Europeanisation, so it can improve its policies and initiatives in order to address planning-relevant issues and further strengthen planning institutions in candidate countries with an aim to prepare them better for the possible accession, but also to reflect on the necessary measures in the post-accession phase.
- b) The candidate countries in question, so they can work on further adaptation of the domestic planning institutions and planning practice in order to make the best out of EU influences and prepare for the possible future membership, but also to better address crossborder and macro-regional issues through cooperation initiatives that are strongly promoted by the Community.
- c) Other candidate countries and future candidates, for the same reasons as above.
- d) EU neighbouring countries and possibly others, through lessons on Europeanisation through informal channels of influence.

From the scientific point of view, this research fills the identified research gap and will, in the first place, work toward understanding how EU influences spatial planning in candidate countries, the way these influences travel outside the institutional and territorial scope of the formal Union and, ultimately, how they can be researched. Furthermore, it will promote the reflections on how planning reacts to changing political influences and especially those coming from the macro level and international organizations. Lastly, in the context of this study, fundamental relevance also lies in enriching the debate on European spatial planning with insights from the ex-YU planning perspective and from the Balkans in a broader sense, which it lacked so far.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

After the introduction section, Chapter 2 presents the conceptual framework for studying Europeanisation of spatial planning in candidate countries. It breaks down the concept of Europeanisation to five key elements of the EU influence on planning and develops a common understanding of this process and of the resulting domestic change.

Chapter 3 devises a comprehensive methodological framework for studying Europeanisation of spatial planning in applicant countries. It presents different methods used for the data collection and analysis and reflects on their reliability and limitations.

Chapter 4 provides an overview of the context for spatial planning and Europeanisation in Serbia and Bosnia. It presents basic characteristics of countries' relation to the EU, territorial governance models and spatial planning structures, as well as main planning instruments in both countries and spatial planning-relevant issues.

Chapter 5 presents the main findings of the study in terms of the EU influence on planning structures, planning instruments, planning discourses, actors and practices.

Chapter 6 draws the main conclusions of the study and provides recommendations for the praxis and for the future research activities on the topic of Europeanisation of spatial planning.

2 EUROPEANISATION OF SPATIAL PLANNING – CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The existing planning bibliography understands a variety of notions, concepts and processes under the term 'Europeanisation' and they range from the development of new concepts, instruments, discourses and policies at the EU level in the area of what is labeled as 'European spatial planning' or nowadays, 'European territorial governance', through mutual learning processes of actors involved in transnational cooperation activities instigated by the Community, and lastly, to overall influences and effects of European policies and initiatives on the national planning (Giannakourou, 2012). While most work on the topic of EU influences on spatial planning mainly considers the latter form of Europeanisation, in practice, it has gone into various directions (Dühr, Colomb & Nadin, 2010): some of it studied specific impacts of particular EU initiatives and programmes or of particular pieces of EU legislation, while other studies turned to effects of Structural Funds¹² programmes on domestic governance or to the application of Union's territorial initiatives and informal spatial policy documents, like INTERREG¹³ or ESDP, and their influence on domestic planning. Likewise, the works researching overall Europeanisation of spatial planning in a specific country (or several of them) can be found in abundance, as shown in the introducing section to this thesis.

However, it appears that there is no single, comprehensive conceptual framework to study EU influences on domestic planning as approaches to the analysis of the topic have shown large variations. So far, the Europeanisation of spatial planning has been understood and researched as (Giannakourou, 2012, p. 118) "a governance process" (Rivolin & Faludi, 2005), "as a process of institutional transformation" (Shaw & Sykes, 2003; Giannakourou, 2005), "as a policy transfer, and lesson-drawing process" (de Jong & Edelenbos, 2007) and finally "as a discursive process generating new meanings, material practices, and power-legitimacy relations" (Böhme & Waterhout, 2008). These varying approaches to the issue point out a limited understanding of the problematique that scholars and researchers in the field have. However, they are not to be blamed. Both Europeanisation and spatial planning are such complex and multifaceted concepts that studies in the field "will hardly be ever comprehensive enough" (Böhme & Waterhout, 2008, p. 244). Moreover, different authors (Tewdwr-Jones & Williams, 2001; Dühr, Colomb & Nadin, 2010) warn researchers who plan to study this

 $^{^{\}rm 12}$ Which are now European Structural and Investment Funds

¹³ See: http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/policy/cooperation/european-territorial/

theme, to be wary of conceptual and methodological challenges it can definitely pose.

In terms of this research, an additional challenge is represented by the fact that existing conceptual frames for studying Europeanisation of spatial planning are largely defined in the context of a formal Community membership, i.e. they are designed to fit the analysis of the Union's domestic impact on planning in EU member states. As this study deals with the cases of Serbia and Bosnia, which are a candidate country and a potential candidate respectively, it is necessary to develop a distinctive conceptual framework that will suit the needs of this research. In order to achieve that, this study will attempt to select a number of complementary theoretical perspectives on Europeanisation of domestic planning and combine them in a comprehensive conceptual framework for studying the EU impact on planning in (potential) candidate countries.

2.1 Unpacking the Europeanisation of spatial planning

The most often cited definition of Europeanisation is the one developed by Radaelli (2006, p. 3) where Europeanisation represents a process of:

"a) construction, b) diffusion and c) institutionalisation of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, 'ways of doing things' and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the EU policy process and then incorporated in the logic of domestic (national and subnational) discourse, political structures and public policies".

This definition is acknowledged by various authors as valid for researching the Europeanisation of spatial planning too (Böhme & Waterhout, 2008; Dühr, Colomb & Nadin, 2010). It does not consider the influence of formal and hard regulatory instruments (e.g. policies) of the EU only, but also other informal and soft factors, like styles and beliefs, which are relevant for studying Union influences on planning in candidate countries, as they are less susceptible to impacts of European regulation. Therefore, this is the definition that will be adopted in this study when referring to Europeanisation.

The Europeanisation is usually seen as a multifaceted process which incorporates different types of relations and influences. These usually consider the following three types (Radaelli, 2006):

1. Top-down Europeanisation (sometimes referred to as 'downloading'), manifested through the influence developed in the relation of EU and nation state where the Community impacts domestic planning (EU \rightarrow nation state).

- 2. Bottom-up Europeanisation (sometimes referred to as 'uploading'), which is expressed through the relation between a nation state and the Union where domestic planning influence the EU policy-making (nation state \rightarrow EU).
- 3. Horizontal Europeanisation, developed in the relation of different nation states where planning in one country influences planning in another one (and/or vice-versa) and where the EU serves as a common platform for mutual exchange and as a facilitator of the policy-transfer process (nation state \rightarrow nation state).

Some authors (Lenschow, 2006) also recognize a fourth type of Europeanisation which can be considered to be a combination of the first two aforementioned types. This type is explained as a 'roundabout' or 'cyclic' Europeanisation where influences coming from nation states are uploaded to the EU level and then again downloaded to the state level (nation state \rightarrow EU \rightarrow nation state). The existence of this mode of Europeanisation is used to account for the possibility of convergence of national planning systems in Europe.

The Europeanisation types described above usually serve as a starting point for developing a conceptual and methodological framework for studying the influences of the EU on national spatial planning. It will also be the case with this study. However, out of the aforementioned four types of Europeanisation, this research will primary focus on the top-down influences as most relevant for the EU candidate countries, having in mind their aspiration for the Union membership and a need for compliance and adaptation. Bottom-up and horizontal Europeanisation will be understood in a broader sense (i.e. without a specific focus), as:

- a) candidate countries lack effective mechanisms to develop actual impacts on the EU policy-making,
- b) they are not strongly present in the EU policy-exchange arena.

As noticed above, the mode of cyclic Europeanisation is a hybrid formation of already incorporated types, and thus, will not be considered in this study as a specific segment.

In a pursuit of an adequate and systematic conceptual and methodological framework to study the Europeanisation of spatial planning in candidate and potential candidate countries, which is mainly understood as a topdown process (in terms of this paper), after a thorough analysis of the existing approaches to the issue, five key elements of the EU influence on planning are determined:

1. Subjects – where does the influence come from?

- 2. Objects what is being influenced?
- 3. Means/channels how is it being influenced?
- 4. Effects what are the effects of the influence?
- 5. Factors what is driving/facilitating or inhibiting the influence?

Various authors have researched the Europeanisation of spatial planning in different ways, but all of them, more or less, considered the abovementioned elements in their frameworks. Therefore, this study will turn to a few selected ones which defined these elements in a more comprehensive manner.

2.1.1 Subjects and objects of Europeanisation of spatial planning

In more general terms, subjects and objects of Europeanisation of spatial planning are self-evident. They are easily derived from different types of the process that are presented above. For instance, when it comes to top-down Europeanisation, the influence comes from the EU, which is thus, the general subject of Europeanisation, while spatial planning in nation states represents the principal object of this influence. However, understanding the nature of their relation depends on how both are seen and comprehended. This calls for further elaboration of both concepts.

Following on Olsen (2002), Böhme and Waterhout (2008) recognize two uses of Europeanisation relevant for the field of planning:

- Europeanisation as the development of institutions of governance at the European level, and
- Europeanisation as central penetration of national and sub-national systems of governance.

From these two uses, the authors develop their understanding of the notion of Europeanisation of spatial planning, which is manifested through three important processes (Dühr, Colomb & Nadin, 2010):

- 1. The emergence of 'planning for Europe',
- 2. The influence of 'planning for Europe' on 'planning in Europe', and
- 3. The influence of EU sector policies and European integration processes on 'planning in Europe'.

Here, 'planning for Europe' and EU sector policies serve as Europeanisation subjects, while 'planning in Europe' is the object being influenced. When it comes to EU sector policies, their role in the Europeanisation process is clear: they may not be directly related to the field of spatial development, but, while being transposed to domestic contexts in a binding manner, they set the frame for the conduction of planning activities. However, both 'planning for Europe' and 'planning in Europe' need to be further elaborated. 'Planning for Europe' corresponds to the notion of 'European spatial planning' which is defined by Dühr, Colomb and Nadin (2010, p. 23) to be "a coordination mechanism that has arisen through debate at the European level". In other words, European spatial planning represents a set of instruments and initiatives which EU uses to coordinate spatial development of the Union as a whole or its specific areas that are usually of a transnational or interregional character. It is worth noting that these instruments have a predominantly coordinative (advisory) or a 'soft' role, i.e. they are not binding (contrary to most EU sector policies), which goes in line with the lack of exclusive EU competence in the area of spatial planning. Actually, European approach to spatial planning (or what is today labeled as territorial development) is characterized by a shift from regulation toward coordination: being it a highly sensible political question, it is reasonable to assume that "even if a Community competence for spatial planning or spatial development policy existed, giving direction to thought and action would be all that should and, indeed, could be the ambition of [the EU]" (Faludi, 2003, p. 5).

On the other hand, 'planning in Europe' usually refers to national planning systems, planning cultures or planning practices of EU member states. Actually, when addressing spatial planning in concrete contexts, the notion of 'planning culture' is most commonly used, also by authors who researched the Europeanisation of planning (e.g. Dühr, Colomb, & Nadin, 2010). Recently, the analysis of planning cultures is considered to be a more adequate and relevant way to approach spatial planning than a formal structuralist analysis of planning systems (Othengrafen & Reimer, 2013; Knieling & Othengrafen, 2009, 2015) as it provides a better insight into the notion of planning practice and into sectoral, local and regional variations and differences in planning action (Reimer & Blotevogel, 2012; Dühr, Stead & Zonneveld, 2007; Nadine & Stead, 2008; Healy & Williams, 1993).

There are various definitions of the concept of planning culture. For instance, Faludi (2005, p. 285–6) defines it as "the collective ethos and dominant attitudes of planners regarding the appropriate role of the state, market forces, and civil society in influencing social outcomes", while Friedmann (2005, p. 184) describes planning cultures as "the ways, both formal and informal, that spatial planning in a given multi-national region, country or city is conceived, institutionalized and enacted". Thus, the planning culture is understood to be developed through concrete planning practices that emanate not only from the planning system, but also from professional values held by planning practitioners and social values embedded in the planning society (Reimer & Blotevogel, 2012), i.e. it is seen

as "the way in which a society possesses institutionalised or shared planning practices" (Knieling & Othengrafen, 2009, p. 43).

According to culturised planning model (Othengrafen, 2010; 2012), there are three analytical dimensions of planning culture (Othengrafen & Reimer, 2013, p. 1275):

- 1. 'Planning artifacts' (manifest culture) are visible planning products, structures and processes, which include a planning system, urban design and structures, urban plans, urban and regional development strategies, statistical data, planning institutions, planning law, decision-making processes, communication and participation, planning instruments and procedures, etc.
- 2. 'Planning environment' (both manifest and nonmanifest) understands values shared by the professional planning community such as planning semiotics and semantics, instruments and procedures, content of planning: objectives and principles, planning discourses and paradigms, traditions and history of spatial planning, scope and range of spatial planning, formalized layers of norms and rules, political, administrative, economic and organizational structures, etc.
- 3. 'Societal environment' (nonmanifest culture) encompasses underlying beliefs, perceptions and feelings that are affecting planning and consider self-conception of planning, people's respect for and acceptance of plans, significance of planning: social justice, social efficiency or moral responsibility, consideration of nature, socioeconomic or sociopolitical societal models, concepts of justice, fundamental philosophy of life, etc.

The notion of planning culture has a strong presence in the discussion on Europeanisation of spatial planning, and when referring to planning as the object of EU influence, most authors understand it in terms of analytical dimensions of the planning culture defined above, which will be seen later in the text.

Therefore, taking in overall aforementioned concepts, two broad types of Europeanisation of spatial planning can be identified:

- 1. Spatial influence, which understands the impact of 'planning for Europe' or European spatial planning ('soft', coordinative and nonbinding) on 'planning in Europe', i.e. national planning cultures, and
- 2. Sectoral influence, which considers the impact of EU sector legislation and policies ('hard', regulatory and binding) on the domestic context for planning and consequently, on 'planning in Europe' (i.e. planning cultures in Europe) *per se*.

However, Böhme and Waterhout (2008) emphasize that facets of Europeanisation are manifold as they attempt to illustrate the complexity of processes and influences underlying the EU impact on planning (Figure 2.1). Indeed, Europeanisation is all but straightforward. It entails different types of subjects and objects of influence which are interrelated through various processes. Therefore, further definitions and breaking down of these notions and concepts is needed in order to grasp the complexity of existing interrelations in an integrated and comprehensive manner.

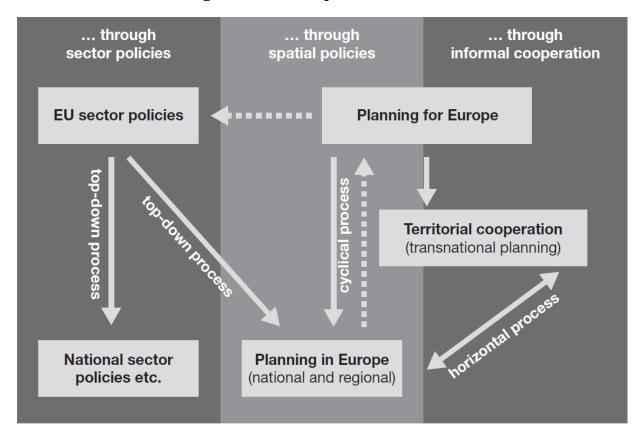


Figure 2.1 Processes and influences underlying the Europeanisation of planning (Source: Böhme & Waterhout, 2008, p. 243)

For instance, speaking of Europeanisation subjects, Dühr, Colomb and Nadin (2010) consider domestic changes in planning to be a result of discursive and circular processes which are instigated by four broad categories:

- Spatially defined (or targeted) EU sectoral policies with strong territorial impacts (e.g. EU Cohesion/ regional policy, transport policy, etc.);
- Non-spatially defined (or targeted) EU sectoral policies with strong territorial impacts (e.g. Common Agricultural Policy);
- EU sectoral policies with direct impact on domestic planning legislation and procedures (e.g. EU environmental policy);

• Specific initiatives, programs and instruments in European spatial planning with impacts on planning policies and practices (e.g. European Observation Network, Territorial Development and Cohesion (ESPON¹⁴) programme).

The first three categories represent a breakdown of sectoral policies that affect domestic planning, while the last one attempts to more closely define the notion of 'planning for Europe'. Likewise, Evers and Tennekes (2016), who understand a more streamlined process of Europeanisation, see EU policies as well to be main subjects of the influence on national spatial planning. However, they also attempt to define the object of influence, i.e. spatial planning, more closely, which, in their approach, consists of a planning process (i.e. procedures), content of planning documents and governance of the (planned) territory. Giannakourou (2012) defines similar elements of domestic spatial planning that are affected by Europeanisation:

- Planning discourses and/or planning agendas;
- Planning structures and instruments;
- Planning styles and/or modes of territorial governance.

A more systematic understanding of subjects and objects of Europeanisation of planning is found in the work of Cotella and Rivolin (2010) who approach the concept of spatial planning from the perspective of 'territorial governance'. In short, territorial governance represents the institutional context within which the planning activities occur. It is manifested through a complex system of multidimensional and multi-actor interactions that allow the conduction and application of spatial planning, but are conditioned by the national planning system at the same time (Cotella & Rivolin, 2010). Therefore, it is an evolutionary and a cyclic process of institutionalization of spatial planning within a specific context. This process is explained by interrelating four analytical dimensions of territorial governance (Cotella & Rivolin, 2010), namely:

- *Structure*, relates to the set of constitutional and legal provisions for territorial governance (e.g. planning system and planning laws) that legitimize and legalize planning activities within a specific context.
- *Tools*, concern the set of planning instruments (e.g. spatial plans, development strategies, programmes, control devices, monitoring and evaluation procedures, economic incentives, etc.), both binding and non-binding, regulative and coordinative, through which aims and priorities of spatial planning are achieved.

¹⁴ Before: European Spatial Observation Network

- *Discourses*, corresponds to dominant planning discourses that emanate from the process of mutual interaction of different communities "active within various 'knowledge arenas' of territorial governance, that determine the prevalence of certain ideas, concepts and arguments over others", and in turn influence the process of shaping or 'framing' spatial policies (Cotella & Rivolin, 2010, p. 5).
- *Practices*, refer to the set of values and views within a society that affect the way spatial planning works within a specific societal context.

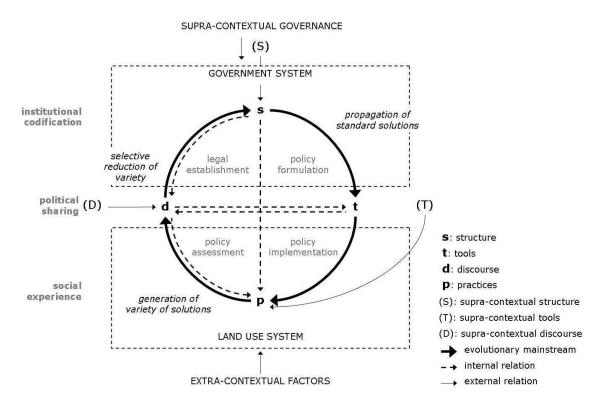


Figure 2.2 Evolutionary pattern of territorial governance (Source: Rivolin, 2012, p. 73)

The resulting institutionalization of territorial governance is understood as a cyclical process which starts from dominant social practices that generate specific planning discourses which are then formally incorporated into the governance structure and applied through planning tools serving as drivers of new practices. However, the evolution of territorial governance is not a streamlined process as many cross-relations and influences exist among its constituting dimensions (Figure 2.2).

The EU, as a supranational institutional formation, has been also going through a process of institutionalization of territorial governance. However, European territorial governance has been developed through a complex process of interaction between aforementioned analytical dimensions of territorial governance at the EU level and at the level of member states (Figure 2.3). Therefore, the institutional cycle of EU territorial governance can provide useful insights for studying the Europeanisation of spatial planning, especially when it comes to the influences of the EU structure, tools, discourses and practices (Europeanisation subjects) on national structures, tools, discourses and practices (Europeanisation objects).

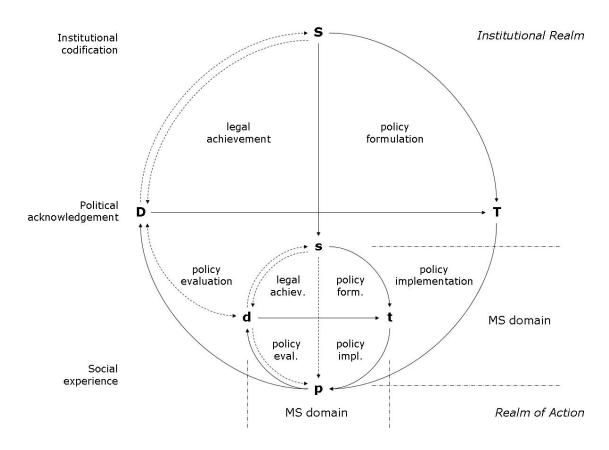


Figure 2.3 Institutional cycle of EU territorial governance (Source: Cotella & Rivolin, 2010, p. 10)

2.1.2 Means of Europeanisation of spatial planning

Means of Europeanisation refer to channels through which the EU influences national spatial planning, i.e. ways of interaction between Europeanisation subjects and objects. Defining different means of Europeanisation largely depends on the nature of Europeanisation subjects. In general, two modes of Europeanisation of spatial planning can be distinguished (Giannakourou, 2012):

- 1. Europeanisation by soft co-ordination and learning, and
- 2. Europeanisation by hard regulation and compliance.

The first one is related to the influence of European spatial planning, while the second one understands the impact of EU sector policies and regulations on domestic spatial planning. When it comes to the former, European spatial planning serves as a platform or arena (Evers & Tennekes, 2016) for policy coordination and learning between member states, as well as a strategic tool for spatial integration with multi-sector and multi-level cooperation and coordination (Giannakourou, 2012). Thus, the main mean of Europeanisation here is learning. Faludi (2008) sees the process of mutual learning about the territory of the EU through transnational cooperation and coordination activities to be the principal driver of European integration process when it comes to spatial planning.

On the other hand, EU regulation, directives and some sector policies usually affect domestic planning through coercion or imposition as member states are required to transpose them to national contexts. However, regarding certain EU policies and initiatives, neither coordination nor imposition are relevant drivers, but domestic change is mainly instigated by the way of stimulation, i.e. member states are encouraged to produce a needed action through financial incentives and subsidies. In certain cases, nation states can act in accordance with the EU under the 'necessity', which usually occurs when addressing issues of cross-border or transnational relevance which require international coordination or binding agreements to tackle them properly (Evers & Tennekes, 2016).

Furthermore, following on the work of Radaelli (2006), Böhme and Waterhout (2008, p. 229) suggest that Europeanisation may ultimately lead to institutionalization of European dimension in domestic policies and, on the basis of that reasoning, they determine catalysts or means for the Europeanisation of domestic planning, which can be found in the following:

- Rules (in EU regulations and directives), i.e. through coercion/ imposition;
- Policies (in EU spending policies (EU regional policy, Common Agricultural Policy, TEN policies) and INTERREG), i.e. through stimulation /incentives;
- Discourses (in documents and initiatives like the ESDP, ESPON, Territorial Agenda, INTERREG, Territorial State and Perspectives of the European Union, etc.), i.e. through learning/ cooperation.

Similar, but more systematic understanding of Europeanisation as a process of institutionalization is present in the work of Cotella and Rivolin (2010). Three distinct channels of top-down Europeanisation are identified:

1. Structural influence: direct influence of the EU structure on the national structure (S \rightarrow s), from which indirect influences on the national tools (s \rightarrow t), discourse (s \rightarrow d) and practices (s \rightarrow p) can follow (Figure 2.4).

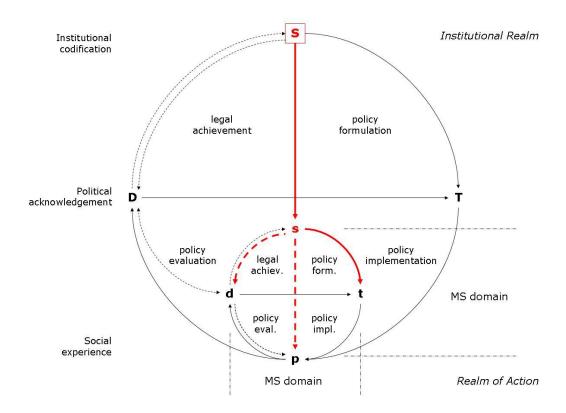


Figure 2.4 Europeanisation of territorial governance: structural influence (Source: Cotella & Rivolin, 2010, p. 13)

Structural influence considers the direct impact of EU legislation, i.e. *acquis communautaire*, on domestic legislation as member states are required to transpose EU regulations and directives into national contexts and adapt domestic structures to their provisions. Therefore, the main mechanism of such influence is imposition or coercion. As regards spatial planning, the lack of exclusive Union competence in the field, understand the less relevance of structural influences when studying Europeanisation. Nevertheless, as the EU legislation has the impact in many planning-related areas like environment, regional policy or transport, structural influences can lead to the changing of domestic contexts for the conduction of planning activities. In terms of this research, despite the lower need for compliance, it is believed that such influences may condition the change and the redefinition of spatial planning in candidate countries during the pre-accession period (Cotella, 2009, cited in: Cotella & Rivolin, 2010).

2. Instrumental influence: direct influence of the EU tools on local practices (T \rightarrow p), from which indirect but systematic influences on the national discourse (p \rightarrow d) can follow (Figure 2.5).

Instrumental influence understands the impact of EU policies and initiatives with a strong spatial dimension, which "modify the spatial structure and potentials in the economy and society thereby altering land-use patterns and landscapes" and "influence the competitive position or spatial significance of a city or region within the European economic system and settlement pattern" (CEC, 1999, p. 13). Mechanisms of such influences vary, but in most cases they concern stimulation, i.e. financial incentives, or learning processes instigated by coordination and cooperation. However, some authors also refer to the mechanism of 'economic conditionality' (Schimmelfenning & Sedelmeier, 2005) where the compliance with the EU aims may lead to additional economic benefits, while non-compliance may cause the withdrawal of funding. These influences can play an important role in the Europeanisation of spatial planning in candidate countries as weak economic situation in many of them can lead to high motivation to harvest Union's financial benefits, which can also instigate cooperation and learning activities.

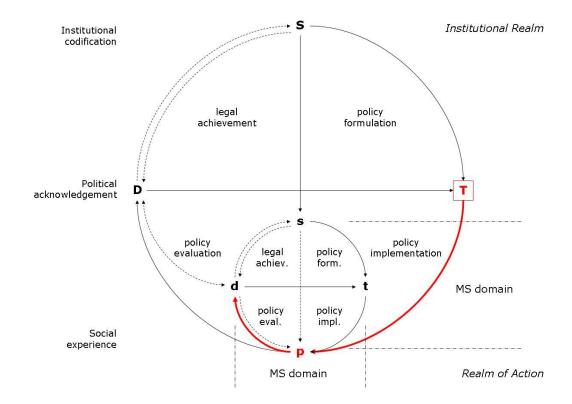


Figure 2.5 Europeanisation of territorial governance: instrumental influence (Source: Cotella & Rivolin, 2010, p. 15)

3. Top-down dialogic influence: direct influence of the EU discourse on the national discourse (D \rightarrow d), from which indirect influences on the national structure (d \rightarrow s), tools (d \rightarrow t) and practices (d \rightarrow p) may follow (Figure 2.6).

Top-down dialogic influence entails the direct impact of EU planning discourse on national planning discourse, i.e. it shapes the ideas and beliefs of domestic planning actors by providing "a cognitive logic and normative frame for meaning and action" (Cotella & Rivolin, 2010, p. 16; Radaelli, 2006). Thus, the core mechanism of Europeanisation here is learning.

Böhme (2002) believes that such influences may lead to so-called 'discursive European integration', i.e. integration by networking and policy discourses, which is conditioned by the existence of "strong policy communities active at European and national level and direct links between them" (p. III). This adds an additional dimension to the discussion on Europeanisation by discourses (top-down dialogic), which understands not only the relation between the EU and national discourse, but between the planning and policy actors at both the EU and the national level whose interaction generates the transfer and dissemination of discourses. This aspect can also be relevant for studying the Europeanisation of spatial planning in candidate countries, as their planning communities participate in various international organizations at the EU level (e.g. the Association of European Schools of Planning - AESOP), but also in the informal arena known as the 'European planning community' (Waterhout, 2008).

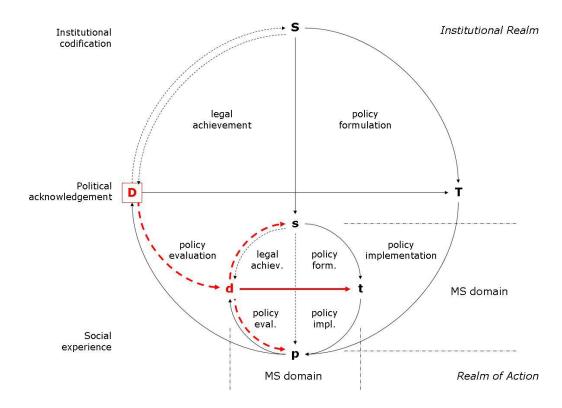


Figure 2.6 Europeanisation of territorial governance: top-down dialogic influence (Source: Cotella & Rivolin, 2010, p. 17)

2.1.3 Effects of Europeanisation on spatial planning

Effects of Europeanisation on spatial planning can be broadly defined as changes in the domestic planning culture. For instance, Giannakourou (2012) refers to a degree of change as absorption of planning discourses and/or planning agendas (low degree of change), accommodation of planning structures and instruments (modest degree of change), and transformation of planning styles and/or modes of territorial governance (high degree of change). The resulting effects are not easily defined *a priori*, as different kinds of influences coming through different channels can produce a variety of different effects. However, there are some attempts to provide a typology of Europeanisation effects on planning. Following on the work of Knill and Lehmkuhl (1999), Cotella and Rivolin (2010) systematize the effects in relation to the channels/mechanisms of influence (which can also overlap): a) adjustments in national institutional arrangements as a consequence of imposition of institutional models by the EU; b) change in domestic opportunity structures and corresponding redistributions of resources and powers through different mechanisms of Europeanisation, and c) alteration of the beliefs and expectations of domestic actors through learning processes.

On the other hand, Böhme and Waterhout (2008) understand both shortterm and long-term effects which are not exclusive for one channel of influence, but can be produced by each of them. Resulting effects are grouped into four groups:

- Change of self-perception and position in Europe;
- Change of law, practice, procedures, and cooperation patterns;
- Change in the use of terminology;
- Implementation of single concrete action that would not happen or would happen differently without EU influence.

	Long-Term	Influence	Short-Term Influence		
Effects ➡ Means ↓	Change of self perception and position in Europe	Change of laws, "daily" practice, procedures, coopera- tion patterns (organizational learning)	Change in the use of terminology, tempo- rary application of new terms and concepts	Implementation of single concrete action that would not hap- pen or would happen differently without EU influence	
Implementation of directives and regulations	Possibly environ- mental directives in the long run	EU regulations in various sector fields, Structural Funds regulations	Formal terminology put down in regulations	Application of EU directives in general	
Use of EU funding as incentive	ESDP application in INTERREG	Structural Funds, organizational learning through INTERREG, LEADER	INTERREG, Structural Funds	Where EU provides cofunding, infra- structure projects, INTERREG	
Influenced by a (hegemonic) discourse at the European level	ESDP application, ESPON use	ESDP application at national level in rare cases	ESDP application, ESPON		

Figure 2.7 Toward a typology of Europeanisation in planning (Source: Böhme &
Waterhout, 2008, p. 244)

The overview of means-effects relations with relevant examples is given in the figure above, which represents an attempt made by authors to develop a typology of Europeanisation in planning. However, such models for analyzing the effects on planning should be taken with caution, bearing in mind the high complexity of elements involved and relations among them, but also the uniqueness of each national context where the Europeanisation is analyzed.

2.1.4 Factors of Europeanisation of spatial planning

Factors of Europeanisation stipulate the nature and intensity of the impact on spatial planning. They can act as drivers/ facilitators or inhibitors of EU influences, but they may also affect the quality of the produced effects. A concept often used to describe the 'level of permeability' of EU influences on nation states is the concept of 'misfit', which is described as the "incompatibility between European-level processes, policies and institutions, on the one hand, and domestic-level processes, policies and institutions, on the other" (Börzel & Risse, 2000, p. 1), and thus serves primarily as a precondition for the domestic change as it puts a pressure for adaptation on national contexts. There are two theoretical perspectives on conceptualizing adaptational pressure as a consequence of misfit, which is conditioned by different factors (Börzel & Risse, 2000):

- 1. The rationalist institutionalism perspective which follows the 'logic of consequentialism' understands the misfit as a driver of new opportunities and constraints for societal and/or political actors, which are mediated by two factors (p.1):
 - "the existence of *multiple veto points* in a country's institutional structure can effectively empower actors with diverse interests to avoid constraints leading to increased resistance to change";
 - *"formal institutions* might exist providing actors with material and ideational resources to exploit new opportunities leading to an increased likelihood of change".
- 2. The sociological institutionalism perspective which follows the "logic of appropriateness" understands the misfit as the incompatibility between the EU and domestic norms and collective understandings which can be mediated by two factors (p. 2):
 - "Change agents or norm entrepreneurs mobilize in the domestic context and persuade others to redefine their interests and identities";
 - "A political culture and other informal institutions exist which are conducive to consensus-building and cost-sharing".

In general, rational institutionalism refers to a complexity of domestic institutional structure and misfit between the domestic formal institutions (i.e. rules and laws) and those of the Union, while sociological institutionalism considers the existence of specific professional (epistemic communities) and 'interest' organizations together with the specific fabric of informal institutions (values and norms embedded in the society) as factors affecting the Europeanisation.

When it comes to implementation of EU policies, the concept of misfit has been incorporated in the 'goodness of fit' hypothesis which is used often when analyzing Europeanisation, especially in the aspect of policy implementation. The hypothesis understands that the level of adaptation of EU policies corresponds to the degree of their fit to domestic contexts and institutions. However, the 'goodness of fit' theory was questioned on empirical basis as it was found that the compliance of formal domestic and EU institutions has nothing to do with the level of Europeanisation, but with preferences, beliefs and will of domestic political and institutional actors (Mastenbroek & Kaeding, 2006), which goes in line with the provisions of sociological institutionalism perspective presented above.

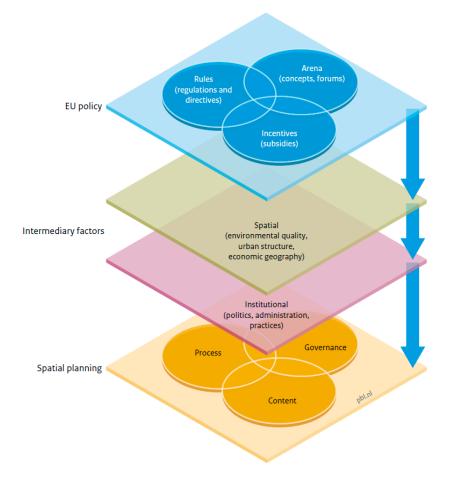


Figure 2.8 Intermediary factors affecting the influence of EU policies on spatial planning (Source: Evers & Tennekes, 2016, p. 18)

Authors who researched the Europeanisation of spatial planning have also been building on the aforementioned institutional theories when defining factors affecting the EU influence on planning, especially highlighting the role of domestic contexts. Rules or formal institutions, culture or informal institutions, knowledge (epistemic) communities and resources (capacity of domestic actors) are often cited factors (Böhme & Waterhout, 2008; Cotella & Rivolin, 2010). Besides effects of domestic institutional settings, some authors also emphasize the role of the national space itself which includes spatial factors like environmental quality, urban structure, economic geography, etc. (Evers & Tennekes, 2016; Figure 2.8).

Following on the work of Stead and Meijers (2009) who define a number of contextual factors like political, institutional/organizational, instrumental, economic/financial, and cultural/behavioural; Giannakourou (2012) determines three important categories of factors for the Europeanisation of planning:

- The first one is planning culture (which is also an object of Europeanisation as noted hereinabove) or planning doctrine, which is defined by Faludi (1996, p. 44; Faludi & van der Valk, 1994) to be "a body of thought concerning (a) spatial arrangements within an area; (b) the development of that area; (c) the way both are said to be handled". The author believes that countries with a planning culture closer to the one of the EU, that is, those with a tradition in strategic and coordinative planning, are more susceptible to further adapt to the EU influences.
- 2. The second category considers national institutional setting, including so-called 'policy styles', i.e. government's approach to territorial governance, planning issues and its relation with other actors. The idea is that countries with a strong institutionalized planning system may be more resilient to change with the EU influence than those with a more flexible and adaptive systems.
- 3. The third category is socio-economic setting. The hypothesis is that more open and liberal socio-economic models may facilitate the uptake of EU spatial policies while more interventionist models may oppose them.

2.2 Europeanisation of spatial planning in candidate countries

Albeit various different approaches to studying Europeanisation of spatial planning have been applied and despite the lack of consensus among researchers on how EU influences on national planning should be researched, a common understanding of Europeanisation and domestic change in planning can be abstracted (Table 1 & Table 2). Starting point for the analysis are the elements of the EU that may affect spatial planning in nation states - which are labeled here as Europeanisation subjects. In most approaches considered, there is a consensus that these elements concern the EU legislation, i.e. acquis communautaire, EU sector policies and spatial policies, specific EU territorial instruments (especially those providing financial incentives and promoting territorial cooperation) and European spatial planning discourse. For planning in candidate countries all these elements may be valid as regards the process of Europeanisation, however, with a varying degree of importance in comparison with regular EU member states. Most notably, in general, candidate countries are neither obliged to comply with the EU legislation nor to implement EU policies, with some exceptions. However, their strong aspiration to join the Union, coupled with the dominant presence of EU-based legislation and policies in the countries that surround them can lead to other informal channels of domestic impact on planning. Thus, it is not about imposition as a mean of EU structural influence in candidate countries, but about learning and adjusting/ adapting. Therefore, it is understandable to assume that EU legislation and policies may affect domestic planning discourses and instruments without being directly embedded into national structure. On the other hand, it is in those pieces of European legislation that directly concern candidate countries, such as those under the Stabilisation and Association Process, where imposition occurs.

When it comes to EU instruments, there are only few directly targeting candidate countries and they mainly include cooperation (learning) and incentives (stimulation) as governing mechanisms of Europeanisation (e.g. IPA programmes). In terms of European spatial planning discourse, candidate countries may not be under the direct influence. However, through domestic epistemic communities, interest groups and participation of domestic planners in European planning community, national spatial planning can be penetrated (by learning and uptake of discourses). Overall, it can be concluded that the dominant mode of the Europeanisation of spatial planning in candidate countries is learning, and especially through the process of so-called discursive European integration.

Table 1 Toward a typology of Europeanisation of spatial planning: overview of different approaches (Source: author)

Approach	Subject of influence	Object of influence	Channel of influence	Effects	Factors
Bohme & Waterhout (2008)	Planning for Europe <i>EU sector</i> <i>policies</i>	Planning in Europe National sector policies	Implementation of directives and regulations Use of EU funding as incentive Influenced by a (hegemonic) discourse at European level	Change of self- perception and position in Europe Change of law, practice, procedures, and cooperation patterns Change in the use of terminology Implementation of single concrete action	Rules <i>Resources</i> Interactive knowledge <i>Expert</i> <i>knowledge</i>
Cotella & Rivolin (2010)	EU structure <i>EU tools</i> EU discourse	National structure National tools National discourse National practices	Structural influence <i>Instrumental</i> <i>influence</i> Top-down dialogic influence	Adjustments in national institutional arrangements <i>Change in</i> <i>domestic</i> <i>opportunity</i> <i>structures</i> Alteration of the beliefs and expectations of domestic actors	Rules <i>Resources</i> Interactive knowledge <i>Expert</i> <i>knowledge</i>
Evers & Tennekes (2016)	EU policies (rules, concepts, incentives)	Planning process <i>Content of</i> <i>planning</i> <i>documents</i> Governance of planned territory	Incentives Rules Arena Necessity	N/A	Spatial (environmental quality, urban structure, economic geography) Institutional (politics, administration and practices)
Giannakourou (2012)	European spatial planning EU sector policies	Planning discourses and/or planning agendas <i>Planning</i> <i>structures</i> <i>and</i> <i>instruments</i> Planning <i>styles</i> and/or modes of territorial governance	Soft coordination and learning <i>Hard regulation</i> <i>and compliance</i> Judicial policy making	Absorption of planning discourses and/ or planning agendas <i>Accommodation</i> of planning structures and instruments Transformation of planning styles and/or modes of territorial governance	Planning culture or planning doctrine <i>National</i> <i>institutional</i> <i>setting</i> Socio-economic setting

On the other hand, spatial planning as the object of European influences is usually understood in terms of what was defined here as a planning culture. goes This understanding in line with the conceptualization of Europeanisation of spatial planning as a process of institutionalization. Following on Cotella and Rivolin (2010), the concept of planning culture can be related to the evolutionary pattern of territorial governance: planning artifacts encompass national structure and tools, planning environment matches the notion of discourse, while societal environment refers to domestic practices (Figure 2.9). Therefore, constituting elements of spatial planning as an object of Europeanisation in both EU member states and candidate countries can be determined as follows:

- national legislation and governance (planning) system,
- planning instruments and procedures, and
- planning discourses, practices and actors in the planning process.

When it comes to the effects of EU influences on domestic planning, they cannot be fully foreseen. In the case of candidate countries, substantial changes and transformations of planning styles and modes of territorial governance can hardly be expected, but a more superficial penetration into the national planning through absorption of planning discourses and adaptation of instruments may be more relevant. One obvious reason for this is candidate countries' short experience with the EU accession process and with transnational cooperation in general (ex-Yu republics are young states that still have a sound memory of their socialist past). However, this may not be necessarily true, as the intensity of European impact differs in each national context. Therefore, for candidate countries which have been facing the troublesome experience of post-socialist transition (as it is the case with Serbia and Bosnia), the EU can pose a strong reference point for orientation from centrally-planned territory and socialist economy toward more open modes of governance and capitalist economy. This can lead to stronger Europeanisation effects on the domestic planning.

However, the resulting influence may not be as evident as it is suggested. Depending on various sets of factors and elements that characterize spatial planning together with the impact that is materialized through soft policy spaces and learning mechanisms, Europeanisation in candidate countries can be a clandestine process. Both degree and the nature of its presence depend on various factors: from formal and informal institutional setting to socio-economic system and spatial arrangements. Another relevant factor is a domestic political will to produce a needed change. It is also important to note here that planning culture as the object of Europeanisation also serves as one of deciding factors affecting the penetration and uptake of EU influences in national planning.

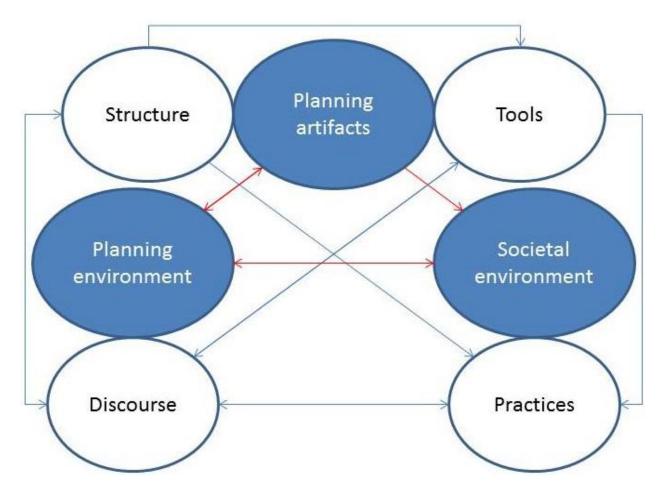


Figure 2.9 Interrelating institutionalization of territorial governance – white boxes, with the concept of planning culture – blue boxes (Based on: Cotella & Rivolin, 2010, and Othengrafen & Reimer, 2013)

Overall, researching Europeanisation of spatial planning in candidate countries is not very much different than studying it in EU member states – Table 2 presents an integrated framework for analysis that will be adopted in this study. The lack of formal European influences on national contexts is compensated by strong aspirations for joining the Union, which can lead to higher susceptibility to other informal channels of EU impact. Anyway, with the lack of exclusive Community competence in the issue, spatial planning remains to be a soft policy field which is mainly impacted through discourses and learning.

What has to be understood is that studying Europeanisation of planning is as much of a bottom-up process as it is a top-down. Influences of different subjects can be researched on national planning culture, but certain characteristics of domestic planning can be traced back to the EU level and recognized as effects of Europeanisation process.

Table 2 Europeanisation of spatial planning in EU candidate countries - a framework for analysis (Source: author)

Subject of influence	Object of influence	Channel of influence	Effects	Factors
EU legislation EU sector policies and spatial policies	National legislation and governance (planning) system	Imposition (Stabilisation and Association Process)	<i>More probable:</i> Absorption of planning discourses	Formal and informal institutional setting
Specific EU territorial instruments	Planning instruments and procedures	Cooperation (cooperation initiatives)	Adaptation of planning instruments	Socio-economic system Spatial
European spatial planning	Planning discourses,	Stimulation (IPA programmes)	Less probable:	arrangements
discourse	practices and actors	Learning (European planning	Changes of planning styles	political will Domestic
		community)	Transformations of modes of territorial governance	planning culture

3 RESEARCH DESIGN AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Devising а comprehensive methodological framework for studying Europeanisation of spatial planning may pose serious challenges, as it was noticed hereinabove (see: Tewdwr-Jones & Williams, 2001). Van Ravesteyn and Evers (2004, p. 139) account for it by the fact that "the EU seems to have a hand in so many different policy areas in so many different ways, making it extremely difficult to get a complete picture". Adding to it the complex and interdisciplinary nature of spatial planning makes it almost a 'wicked problem'¹⁵. However, this research implies that it is hard to grasp a comprehensive picture and it does not attempt to get one. What it seeks to do is to tell a story of, i.e. to describe and explain, the process of Europeanisation of spatial planning on the examples of Serbia and Bosnia. Therefore, it is a descriptive and, to some extent, comparative case study in the first place. Here, Europeanisation is addressed as a unique process that happens within a specific context, i.e. it is not seen as the 'explanans' solution/explanation to the problem, but the 'explanandum' - problem that needs to be explained (Böhme & Waterhout, 2008; Radaelli, 2006).

A general approach to analyzing Europeanisation of spatial planning used in this study can be seen as twofold: it has both top-down and bottom-up dimensions (Figure 3.1). Regarding the former, specific EU influences are predefined through comprehensive analysis of existing studies on the topic and then tested on the domestic planning (deductive approach). When it comes to the latter, specific characteristics of the national planning culture are traced back to the EU level and related to corresponding influences (inductive approach). In this way, higher reliability is achieved (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008) as the analysis is operationalized based on: a) general knowledge on the topic which is tested on specific cases, i.e. on the ground; and b) particular and fragmented notions from the ground that are integrated into new instances of knowledge (or are upgrading the existing knowledge).

Present methodological approach is driven by research questions (Table 3) and defined conceptual framework of the study, but is also underpinned by the need to provide reliability and validation of the findings and conclusions. Selection of relevant methods is based on the following factors:

- Past experience: methods already used by scholars in researching Europeanisation of spatial planning;

¹⁵ "Planning problems are inherently wicked" (Rittel & Webber, 1973, p. 156)

- Relevance: methods that meet the needs of research questions and that fit the framework of the research;
- Reliability: methods that can be used in a synergy (triangulation) in order to strengthen the research.

To date, planning scholars have used predominantly two specific methods when researching the Europeanisation of planning, which will be also used in this study (Dühr, Colomb, & Nadin, 2010):

- 1. Analyzing the content of national, regional and local planning policy documents, and
- 2. Interviewing politicians, officials and planners at various tiers of government.

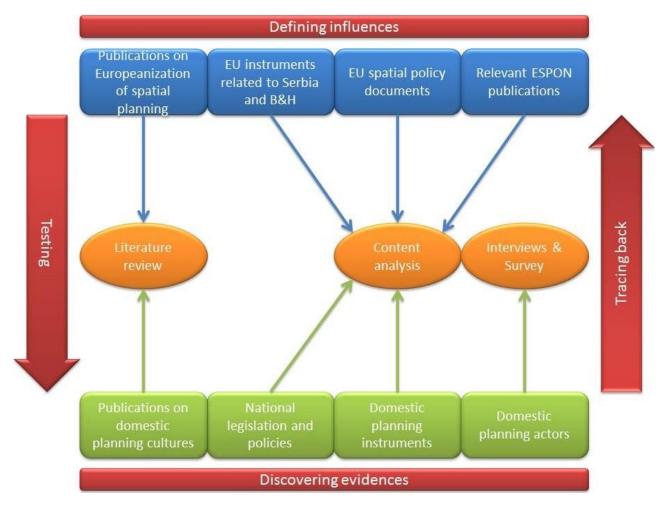


Figure 3.1 Methodological approach to the research (Source: author)

Both methods are of high relevance to this research. The content analysis of planning policy documents treats actual planning instruments that are impacted by European influences (which were defined as Europeanisation objects), while the method of interview addresses more informal and soft channels of Europeanisation through discourses and learning by focusing on planning practitioners and institutional actors which are not only affected by the EU, but they also affect and modify influences coming from Europe (the role of epistemic communities explained in the previous section). As Europeanisation of spatial planning, when it comes to candidate countries, is mainly manifested in these informal channels and soft effects, dealing with people and discourses becomes the focal point of our present research. Therefore, the method of interview will be central to this study. Additionally, Van Ravesteyn and Evers (2004) consider analyzing relevant literature sources and interviewing domestic experts in the field to be sufficient when it comes to rather brief studies like this one. In that sense, this research will also include a method of literature review of secondary sources, i.e. of existing works on the topic of Europeanisation of spatial planning and on planning in Serbia and Bosnia that may be relevant to this study.

Furthermore, as it has already been highlighted, tracing these indirect and informal influences of non-legislative and non-binding EU initiatives such as action frameworks, guidelines or strategies (Dühr, Colomb, & Nadin, 2010) and establishing comprehensive relationships, can pose serious difficulties (or may not be feasible at all). Therefore, more quantitative methods considered to be used in this study, such as the analysis of the frequency of EU planning terminology in domestic spatial policy documents were deemed inappropriate to adequately grasp such influences, and especially those manifested through the elusive notion of learning.

Research questions/ Methods	Literature review – secondary sources	Content analysis – primary sources	Qualitative interviews	Online survey	Delphi method
Discover and explain the concepts, notions and values that come from the EU and influence domestic planning	Х	Х	Х	х	validation
Analyze how EU concepts are conceived in domestic planning practice	Х	Х	Х		validation
Determine the main channels of Europeanisation of spatial planning in candidate countries	Х	Х	Х	х	validation
Define the areas of planning most affected by the EU	Х	Х	Х	Х	validation
Explain the character of EU impact on planning	Х	Х	Х		validation

Table 3 Coverage of research questions by research methods (Source: author)

Identify and analyze the factors influencing the uptake of EU concepts	Х		Х	Х	validation
Reflect on the planning problems and <i>problems</i> <i>with planning</i> that the Union has helped addressing so far and the other planning-relevant issues that can be further tackled through EU initiatives	Х	Х	Х	Х	validation
Explore to what degree the transformation of planning and space can be attributed to the process of Europeanisation	Х	х	Х	Х	validation

3.1 Data collection

The starting method of the research is a literature (reference list) review or a desk study of secondary data. Secondary data come from existing sources of data collected by others, which may not be specifically intended for the research question at hand (Harris, 2001), but which may, nevertheless, be useful. Shah and Corley (2006) see this method as suitable to comprehend the nature of historical accidents or economic or social systems, including planning systems as well. Speaking of this study, the main aim of this method is to provide solid foundations for researching Europeanisation of spatial planning, but also, to generate initial, i.e. secondhand, findings that can be used to drive the subsequent analysis. The approach to literature review in terms of this study is twofold. In the first instance, scientific articles and other publications related to the topic of Europeanisation of spatial planning are studied in order to define a set of meanings and themes that are later tested on the domestic planning culture. On the other hand, articles and documents addressing the characteristics of planning cultures of Serbia and Bosnia are analyzed in order to discover those notions and ideas that can be recognized as EU influences. The considered publications can be found in the reference list.

The second method applied in the present research is a content analysis of primary data, which attempts to discover EU influences on domestic planning structure and instruments. Content analysis is believed to have a "great potential for studying beliefs, organizations, attitudes and human relations" (Harris, 2001, p. 193). For the purpose of this study, primary data encompasses sets of different documents, including:

- EU instruments and policies directly related to Serbia and/or Bosnia (e.g. IPA country reports and strategy papers, Stabilisation and Association Agreement documents and accompanying reports, etc.), and
- Domestic planning policy documents including legislative acts and policies related to spatial planning, or with a spatial impact, and planning instruments at different territorial levels (e.g. spatial plans, development strategies, etc.).

The approach to content analysis is both inductive and deductive. When it comes to the former, different domestic planning documents are analyzed in order to identify concepts and notions that could have been generated as a consequence of the EU impact. Regarding the latter, defined concepts are tested on domestic planning policy documents and legislation with an aim to discover evidences of Europeanisation. The full list of considered documents is provided in the Annex III.

The method of qualitative interview attempts to "understand the world from the subjects' points of view, to unfold the meaning of their experiences, to uncover their lived world prior to scientific explanations" (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2009, p. 1). As the Europeanisation of spatial planning in candidate countries has been identified as a process primarily happening through informal channels of influence which mainly generate soft, learning effects on domestic planning actors, interviews can provide a pertinent insight into experiences of planners and into the way the EU has been shaping domestic planning discourses. Therefore, semi-structured interviews are employed to gather the data from domestic planning actors. Interviewees have been distributed into three broad categories: institutional actors, planning practitioners and academic actors (please note that some of identified interviewees belong to more than one category which is based on their professional background and previous experience), and selected on the basis of nonprobability sampling (Blackstone, 2016), i.e. on the combination of purposive sampling (respondents had to be related to the field of spatial planning), quota sampling (respondents come from different subgroups, i.e. they include different types of actors) and snowball sampling (new respondents are identified by relying on participant referrals). Their further selection has been conducted on the basis of their relevance and availability. All interviews are conducted according to the interview guide that can be found in the Annex II.

The final analytical method used in the study is the online survey. The aim of this survey is to add to the interview method by including a wider range of actors from domestic planning, however, at the cost of not having specific insights into their experiences. Instead, the relevance of this method comes from the quantity of respondents, i.e. it seeks to discover existing trends by analyzing the distribution or dominance of certain answers among the population on the basis of a relevant sample. The present survey is focused on the domestic planners' awareness and knowledge of the legislation, policies, initiatives and instruments of the EU that are relevant for the planning in national context and on the importance given to European spatial planning and EU territorial initiatives in local planning practice. Additionally, the way these are influenced by planning education and professional experience has also been covered by the survey. The survey has been organized as an online questionnaire developed in a 'google form'¹⁶ with the invitation to partake in it being sent to planning actors and practitioners in Serbia and Bosnia. Invitations were sent by email or via 'LinkedIn' platform to all licensed planning companies (identified in the relevant national registers of respective countries), as well as to specific planning experts (identified by a snowballing technique). Additional respondents have been ensured via relevant 'Facebook' groups that gather planning practitioners or planning students of both countries in question. The survey was 'online' from the beginning of April to the end of May 2017 and, in this period, 133 responses were collected in total. The questionnaire used for the survey with the breakdown of answers can be found in the Annex IV.

3.2 Data analysis

The process of data analysis has been following the same pattern used for the collection of data, i.e. the data has been analysed from both top-down and bottom-up perspective. The exception was the method of survey, which, in contrast with the other data collection techniques that were applied, primarily gathered quantitative data in the form of percentual representation of certain answers. Therefore, in the analysis process, such data was interpreted by identifying certain patterns of answers distribution, highlighting unusually high and low values and correlating them to other answers.

On the other hand, the data collected by other methods has been gathered in a qualitative, textual form (interview transcripts in the case of interviews), which led the research to adopt a method of content analysis when analyzing it. Following the approach suggested by Elo and Kyngäs (2008), the process of analysis encompassed both inductive and deductive aspect and was conducted in three phases: preparation, organization and reporting (Figure 3.2). Preceding the actual analysis, the phase of preparation included the process of judgment sampling through pre-screening where only certain paragraphs or sections of respective texts were selected for the

¹⁶ See: https://www.google.com/forms/about/

analysis¹⁷. This was necessary as most documents and interview transcripts were too large to be analysed in their entirety (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008; GAO, 1996). For instance, in the case of domestic planning documents, the analysis only considered a number of selected paragraphs related to planning baselines, legislative foundations as well as to conceptual and strategic parts of the respective documents. Additional analysis was provided for paragraphs referring to the EU or Europe in general.

In the organizational phase inductive and deductive content analyses were carried out. Inductive approach preceded the deductive one. It consisted of open coding where notes and meanings were assigned to different parts of the text and which were later grouped into different categories and themes. Defining categories and assigning meanings to them can be seen as a process of generating knowledge, i.e. it is the way of describing and understanding the phenomenon in question (Cavanagh, 1997). The last step of the inductive analysis was abstraction – description of the researched phenomena through generated categories (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). On the other hand, deductive approach included the development of categories matrices (which was also fed by the preceding inductive analysis) and coding of data according to defined categories. The process of coding aimed to define correspondence with or exemplification of the identified categories (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008).

¹⁷ e.g. based on the keyword search (Annex VII)

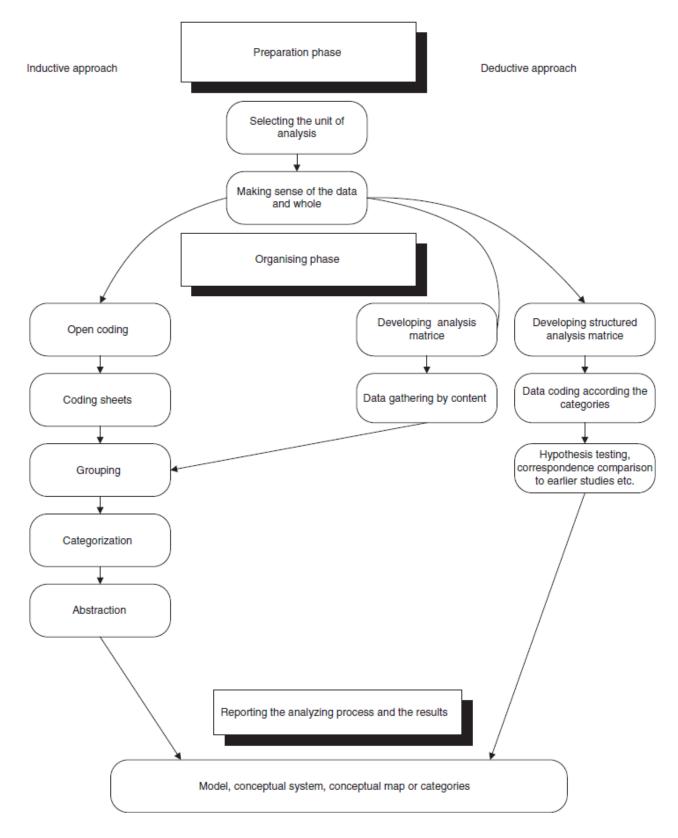


Figure 3.2 Preparation, organizing and resulting phases in the content analysis process: inductive and deductive approach (Source: Elo & Kyngäs, 2008, p. 110)

3.3 Reliability, validity and limitations

Reliability and validation are ensured through triangulation and through application of the Delphi method with a specific task to validate the research findings (a number of final conclusions is sent to selected experts for validation – see Annex VI). Triangulation corresponds to combining or complementing methods in order to strengthen the research (Patton, 2002; Golafshani, 2003). In this study, different methods have been combined in order to complement each other (Table 4) in terms of:

- a) enhancing each other by overcoming their limitations and shortcomings, and
- b) providing different insights in and perspectives of different issues and questions this research has raised.

For example, the main limitation of the interview method lies in the fact that it does not have a wide reach, i.e. it is often limited to a small number of interviewees, which is why it will be complemented by the method of survey in this study. Albeit the survey provides a more general and not specific insight into the problematique, it has a much wider span as it considers a higher number of opinions.

Methods	Literature review	Content analysis	Qualitative interviews	Online survey
Literature review	/	Helps in defining categories for the analysis	Helps in structuring interviews	Helps in structuring the questionnaire
Content analysis	Adds to the findings	/	Enhances by providing 'hard data' based on tangible sources	Adds to the findings by providing different perspective
Qualitative interviews	Adds to the findings	Enhances by providing 'soft data' based on experience and practice	/	Enhances by providing specific insights, views and opinions

Table 4 Complementarity of the used research methods (Source: author)

Online survey	Adds to the findings	Adds to the findings by providing different perspective	Enhances by providing wider reach and overall views and	/
		perspective	opinions	

Most limitations of the proposed methodology come from its robustness. While combining different methods undoubtedly enhances the reliability of the findings, drawing comprehensive conclusions from diverse and extensive sets of data may prove problematic. Elo and Kyngäs (2008) warn that the sheer amount of data that comes from different sources and methods (especially when applying the content analysis) can be daunting, if not overwhelming, and can pose serious challenges when attempting to describe the analysis and present the results: "it is possible to describe some parts of this process in great detail, but other parts – such as the researcher's own actions and insights – may be difficult to put into words" (p. 113).

4 THE CONTEXT FOR SPATIAL PLANNING AND EUROPEANISATION

4.1 Serbia

Serbia is a landlocked country and a former Yugoslav republic located in South-East Europe in a region traditionally regarded as the Balkans (or Western Balkan Region). According to the 2011 census¹⁸ (SORS, 2017) the population of Serbia is estimated to be 7,186,862 (excluding the disputed territory of Kosovo-Metohija) of which 59.44% amounts to the residents of urban areas. The country covers the surface¹⁹ of 88,499 km² (Government of the Republic of Serbia, 2017). According to the World Bank data from 2015²⁰, Serbia boasts a GDP per capita of 5,237.3 USD.



Figure 4.1 Geographical location of Serbia in Europe (Source: http://www.mapsland.com/maps/europe/serbia/detailed-location-map-of-serbia-ineurope-preview.jpg)

¹⁸ See: http://popis2011.stat.rs/?lang=en

¹⁹ See: http://www.srbija.gov.rs/pages/article.php?id=30

 $^{^{20}}$ See: http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD?locations=RS-BA&view=chart

4.1.1 Country's relation to the EU

"EU membership is the foremost strategic foreign policy priority of the Republic of Serbia", is what has been explicitly declared at the website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Serbia²¹ (2017). In the pursuit of that goal, the country signed the Stabilisation and Association Agreement with the EU on April 29, 2008, which entered into force on September 1, 2013²². Serbia was granted a candidate status on March 1, 2012, while membership negotiations started on June 28, 2013. The negotiations concern the adoption, implementation and enforcement of the *acquis communautaire* and are divided into 35 thematic chapters.

4.1.2 Territorial governance and planning structure

In terms of administrative and territorial division, Serbia consists of municipalities, towns/cities and of the city of Belgrade as territorial units and of two autonomous provinces (AP Vojvodina and AP Kosovo-Metohija) as forms of territorial autonomy²³. There are also 'informal' or non-administrative units of territorial organization (it is only a level at which the Government implements some of its decisions) which include counties/ districts (30) and regions (Belgrade region, Vojvodina region, Šumadija and western Serbia region, eastern and southern Serbia region and Kosovo-Metohija region).

²¹ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Serbia: Political Relations Between the Republic of Serbia and the European Union, http://www.mfa.gov.rs/en/foreign-policy/eu/political-relations-between-the-republic-of-serbia-and-the-european-union ²² Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Serbia: Political Relations Between the Republic of Serbia and the European Union, http://www.mfa.gov.rs/en/foreign-policy/eu/political-relations-between-the-republic-of-serbia-and-the-european-union ²³ Law on Territorial organization of Republic of Serbia, "Official Gazette of RS", Nos. 129/2007 and 18/2016

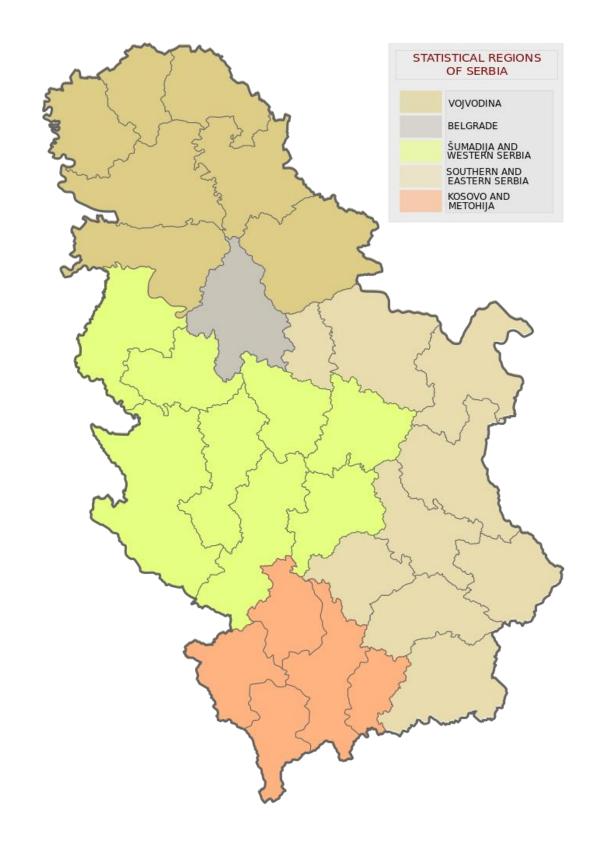


Figure 4.2 Territorial organisation of Serbia: Regions and counties/districts (Source: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/6c/Statistical_regions_of_Serbia.svg)

In Serbia, planning activity is governed by the Law on Planning and Construction adopted in 2009²⁴ and amended at various points after that.

Level of planning	Institution in charge
National level	Ministry of Construction, Transport and Infrastructure
Regional level	Ministry of Construction, Transport and Infrastructure Province Secretariat for Urbanism and Environmental Protection ²⁵
Local level	Local authority, local public and private planning enterprises

 Table 5 Territorial governance and planning levels in Serbia (Source: ESPON, 2016)

The planning system is decentralized and established at three levels: national regional and local (Table 5). However, as the regions are not formally established in Serbia, planning at the regional level is a state competence, except for the planning at the level of autonomous provinces or the City of Belgrade where relevant provincial/city authority holds exclusive rights for planning. Different authorities participate in the planning process as shown in the Table 6.

Table 6 Planning authorities in Serbia and their responsibilities (Source: ESPON,
2016)

Planning authorities	Planning level	Responsibilities
Ministry of Construction, Transport and Infrastructure	National/regional	Defines legal framework and evaluates the implementation of law. Defines development policies and provides permissions for development of projects that are of national importance for the Republic of Serbia
City/Province Secretariat for Urbanism	Local/Regional	Provides requirements for the capacities of Services of General Interest / public services under their jurisdiction
The Chief Planner	Any	Coordinates plan development, work between secretariat, public enterprises and other included institutions. President of the Planning Commission
Development Directorate	Any	In charge of the investments, legal framework, financial and supervisory role in the preparation and realization of the construction of new

²⁴ "Official Gazette of RS", no. 72/2009

²⁵ In the case of autonomous provinces.

		settlements. In charge of equipping the development land with infrastructure
Planning Commission	Any	Expert verification of compliance of urban projects with the other relevant and higher-level plans, policies and the Law on Planning and Construction
Urban Planning Institute / Licensed company	Any	Development of urban and spatial plans

4.1.3 Main spatial planning instruments in Serbia

In Serbia, planning instruments are divided into two broad categories: spatial plans and urban plans. Their overview is given in the following table.

Table 7 Planning instruments and relevant authorities at different governance levels in Serbia (Source: Law on planning and construction of 2009; ESPON, 2016)

Spatial plans	Planning authority	Planning level	Planning object
Spatial Plan of the Republic of Serbia	Ministry of Construction, Transport and Infrastructure	National	National territory
Regional Spatial Plan	Ministry of Construction, Transport and Infrastructure, Province Secretariat, Belgrade City Secretariat	National ²⁶ /Regional	Region or autonomous province
Spatial Plan of the area of Special Purpose	Ministry of Construction, Transport and Infrastructure	National/Regional ²⁷	Specific areas of national importance
Spatial Plan of the Unit of Local Administration	Local Administration (Department for Urban Planning)	Local	Unit of local administration
Urban plans	Planning authority	Planning level	
General Urban Plan General Regulation Plan Detailed Regulation Plan	Local Planning Agency / Institute	Local	Urban areas

²⁶ Except for the autonomous provinces or the City of Belgrade.

²⁷ Only in case a special purpose area is completely located within the territory of an autonomous province or the City of Belgrade, the plan is not adopted at the state level.

4.2 Bosnia & Herzegovina

Bosnia & Herzegovina is a former Yugoslav republic and a country²⁸ located in the Western Balkan Region. According to the 2013 census²⁹ (B&H Agency for Statistics, 2017), the population of the country is estimated to be 3,791,622 – with 2,371,603 accounting to the Federation of Bosnia & Herzegovina and 1,326,991 to Republika Srpska. The country covers the surface of 51,197 km² (Council of Ministers of B&H, 2017). According to the World Bank data from 2015³⁰, Bosnia & Herzegovina boasts a GDP per capita of 4,249.3 USD.



Figure 4.3 Geographical location of Bosnia & Herzegovina in Europe (Source: http://www.mapsland.com/maps/europe/bosnia-and-herzegovina/large-location-mapof-bosnia-and-herzegovina.jpg)

²⁸ Bosnia & Herzegovina boasts a 21.2 km of a coastline

²⁹ See: http://www.popis.gov.ba/

 $^{^{30}}$ See: http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD?locations=RS-BA&view=chart

4.2.1 Country's relation to the EU

A determined and systematic step toward European and Trans-Atlantic integration and institutionalization of the relations with the European Union are declared to be main strategic priorities of Bosnia & Herzegovina³¹ (B&H Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017a). The country signed the Stabilisation and Association Agreement in 2008, but it entered into force only in 2015³² (B&H Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017b). As a candidate country, Bosnia intends to work on further harmonization of national legislation with the *acquis communautaire*.

4.2.2 Territorial governance and planning structure

In terms of administrative and territorial division, Bosnia is divided into two entities: the Republic of Srpska and the Federation of B&H. In addition, the arbitration territory of Brčko has been declared a separate district. The Federation of B&H is divided into 10 cantons which are further divided into municipalities. The Republic of Srpska does not have a meso-level equivalent to cantons, but is territorially divided into municipalities only (Figure 4.4).

In Bosnia & Herzegovina, spatial planning does not exist as a state competence, but exclusive rights for planning lie with the respective entities (and lower tiers of their territorial organization as shown in the Table 8), as well as with Brčko District. Therefore, planning activity is governed by legislative frameworks adopted at these levels, and include the following:

- Law on spatial planning and construction (2008), "Official Gazette of Brčko District B&H", no. 17/08;
- Law on spatial planning and land use in the Federation of B&H (2010), "Official Gazette of the Federation of B&H", Nos. 2/06, 72/07, 32/08, 4/10, 13/10 and 45/10;
- Law on Spatial Management and Construction (2013), "Official Gazette of Republika Srpska", no. 40/13.

In addition, within the Federation of B&H, each canton can develop its own set of laws which has to be in coherence with the respective laws at the entity level.

³¹ Bosnia & Herzegovina Ministry of Foreign Affairs: Basic Directions of B&H Foreign Policy http://www.mvp.gov.ba/vanjska_politika_bih/osnovni_pravci_vanjske_politike_bih/default. aspx?id=2

³² Bosnia & Herzegovina Ministry of Foreign Affairs: B&H and EU Relations Development Overview,

http://www.mvp.gov.ba/vanjska_politika_bih/multilateralni_odnosi/evropska_unija/bih_i_ eu/pregled_razvoja_odnosa_bih_i_eu/default.aspx?id=74

Table 8 Spatial planning levels and relevant authorities in Bosnia & Herzegovina(Source: author)

Planning level	Republika Srpska	Federation of B&H	Brčko District
Entity level	Ministry of Spatial Planning, Civil Engineering and Ecology	Ministry of Spatial Planning	District council
Regional level	N/A	Canton assembly	
Local level	Municipal councils	Municipal councils	

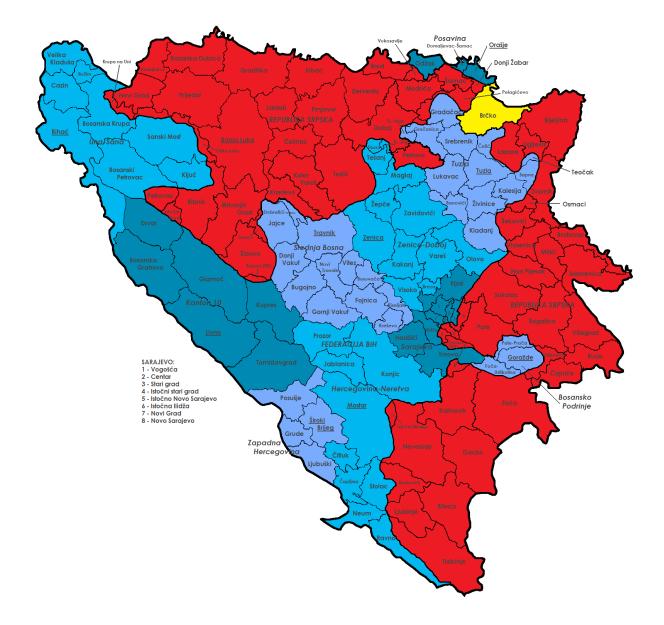


Figure 4.4 Territorial organisation of B&H: Red - Republika Srpska, Blue - Federation of B&H, Yellow - Brčko District; Different shades of blue - Cantons. (Source: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/6/62/Bosnia_and_Herzegovina_Poli tical.png)

4.2.3 Main spatial planning instruments in Bosnia & Herzegovina

In Bosnia & Herzegovina different planning instruments exist within the each entity, as well as, within the Brčko District. Their overview is given in the following table.

Table 9 Planning instruments at different governance levels in Bosnia & Herz	egovina			
(Source: ESPON, 2016)				

Territory	Planning level	Planning instrument
	Entity	Spatial Plan for the Republic of Srpska Spatial plan for an area with special purpose
Republika Srpska	Local	Urban Plan Zoning Plan Regulatory Plan Urban Planning Projects Parceling Plan
	Entity	Spatial Plan of Federation of B&H Spatial Plan for areas with special features
Federation of B&H	Cantonal	Cantonal Spatial Plan Cantonal Spatial Plan for areas with special features
	Local	Urban Plan Regulation Plan Urban Planning Projects
Brčko District	District	Spatial Development Strategy Spatial Plan Urban Plan Detailed Implementation plans (zoning plan, regulation plan, urban planning projects, parceling plan etc.)

5 EU INFLUENCES ON SPATIAL PLANNING IN SERBIA AND BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA

5.1 EU influences on planning structures

5.1.1 Europeanisation of legal frameworks for spatial planning

Since the beginning of new millennia and with the long-awaited reforms finally being underway, Serbia has been actively working on the harmonization of national legislation with the acquis communautaire. A number of laws and policies transposing (or closely mimicking) different EU directives, regulations and policies have been drafted and adopted (together with other relevant measures) in the areas concerning agriculture and rural development (e.g. implementation of the EU Common Agricultural Policy and the EU Rural Development Policy), water resources (in accordance with the Water Framework Directive and other relevant regulatory documents of the EU, like the EU Floods Directive), environment (including a set of EU environmental policies, e.g. directives on Environmental Impact Assessment - EIA and Strategic Environmental Assessment - SEA), biodiversity (in relation to the Habitats Directive and the Birds Directive, as well as to the establishment of NATURA 2000 and EMERALD networks), waste management (following on the Landfill Directive), climate change (EU legislative package on climate change), energy (EU Energy Efficiency Directive), and others (Republic Agency for Spatial Planning, 2010). Bosnia & Herzegovina followed the same path, but at a lower pace (DEI, 2017a), in accordance with the formal requirements of the EU accession process³³ (not being a formal candidate yet).

When it comes to Serbia, as regards planning, the Law on Planning and Construction of 2003³⁴, which was modeled after French planning law and the 1931 Construction Law of Kingdom of Yugoslavia (Nedović-Budić, Dorđević & Dabović, 2011), explicitly highlighted the intention to relate to European norms (Đorđević & Dabović, 2009) and European planning discourse, at least when it comes to the use of common terminology (Nedović-Budić, Đorđević & Dabović, 2011). However, the need to include the EU body of legislation in the matters of national planning was present in the domestic policy-making even before, as already in 1996, the national spatial plan for Serbia³⁵ considered the preparation of special programs (plans, projects, strategies, policies, etc.) in line with the supposed

³³ See: http://www.dei.gov.ba/dei/dokumenti/uskladjivanje/Archive.aspx?langTag=bs-BA&template_id=120&pageIndex=1

³⁴ "Official Gazette of RS", Nos. 47/2003, 34/2006

³⁵ "Official Gazette of RS", no. 13/96

adjustment of legislation in the field of spatial and urban planning, environmental protection and construction with the European legislative provisions (Ministry of Construction of the Republic of Serbia, 1996). On the other hand, in Bosnia, EU influences on domestic planning are less formalized in the national (entity-level) planning legislation, but certain evidences can be identified, mainly in relation to building norms and environmental planning³⁶.

Nevertheless, these changes of domestic planning legislation, made with an eye on examples of other European countries and experiences coming from the EU, should not be regarded as directly instigated by the European integration process, as the act of modeling planning laws and policies after foreign bodies of legislation has been an ever-present practice, at least in Serbia. For example, the Master Urban Planning Regulation – the main planning act adopted in 1950, was developed after a broad consultation of the Western European planning legislation (Nedović-Budić & Cavrić, 2006; Perić, 2016). Therefore, albeit the EU serves as a prominent model to refer to when inducing legislative changes into domestic planning, it happens not to be the prime cause of this process (I2³⁷; I5; I12; I14).

Still, in Serbia, European provisions in the area of spatial planning and related fields are at the forefront of the domestic planning legislation. The most recent Law on Planning and Construction³⁸, which has been in effect since 2009 (with several amendments after), puts forward the compliance with European regulations and standards in the field of spatial planning as one of the leading principles of planning and management of spatial development in Serbia. Moreover, the present Law calls for both vertical and horizontal coordination in planning, where the latter, as a typical European concept, implies cooperation with neighbouring (or cross-border) territories during planning activities, in order to address common issues and interests, as well as to establish networking activities and participation of all stakeholders in the process of spatial development. Likewise, in a more specific way, the actual legislative package introduces formal obligations for implementation of the ΕU INSPIRE Directive³⁹ through the the establishment of the national spatial data infrastructure, which should also be based on the findings of ESPON (Law on Planning and Construction of 2009).

³⁶ Law on spatial planning and construction, "Official Gazette of Brčko District B&H", no. 17/08; Law on spatial planning and land use in the Federation of Bosnia & Herzegovina, "Official Gazette of the Federation of B&H", Nos. 2/06, 72/07, 32/08, 4/10, 13/10 and 45/10; Law on Spatial Management and Construction, "Official Gazette of Republika Srpska", no. 40/13.

 $^{^{37}}$ I – stands for interview, e.g. I1 refers to Interview 1, I2 to Interview 2, etc.

³⁸ "Official Gazette of RS", no. 72/2009

³⁹ See: http://inspire.ec.europa.eu/about-inspire/563

Furthermore, following on the prominent role of regional approach in the European spatial policy model, and especially in the Cohesion policy, Serbia has adopted the Law on Regional Development⁴⁰ with the aim to establish an effective regional organization and coordinated regional policy that corresponds to the recommendations of the EU and which enables balanced regional development and a higher degree of territorial cohesion. However, the Law does not seek to establish a new administrative level of territorial organization, but new functional-territorial units for planning and implementation of regional development policy, in line with the Nomenclature of territorial units for statistics – NUTS⁴¹ (Law on Regional Development of 2009; Republic Agency for Spatial Planning, 2010).

5.1.2 Europeanisation of territorial governance structures and public administration reform

Following on the European association and accession process, the most evident changes in the domestic system of territorial governance are manifested in the establishment of new departments and directories at different tiers of government in both countries. These new public bodies address various themes in relation to the European integration process, including legislative compliance, cross-border cooperation, implementation of EU programmes, coordination of funding, etc. In Bosnia, The Directorate for European Integration⁴² (DEI) is established at the national level and is responsible for coordination of activities of the domestic authorities and supervision of the implementation of decisions passed by the relevant institutions in the country concerning the requirements for the European integration (DEI, 2017b).

In Serbia, at the national level, European Integration Office⁴³, a government agency established in 2004, performs different cooperation and coordination activities within the EU accession process (SEIO, 2017). The work of the Office is supported by specific departments for dealing with the EU-related issues, organized within each ministry of the Government. The Department for International Cooperation and European Integration⁴⁴ of the Ministry of Construction, Transport and Infrastructure (which is a former Ministry of Spatial Planning) carries out a wide range of activities that harmonize international, transnational and cross-border planning activities and initiatives (and especially those coming from the EU) with the national spatial development priorities.

⁴⁰ "Official Gazette of RS", Nos. 51/09, 30/10

⁴¹ See; http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/nuts/overview

⁴² See: http://www.dei.gov.ba/dei/direkcija/default.aspx?id=9950&langTag=en-US

⁴³ See: http://www.seio.gov.rs/eng/office/about-us/

⁴⁴ See: http://mgsi.gov.rs/lat/node/5908

However, the emergence of new governance bodies in the sphere of European issues has not been limited to the national level, nor to the public sector only. In B&H, different agencies, acting under a broader process of EU integration, exist at the level of entities⁴⁵ (including Brčko District⁴⁶) and cantons, within different ministries, but also in the civil sector (I9).

In addition to the National agency for regional development⁴⁷, a number of regional development agencies and councils have been established in Serbia, in accordance with the Law on Regional Development of 2009 and mainly through public-private partnerships (and sometimes with the participation of academic think-tank institutions) in order to deal with the local and regional development issues in the light of the European integration process. However, these bodies do not play an important role in the formal process of spatial planning at regional level, but they are mainly concerned with the (future) management of EU-funded programmes under the regional development policy (Republic Agency for Spatial Planning, 2010; Law on regional development of 2009; I4).

Public administration reform

Furthermore, the stabilization and association process has brought in further formal obligations for both countries under the public administration reform and regarding policy development and coordination. The 2016 Commission Report for Serbia⁴⁸ notes that a consolidated policy planning and monitoring system has to be put in place as policy coordination still deals with a formal, procedural issues rather than with substance (EC, 2016a). Likewise, the 2016 Commission Report for Bosnia & Herzegovina⁴⁹ notes the problem of a fragmented policy-making system, without fully implemented public consultations in the inclusive and evidence-based policy and legislative development, and with a lack of countrywide medium-term policy planning (EC, 2016b). However, although spatial planning system is a constituting part of the general administrative policy-planning system, it is not specifically targeted by public

⁴⁷ http://www.narr.gov.rs/

⁴⁵ See: http://www.vladars.net/sr-SP-

Cyrl/Vlada/Ministarstva/meoi/eu_integracije/Pages/default.aspx;

http://www.fbihvlada.gov.ba/english/uredi%20i%20sluzbe_v2/zaknodavstvo.php ⁴⁶ See: http://www.bdcentral.net/index.php/sr/odjeljenja-vlade-brko-dsitriktabih/kancelarija-gradonaelnika/kancelarija-za-evropske-integracije

⁴⁸ COMMISSION STAFF WORKING DOCUMENT Serbia 2016 Report Accompanying the document Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions 2016 Communication on EU Enlargement Policy

⁴⁹ COMMISSION STAFF WORKING DOCUMENT Bosnia and Herzegovina 2016 Report Accompanying the document Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions 2016 Communication on EU Enlargement Policy

administration reform imposed by the Stabilization and Association Agreement (SAA), which focuses more on regulatory changes and public policy management in a domain of coordination and implementation of EU and domestic sector policies (Annex III - 4). Moreover, in the case of Serbia, the ongoing EU membership negotiations do not entail any relevant category from the scope of strategic research, management, and thinking – and thus neither the spatial management and planning (I13).

Likewise, under the Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance – IPA goal of territorial cooperation, in the second programming period (IPA II, 2014-2020), both Serbia and Bosnia could have focused on the thematic priority of promoting local and regional governance and enhancing the planning and administrative capacity of local and regional authorities (in accordance with the IPA II regulation⁵⁰), but this has not been applied in any of the adopted cooperation programmes (Annex III - 5).

5.1.3 Summary of findings

On the whole, when it comes to the planning structure, the process of Europeanisation of spatial planning is characterized by the extensive regulation and overregulation, which is more evident in Serbia than in Bosnia - following Serbia's achievement of formal EU candidacy. A host of various policies, regulations and directives coming from the EU has been introduced into the domestic planning-related legislation, apparently without proper deliberation of the professional and scientific community (I1; I4; I13), and accompanied by the creation of relevant public bodies departments, directories and agencies for their coordination and implementation at predominantly national and regional governance levels. These structural changes have been driven by the need to adapt domestic institutions and country's territorial organization to the European integration process, to a large degree in order to be able to receive EU funding - explicitly manifested in the adoption of the Law on Regional Development of 2009, and not by the actual development needs of the country (Spatial Plan of Serbia 2010; I4; I12; I14).

In Bosnia, territorial governance structures and institutions have been less susceptible to change (due to their post-conflict formation), which is why the EU influences are mainly manifested, not in the development of new institutions, but in the adaptation of the existing institutional arrangements (e.g. through capacity building). However, due to a fragmented territorial organization, such influences have had a weak uptake at the lower tiers of governance (I2; I5; I9).

⁵⁰ REGULATION (EU) No 231/2014 OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL of 11 March 2014 establishing an Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance (IPA II)

Overall, the role of spatial planning to integrate different sector policies with spatial impact is not recognized in both Serbia and B&H and its position within the formal European integration process is virtually non-existent (Annex III - 4). Under such circumstances, spatial planning, although a constituting part of the institutional reform process, but not of the formal stabilization and association process, has been put on the sidelines, shadowed by the state's European aspirations. While on the one side, 'EU integration institutions' have been growing, on the other side, planning institutions faced decline or shrinkage, manifested in the forms of closure of planning agencies or their incorporation into different units of administration (ministries and local secretariats). That has led the planning to become just another part of the bureaucratic apparatus that is more concerned with formal administrative issues (mainly in relation to the compliance with the EU requirements) than with the substantial needs of planning practice (I1; I13).

5.2 EU influences on planning instruments

5.2.1 The rise of strategic documents

Based on the inputs from the European level and driven by a need to comply with various EU policies and directives, numerous planning policy documents have been developed and adopted (both formal and informal, mandatory and non-mandatory ones) in both Serbia and Bosnia. According to some records, in Serbia, close to 200 new strategic documents have been introduced across different sectors at the national level (I13; I14).

At the national level, these new documents are mainly present in the form of different strategies⁵¹. For instance, in addition to the Spatial Development Strategy of Serbia 2009-2013-2020⁵² (Republic Agency for Spatial Planning, 2009), other relevant strategies include Forestry Development Strategy⁵³, Strategy for the Development of Agriculture⁵⁴, Strategy for Information Society Development⁵⁵, Strategy for railway, road, inland waterways, air and intermodal transport in Serbia⁵⁶, National Sustainable Development Strategy⁵⁷, Tourism Development Strategy of Serbia⁵⁸, and others. Similar documents and initiatives can be identified in Bosnia too. Undoubtedly, the development of these strategic documents has been spurred by the process

⁵¹ See: http://www.rapp.gov.rs/sr-Latn-CS/content/cid267/strategije

⁵² Available at: http://195.222.96.93//media/strategije/STRATEGIJA_%20PRRS.pdf

⁵³ "Official Gazette of RS", no. 59/2006

⁵⁴ "Official Gazette of RS", no. 78/05

⁵⁵ "Official Gazette of RS", Nos. 55/05, 71/05-correction, 101/07 and 65/08

⁵⁶ "Official Gazette of RS", no. 4/2008

 $^{^{57}}$ "Official Gazette of RS", no. 57/2008

⁵⁸ "Official Gazette of RS", no. 4/2008

of Europeanisation, as, for instance, Serbia's strategic orientation toward the EU has been declared to be a key element of the internal transformation of the country, highlighted in the National Strategy for the EU Accession (EU Integration Office, 2005). Furthermore, the Spatial Development Strategy of Serbia 2009-2013-2020 (Republic Agency for Spatial Planning, 2009) clearly indicates that the starting point for defining new policies and strategies of spatial development in Serbia, is a revision and re-establishment of common goals, needs and development possibilities, in the light of the integration processes in Europe, while other strategies highlight country's future accession to the EU as a key element for driving necessary transformations in their respective sectors (Annex III - 3).

Similar trends exist in Bosnia as well. The accession to the EU has been declared to be one of the main goals of the country's future development, as stated in the National Development Strategy from 2010⁵⁹ (Directorate for Economic Planning, 2010). Likewise, specific Community policies and guidelines for spatial development, that are considered to be of a strong relevance for driving the spatial development of the country, have been put forward as main reference points in spatial plans at the entity level (Annex III - 2).

While some strategic documents have been instigated by the need to ensure transposition and coordination of various sectoral policies coming from the EU, including their proper implementation, others have been motivated by those rather informal Union documents in the area of territorial development. The most recent example of this represents the future formulation of the National Integrated and Sustainable Urban Development Policy in Serbia – which is closely inspired by the EU Urban Agenda and Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European Cities. The document is also going to closely follow EU provisions in the area of urban development from the conceptual perspective, with the concepts like urban sprawl, 'smart cities', and sustainability probably finding their way into the policy (Radosavljević et al., 2017).

5.2.2 Introducing new instruments and procedures

When it comes to more formal influences of the EU on planning instruments, both Serbia and Bosnia have adopted laws on Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) and Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA) by directly transposing the EIA Directive (85/337/EEC⁶⁰) and the SEA Directive

⁵⁹ Available at: http://mft.gov.ba/srb/images/stories/medjunarodna%20saradnja/SRP-A-Strategija%20razvoja%20BiH.pdf

⁶⁰ The initial Directive of 1985 and its three amendments have been codified by DIRECTIVE 2011/92/EU of 13 December 2011. Directive 2011/92/EU has been amended in 2014 by

(2001/42/EC) respectively. In Serbia, the former entered into the force already in 1992, while the latter was enacted in 2004. Despite both of them have been used in practice ever since their introduction, they were not formally included into the planning process until 2009 and the adoption of the new Law on Planning and Construction. However, findings show that the application of both SEA and EIA as 'new' planning and policy tools in Serbia, has been conducted more in terms of formal procedures that have to be met, than of purposeful actions (I8), i.e. their integration into planning procedures is still seen as an appendage, in which, "remedial action is taken once economic priorities were implemented" (Stojanović, 2005, p. 21). The same is valid for the application of SEA and EIA in Bosnia as well (I2; I11).

Furthermore, in contrast to Serbia where spatial planning documents are by default considered to be in compliance with the relevant EU provisions due to a transposition of Union policies in the national institutional context, in B&H, new instruments and procedures had to be developed for the purpose of ensuring the compliance, as European policies are not yet fully transposed to the domestic legislative structures. For instance, in Republika Srpska, all spatial planning documents brought by the Government are a subject of a formal compliance check in relation to the *acquis communautaire* and legal acts of the Council of Europe, before they are approved by the Parliament. However, this procedure of compliance checking does not foresee mandatory amendments in a case of non-compliance, but is mainly considered to be a recommendation or an opinion to support decision-making (I5).

5.2.3 Transnational planning initiatives

Both countries' involvement in the territorial policy debates at transnational and European level, which were facilitated by the Community, has seen not only the application of informal EU territorial development documents like the ESDP, but also the development of specific spatial strategies and vision documents targeting a wider territorial (transnational) context within which Serbia and Bosnia are located. For instance, following on their participation in the INTERREG IIc initiative, documents like Spatial Planning Priorities for Southeast Europe – Vision Planet (Schneidewind, 2000) and Strategies for Integrated Spatial Development of the Central European, Danube and Adriatic Area – ESTIA (Kafkalas, 2000) emerged, and have seen a wide application in the domestic planning practice ever since (Annex III - 2, I2; I10).

DIRECTIVE 2014/52/EU. For additional information, please refer to: http://ec.europa.eu/environment/eia/review.htm

Likewise, of particular relevance for both countries in the European integration process are new transnational and territorial policy instruments of the EU, i.e. macro-regional strategies. Two out of four strategies are foreseen to be applied in Serbia, namely, EU Strategy for the Danube Region (EUSDR) and EU Strategy for the Adriatic-Ionian Region (EUSAIR), while it is the case only for the latter when it comes to Bosnia. However, while the EUSDR has seen a wide application in the planning documents of Serbia, the provisions of the EUSAIR have not been incorporated yet into the national spatial development priorities (Annex III - 2; Republic Agency for Spatial Planning, 2010). This has to do with a relative immaturity of the EUSAIR as it was adopted only in 2014, but also with a country's stronger focus on a Danube region (due to a tradition, but also due to its strategic orientation toward 'the core of Europe') rather than on the Adriatic area, where Serbia, as a landlocked country, does not find a lot of possibilities to exploit (I10). Surprisingly, the presence of EUSAIR in Bosnia is also weak and its thematic goals have not found their way yet into country's spatial development priorities at any level (Annex III - 2; I2; I9).

5.2.4 Planning methodology and content of planning documents

Overall, the methodology of spatial planning has been developed in accordance with the European methodology in the area of territorial development, especially in the period between 2008 and 2012 in the case of Serbia (I1). Contrary to Bosnia, in Serbia, the cooperation with state offices and institutions is properly developed to the level of necessary coordination of planning solutions and policies. The model of public participation and cooperation with stakeholders (including market actors, citizens and civil sector organizations), advocated by the EU, has been developed following a debate at the expert level, but its application in the planning procedures remains to be a formality in both countries⁶¹ – usually conducted ex post, i.e. after planning solutions have been developed (I1; I2; I8).

Moreover, the content of the planning documents has also been influenced by the EU accession process, with the European narrative being applied to most of them, however, to a varying degree. While the documents brought at the national level (entity level in B&H) show a consistent and comprehensive reflection of European provisions in the area of territorial development, that is not completely true for the plans developed at the lower tiers of governance, which show a rather sporadic presence of elements of European spatial planning, i.e. it is gradually fading out toward the lower

⁶¹ In 2016, Serbian Ministry of Construction, Transport and Infrastructure engaged a professional team to prepare a small study on further enhancement of public participation in the development of urban plans, but still no direct participation of the public is ensured (I1).

administrative levels (Annex III - 2). For instance, while the national spatial plan of Serbia from 2010 (Republic Agency for Spatial Planning, 2010), strongly focuses on various Union programmes and activities related to spatial planning and spatial development within the country's accession process and calls for a wide application of EU standards in different sectors, regional plans (Annex III - 2) are more concerned with the position of their respective territories within a wider European context, than with a formal compliance with the Community's provision, except for some mainstream sectors like the environment. When it comes to local spatial plans (Annex III - 2), apart from big cities or regional centers, the European dimension of spatial planning is almost non-existent. However, one thing that stands out at almost all planning levels is the strong presence of the European transport networks (TEN-T). Namely, Corridor VII⁶² and Corridor X⁶³ in the case of Serbia and Corridor V⁶⁴ (branch C⁶⁵) in the case of Bosnia, have not only been considered to be of high importance in the planning documents at different tiers of governance (already in 1996, national spatial plan of Serbia (Ministry of Construction of the Republic of Serbia, 1996) highlighted the relevance of pan-European transport networks for country's future development), but special purpose plans have been brought for these 'objects' of infrastructure as well⁶⁶.

Furthermore, following on increased activity in the area of territorial development at the European level, which was highlighted by the preparation of the Territorial Agenda of the EU 2020 together with its background document - The Territorial State and Perspectives of the EU, planning activity in Serbia also took a dynamic upswing between 2008 and 2012, underpinned by the enactment of the new Law on Planning and Construction in 2009 and adoption of Spatial Development Strategy of Serbia and the new Spatial Plan of Serbia 2010-202067. In this period 35 spatial plans at the national level were adopted. At the same time majority of municipalities (122) and cities (24) approved their local spatial plans (I1). However, it can be assumed that, in this period, based on an increased pressure for achieving the EU membership following the Community's 'peculiar' enlargement in 2007 (with Bulgaria and Romania acceding the Union), plans were hyper-produced and adopted by automatism (Miličević, Ristić, & Marjanović, 2017) in an attempt to 'advertise' the country as a planned territory. Unfortunately, while aiming for quantity rather than

⁶² Rhine-Danube corridor

⁶³ Salzburg - Ljubljana - Zagreb - Beograd - Niš - Skopje - Veles - Thessaloniki

⁶⁴ Venice - Trieste/Koper - Ljubljana - Maribor - Budapest - Uzhhorod - Lviv - Kiev

⁶⁵ Ploče - Sarajevo - Osijek - Budapest

 $^{^{66}}$ e.g. Spatial plan of the special purpose area of the Corridor VII, "Official Gazette of RS", no. 3/2010

^{67 &}quot;Official Gazette of RS", no. 88/2010

quality, resulting plans were developed without a detailed analysis and evaluation of planning solutions (I13), but with a sort of a 'copy-paste' approach (Miličević, Ristić, & Marjanović, 2017), thus making them practically unfitting to drive the spatial development of the respective territories.

5.2.5 Summary of findings

Overall, Europeanisation of planning instruments in Serbia and Bosnia & Herzegovina is manifested both in the change of the existing planning documents and tools as well as in the introduction and adoption of new planning instruments at different administrative levels. Spatial planning instruments have been being modernized and advanced at all levels (national, regional, and local), following on European and world declarations (I1) of all kinds (climate change, landscape, energy, environment, etc.).

However, although they have been altered with an eye to EU experiences and recommendations as well as with several new instruments and procedures being introduced as a part of this process, their application in practice has been merely a formality and results in no tangible effects on the ground. Moreover, procedures like SEA and EIA are observed more as an appendage to the planning process than as instruments of an actual benefit to spatial development.

This has to do with an evident decline and marginalization of planning activity, which is, when it comes to planning documents, manifested in the lack of proper tools for their adequate implementation and evaluation. Today, spatial plans are brought by decrees – usually for special purpose spatial plans, the implementation of regional plans is being put aside, while the existing spatial plans are being changed and amended in order to make room for new investments, without a clear argumentation or discussion, neither at the professional nor at the public level⁶⁸ (I1; I12; I13). Vujošević (2010, p. 24; Miličević, Ristić, & Marjanović, 2017) notes that "the majority of spatial, urban and other development plans... seem to have been following other purposes than those conventionally attached to the 'true' plans",

⁶⁸ A drastic example of destroying the authority and reputation of spatial planning in Serbia is the adoption of a spatial plan with special purpose (at the national level) for the megaproject 'Belgrade Waterfront'. Namely, although the master plan for the center of Belgrade was already in power, it was promptly changed, and in order to avoid the development of a regulatory plan – which is a legal competence of the city, the special plan for 'Belgrade Waterfront' ("Official Gazette of RS", no. 7/2015) was developed and passed to the national government for approval by decree, thus violating public interest, country's legal acts and even the Constitution, but going in line with foreign developer's wishes. Despite the public and expert community (more than 2000 expert remarks and critiques on the Plan were collected) strongly opposed this new plan, their objections were swiftly neglected (Interview 1; Interview 6), without a proper argumentation – which was actually developer's legal obligation.

meaning that "the role of planning has been reduced to a 'junior partner of market' within the emerging institutional arrangements, and the entire planning profession to a 'residual factor'".

5.3 EU influences on planning discourses, practices and actors

5.3.1 Relevant European spatial planning documents

European spatial planning discourse has been penetrating the spatial planning agenda in both Serbia and Bosnia ever since the turn of the century. This process took off with the adoption of the ESDP in 1999. After that a number of European strategies and policies in the area of spatial development found their way into national spatial planning documents, policies and strategies in both countries (Annex III). European documents often referred to as being of high relevance for the spatial planning in the domestic context include the following (Annex III - 2; I2; I10)⁶⁹:

- ESDP (1999);
- Territorial Agenda of the European Union 2020;
- Territorial State and Perspectives of the European Union (2011);
- Guiding Principles for Sustainable Spatial Development of the European Continent (2000);
- Europe 2020 Strategy for smart sustainable and inclusive growth (2010);
- The EU Sustainable Development Strategy (2009);
- European Landscape Convention (2000);
- Ljubljana Declaration on the territorial dimension of sustainable development (2003).

Likewise, spatial policy documents developed at the European/ transnational level or through initiatives facilitated by the EU that specifically target a wider territorial context of both countries, like the already mentioned Vision Planet and ESTIA documents, found a wide use in the domestic planning practice (I2; I10). Furthermore, references to European spatial development documents like The Charter of European Planning: the Vision for Cities and Regions – Territories of Europe in the 21st Century, European regional/spatial planning Charter (Torremolinos Charter) or Urban Agenda for the EU – Pact of Amsterdam are also present among spatial planners, at least in Serbia (Annex III - 2)⁷⁰.

⁶⁹ See: http://www.rapp.gov.rs/sr-Latn-CS/content/cid277/evropski-dokumenti

⁷⁰ See: http://www.apps.org.rs/publikacije/preporucujemo/

5.3.2 Concepts, ideas and discourses

When it comes to the use of different concepts or ideas that are derived from the aforementioned European spatial planning policy documents, a wide range of typical European themes can be identified, from the sustainability (especially in terms of a sustainable urban development) as a traditional and lasting EU concept, through polycentric development, to those newer ones, such as the social inclusion. This does not mean that these themes are new to the national planning culture, but with the emergence of the European spatial planning discourse, domestic planners started to show a renewed interest into these concepts. However, it appears that this interest is not genuine (I4; I12; I14), but is predominantly driven by a need to comply (formally) with the various EU provisions in the heating process of European integration – despite the obvious lack of systematic discussions on the issue. As the EU accession process started to take over domestic political agenda, at the same time, European standards and policies became a main reference point for domestic planners and policy-makers. This resulted in the European integration process coming to the forefront of the domestic planning agenda, i.e. it is defined to be the main (spatial) development priority in both countries (Annex III -2, III -3), and, while founded on a strong political promotion, it soon became a leading mantra for both planning community and whole of the society.

Discourse-wise, there are still notable discrepancies between the European and domestic (Serbian and Bosnian) spatial planning discourse. Various planning topics that are not specific to the majority of EU states are present in the Western Balkans (I10). For example, the problem of informal/illegal construction has been at the forefront of the spatial planning agenda in both Serbia and Bosnia (I4; I6; I10), while it is almost non-existent when it comes to the EU (with the exception of Balkan countries like Croatia, Greece, Bulgaria and Romania). While planning discourse at the EU level is mainly concerned with ideological concepts (e.g. growth), planning in Serbia and B&H is still facing grassroot-level issues and problems within the institutional structure for planning. The big challenge is to comprehensively develop and apply planning documents: their effective implementation, communication with politicians (reaching decision-makers), lack of awareness of the general public on the importance of planning documents, as well as insufficient capacity (especially at the local level) and research (I2; I10; I13).

5.3.3 Domestic planners and European spatial development and cooperation initiatives

Based on the findings from the conducted survey⁷¹ (Annex IV) we may infer that, today, domestic planners display a varying level of knowledge on the EU initiatives in the area of territorial development and the European spatial planning discourse, which depends on a wide range of factors, including, the country they come from (Serbian planners show higher familiarity with the topic than Bosnian), their professional education, experience, sector/ field of employment, and, above all, their interest in the topic. When it comes to EU sector policies with a spatial impact, planners are more familiar with those 'consistent' policies that have also been dominant on the political agenda lately, such as the EU legislation on environment or climate change, while most of them have not heard at all for the EU integrated maritime or fisheries policy (which are also of less relevance for both countries). Surprisingly, planners also show a low familiarity with the relevant EU macro-regional strategies despite the national experts and other domestic stakeholders, supposedly, took active part in the discussion that led up to their development and adoption (Annex IV).

It is also important to note that the majority of planners have never participated in any EU pre-accession and neighbourhood programmes (the IPA and the ENPI programmes as well as the previous PHARE ISPA, SAPARD, CARDS, MEDA and TACIS programmes) neither at the programme management/ monitoring level nor directly in the projects (Annex IV). This means low relevance of this EU instrument for the knowledge exchange and learning processes among planners, although cooperation activities (facilitated by the Union) in a domain of spatial planning can be identified, e.g. the project "Coordinated Development and Knowledge Exchange on Spatial Planning Methodology – CODEX⁷²" under the IPA cross-border cooperation programme Serbia-Hungary (I10).

Furthermore, while planners of both countries demonstrate a sporadic knowledge of the European spatial planning discourse (depending on the aforementioned factors), it is also evident that a large part of them is not familiar with many European policy documents in the area of spatial development, while they rarely, if ever, follow and use ESPON publications in their work (Annex IV). Although they show a lack of knowledge on the academic debate on European spatial planning, in general, they do consider territorial development initiatives of the EU to be important for the planning

⁷¹ See: <u>https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1tJtiRpJfVZ2wYB-</u> <u>4TsOacElXcWX9gJXoDp6wx_BmziI/viewanalytics#responses</u>

⁷² See: http://codex-project.hu/eng/

in the national context - which is, however, not reflected in practice. In scientific addition. their participation in professional or conferences/seminars/workshops in other European countries and exchange of opinions and experiences with foreign planning professionals is quite low, due to various reasons, but mainly due to a lack of finances to travel and attend conferences (Annex IV).

This general lack of knowledge on European spatial planning works in support of the argument that European planning concepts are only formally applied to domestic spatial planning instruments, mainly in the form of narrative. There are some exceptions, of course, and they mainly relate to rather isolated and individual efforts of concerned experts to develop a comprehensive understanding of the problematique. Concepts from spatial planning documents of the EU rarely come through institutional channels as administrative executives are too concerned with local problems (I2; I8; 110), but they mostly result from private efforts of individuals and through with colleagues from their contacts other institutions (academies/universities and institutes).

The uptake of European ideas in the domestic planning discourse has been in a large part conditioned by a need for formal compliance with the EU initiatives (despite the EU initiatives in the area of spatial development do not impose a formal transposition, they are understood to be a part of a wider body of EU requirements) and to a much lower degree by the professional values held by planners. In Serbia, professional associations of planners had a considerable influence on the dissemination of knowledge on European spatial planning prior to 2012 (I1), which today remains to be limited to 'know-how' acquired earlier. A prominent role has been played by Republic Agency for Spatial Planning and Institute for Architecture and Urban & Spatial Planning of Serbia (I10; I13). They contributed to this process by participating in various territorial studies at the EU or transnational levels, conducting different research activities on the topic and also by translating EU spatial policy documents, like the ESDP. Unfortunately, a counterpart to these institutions does not exist in Bosnia, which may be one of the reasons for a lower understanding of the European spatial planning initiatives among professionals in the country in comparison to Serbia (I10; I13).

5.3.4 Summary of findings

In Serbia, ideas, goals, concepts and priorities from the EU documents and initiatives have been seriously taken into account in the evolution of domestic planning discourse, especially from 2008 to 2012. In that period, numerous debates on strategic issues (water resources, energy, transport, agriculture, etc.) ensued in major Serbian cities and regions, but they faded after a while (I1). The education on the thematic framework for spatial planning at the European and transnational levels (but also in spatial planning in general) within state universities used to be slowly advancing in cooperation with European educational centers. However, it has also faded in the last period, staying in the narrow limits of the know-how acquainted before. After the adoption of the present Law on Planning and Construction of 2009 (and its update of 2012) no serious debates or discussions either on national planning policies or local policies on territorial governance ensued in Serbia. Likewise, all over the country the number of professional planning institutions and agencies has been decreasing, while planning professionals are being shifted to national ministries and local secretariats, i.e. to mainly administrative positions, where a comprehensive discussion on the professional issues is not present, but respective plans are amended by the needs of ongoing development or by the existing investment opportunities (I1; I4; I12; I13).

In Bosnia & Herzegovina, the situation is similar, but additionally aggravated by the complex system of territorial governance which, on the one hand, hinders the uptake of EU influences at the lower territorial levels (which stay at the national level), while, on the other hand, due to nonexistence of spatial planning institutions at the state level, it takes European provisions in the area of spatial development for granted, i.e. without a comprehensive understanding and application of the taken concepts and ideas (I2; I5; I9). As a consequence, planning is not only facing the issues of professional practice, but it is dealing with the lack of expertise - there is a lack of expert discussions, professional values and discourses, planning institutions, research, and ultimately, planning experts (planning is mainly conducted with the leading role of foreign experts, usually from Serbia (in the case of Republika Srpska) and Croatia). Overall, spatial planning is immature, i.e. not comprehensively (but only formally) institutionalized in the state structures - it is an activity of a third-grade importance and without a clear sense of direction (I1; I2; I3; I7; I9; I13).

In both countries, the education of planners is weakening, there are no innovative ideas, no active debates on the situation, and almost no employment for spatial planners in the professional field or in the key sectors. Moreover, only a small number of experts and 'academics' is able to deal with the European planning discourse. As a result, European initiatives and instruments are only formally (nominally) treated in the national policy documents and administration, but without a sound reflection in the fading activity (and profession) of spatial planning (I1; I13).

6 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Conclusive discussion

6.1.1 Some notable findings and conclusions

Europeanisation of spatial planning in candidate countries, as seen from the examples of Serbia and Bosnia (as a potential candidate), is a process difficult to portrait. A smorgasbord of various influences in different areas related to the spatial planning in the national context is present and it is hard to grasp it comprehensively (Table 10). However, in order to answer the research questions formulated at the beginning of this study, some notable characteristics of the analysed phenomena can be derived.

	Structure	Instruments	Discourse
Serbia	Harmonization of domestic laws and policies with the acquis communautaire; Establishment of departments and offices related to the EU integration; National infrastructure for geospatial data; Regionalization of the country in accordance with NUTS	Development of various strategies; Application of SEA and EIA; Transnational planning documents; Public participation; Review of existing instruments and tools; Development of National Integrated and Sustainable Urban Development Policy	Application of EU documents, especially the ESDP; <i>European integration</i> <i>at the forefront of</i> <i>planning agenda</i> ; Discrepancy between the discourses;
Bosnia & Herzegovina	Harmonization of domestic laws and policies with the acquis communautaire; Establishment of departments and offices related to the EU integration	Development of various strategies; <i>Application of SEA</i> <i>and EIA;</i> Transnational planning documents; <i>Public participation;</i> Review of existing instruments and tools; <i>Compliance checking;</i>	Application of EU documents, especially the ESDP; European integration at the forefront of planning agenda; Discrepancy between the discourses;

Table 10 Overview of Europeanisation of spatial planning in Serbia and Bosnia &Herzegovina (Source: author)

Drivers of Europeanisation

It appears that the Europeanisation of spatial planning in candidate countries is mainly driven by strong Union membership aspirations, which is coupled with formal requirements of the EU accession process and the availability of the Community funding that this process brings. Unfortunately, genuine efforts to use European spatial development initiatives for more pragmatic reasons, i.e. for the real benefits they can bring on the ground, are rare.

Elements of planning most affected by Europeanisation

Following on the growing need to achieve a formal compliance with the Union provisions, the strongest EU impact on spatial planning in the analysed countries is manifested in the planning structure (Table 11) – and it is mainly evident in the (extensive) harmonization of domestic laws and policies with the *acquis communautaire* and establishment of departments and offices related to the EU integration process.

Table 11 Intensity and trends of Europeanisation of spatial planning in Serbia andBosnia & Herzegovina (Source: author)

Country	Influence	Structure	Instruments	Discourse
Serbia	Intensity	High-medium	Medium	Medium-low
	Trend	Decreasing	Stable	Decreasing
Bosnia &	Intensity	Medium	Medium-low	Low
Herzegovina	Trend	Increasing	Increasing	Stable

European planning concepts and their application

Although traces of various European spatial policy documents (especially of the ESDP) can be found in domestic planning documents in the analysed countries, and despite the fact that EU concepts such as horizontal and vertical coordination, sustainable or polycentric development can be recognized in the national planning discourses, it appears that domestic planners still have a limited knowledge on the relevance of European spatial development initiatives for the planning within the national context. Even though some individual efforts of planning professionals to understand and systematize EU influences on planning can be identified, European spatial discourse has been introduced to domestic planning cultures superficially, i.e. largely by following the flow of the European integration process and a growing need to ensure formal compliance.

Channels of Europeanisation

The transposition of EU policies is the main channel of Europeanisation of spatial planning, but only when it comes to the EU impact on sectors related to planning, such as the environment and transport sector where the Community shows the most consistent and diverse influence (e.g. through legislation, norms and standards, strategic goals, etc.). The actual EU influence on spatial planning *per se* is weaker and achieved predominantly through horizontal knowledge-exchange activities of a rather informal

character (individual efforts) and to a lower extent through formal EUfacilitated cooperation activities (e.g. IPA projects). Such influences are most evident at the national level and have weak impact/ penetration at the lower planning levels.

Uptake factors

Furthermore, the uptake of EU influences in both analysed countries has been conditioned by various factors, and most notably by the lack of research, weak administrative capacity, flawed institutions and marginalized planning profession. Here, spatial planning faces substantial issues including the legitimacy of planning and corruption, which makes the notion of European spatial planning of a third-grade importance for domestic planners (Table 12). Therefore, it appears that the process of Europeanisation of spatial planning is also conditioned by the immaturity of planning systems which are oriented internally, toward endogenous issues, and are not ready yet to take on exogenous influences, like those coming from the EU.

Country	Dominant European concepts in planning	Drivers of EU influences on planning	Inhibitors of EU influences on planning	Main planning areas of EU influence	Main channels of EU influence
Serbia	Horizontal and vertical coordination; <i>Sustainable</i> <i>development;</i> Polycentric development	Strong European aspirations; Formal EU requirements; Domestic epistemic communities; Availability of EU funding	Political centralization; <i>Marginalized</i> <i>planning;</i> Lack of research; <i>Weak capacity</i> <i>of local</i> <i>administration;</i> Flawed institutions	Environment and Transport	Transposing EU policies; Horizontal exchange of knowledge; Individual efforts
Bosnia & Herzegovina	Horizontal and vertical coordination; <i>Sustainable</i> <i>development</i>	Strong European aspirations; Formal EU requirements; Availability of EU funding	Fragmented governance; Weak capacity of administration; Lack of knowledge; Immature planning system; Lack of research; Flawed institutions	Environment and Transport	Transposing EU policies; Individual efforts

Table 12 Elements of Europeanisation of spatial planning in Serbia and Bosnia &Herzegovina (Source: author)

Europeanisation and domestic planning issues

Europeanisation of spatial planning in both Serbia and Bosnia has made a (through various funds, certain impact cross-border cooperation, transnational cooperation, the introduction of standards, etc.) in addressing domestic planning issues, however, mainly with regard to the appropriation of concepts and certain institutional solutions in the field of eco-spatial (environmental) protection, and less in terms of the appropriation of specific concepts/ solutions in the field of spatial and urban planning. As noted hereinabove, the concepts in question have been (predominantly) implemented nominally and without a deeper analysis of the correspondence with domestic spatial development conditions. On the other hand, in some areas, the introduction of 'European experiences' has had extremely negative, almost catastrophic consequences, especially when it comes to managing and controlling informal construction, where additional efforts and better solutions are needed (I13).

Beyond Europeanisation

However, the transformation of spatial planning in analysed countries should not be attributed to the process of Europeanisation only. While the EU has brought notable changes to national planning cultures of both Serbia and Bosnia (especially when it comes to the development and application of different planning instruments), the ongoing shifts in domestic approaches to planning⁷³ should be explored not only in the context of Europeanisation, but also in the scope of wider societal changes pertaining the post-socialist transition process (I1; I2; I4; I13). Privatization and marketization of former state structures (with a dominant role of foreign investors), lagged reform process, de-industrialization, rise of neo-liberal 'laissez-faire' economic discourse and flawed institutions have led to, among other things, the trivialization, marginalization and monopolization⁷⁴ of planning activity and to the breakdown of strategic thinking, research and management (Vujošević, Zeković, & Maričić, 2010).

6.1.2 Conformance without performance

Walking on a thin line between everything and nothing, as does the planning itself (Wildavsky, 1973), Europeanisation of spatial planning in candidate countries appears to be both at the same time. It is (almost) everything when it comes to formal influences on planning structures, while it is (almost) nothing when it comes to the actual impact on planning practices and subsequently, spatial development.

⁷³ Including reasons for largely formal and nominal impact of European spatial planning discourse, which results in no evident (or not wanted) effects on the ground.

⁷⁴ Plans are being largely underpriced (I2; I8; I12).

What can be concluded from this is that, on their path to the EU membership through European integration process, candidate countries and potential candidates primarily seek to achieve formal compliance with the EU body of legislation, rather than to establish comprehensive understanding of European provisions and apply them in accordance with their actual spatial development (and planning) needs. Concepts, ideas and priorities coming from the EU are only formally (nominally) treated in the national spatial development documents and initiatives, with most of them just being introduced to the domestic planning culture, but not actually being applied in practice - against which the scientific community has already warned (Vujošević & Petovar, 2010). There is a conformance without performance, as Faludi (1989; 2000) would put it, i.e. although domestic planning priorities comply with the respective EU spatial development priorities, decisions of domestic planners and other stakeholders in the planning process are not directly driven (influenced) by relevant European provisions.

Under such circumstances, the process of European integration has only managed to draw attention of state structures further away from the substantial issues the territory and the planning have been facing (I4; I13). The state institutions opted to move toward formal policy coordination, instead of substantial policy integration through comprehensive planning action. Based on promises and expectations of the future accession, the 'imposed' administrative and institutional reform focused on a host of ephemeral and interim solutions, without proper deliberation (I13), in a search for a 'shortcut to the EU', and neglected actual needs of the planning practice⁷⁵ (especially in the sphere of land-use (I4; I6)). It can be described as an act of 'sweeping things under the rug' where planning problems are swept under the new shiny carpet made of laws, policies and public institutions compliant with the EU requirements⁷⁶.

Furthermore, in the light of growing aspirations for the EU membership, European ideas, concepts and goals have been 'imposed' on planners to use

⁷⁵ It is important to note that the author of this study does not want to neglect the real obstacles that the European integration-induced reform brings (those that need more effort and time). However, what is important is that spatial planning is and, probably, will remain to be at the sharp end of this process.

⁷⁶ There is no better example of this, than the new Law on legalization of objects/buildings ("Official Gazette of RS", no. 16/2015) in Serbia, labeled by the members of the scientific community as 'the law on legalization of corruption and usurpation' (Petovar, 2016), which instead of working toward solving one of the country's most pressing issues (the number of informal buildings in Serbia exceeds 2 million⁷⁶ (Tanjug, 2017)), did it only declaratively, but in reality, just managed to pave way for further corruption and usurpation of public interest (Petovar, 2016; I4; I6; I12).

them, although there is a general lack of knowledge on their relevance and possible repercussions for the spatial development and planning in the domestic context. As the activity of spatial planning is taken rather lightly by the political community as well as by the civil society, which is evident in low implementation levels of spatial plans, elements of European planning discourse (nominally) applied to domestic planning end up having no major effect on the development of the national territory, nor does the planning *per se*.

Nevertheless, despite the rising disorientation of planners, who are unsure in the nature and purpose of their own work – due to present circumstances (I4), a few domestic experts are still trying to systematize different international and European influences and find their role and position within a national spatial planning discourse. However, this has not brought any significant improvements yet and spatial planning remains to be a rather formal bureaucratic procedure – a mute observer to the ongoing societal changes under the umbrella of European integration.

6.1.3 The EU has failed planning... in a way

Apart from the EU influences on planning-related sectors through the transposition of Union policies, Europeanisation of spatial planning in candidate countries, remains to be an informal and 'soft' process of learning, due to a largely informal nature of European spatial development initiatives. As such, this process is shadowed by the wider and more formal EU accession process where planning is perceived as an activity of secondary importance. While coming to the forefront of the planning agenda in candidate countries as a main spatial development priority and, seemingly, a new planning discourse, the notion of European integration has also managed to redirect the interest of planners and decision-makers further away from the substantial spatial development issues of respective territories toward bureaucratic questions of EU requirements and policy compliance, i.e. today, planners (at the national level) are predominantly dealing with the questions related to the European integration, instead the actual spatial development.

Furthermore, while putting forward the model of 'soft' policy coordination as the main role for spatial planning, it appears that the Community has overlooked the real nature of planning to comprehensively integrate (and not only coordinate) spatial policies, which has paved a way for coordinated, but still predominantly sectoral and largely top-down approach to spatial development. That has only benefitted the further disorientation of planning activity, which, also due to a multitude of domestic-generated issues, cannot keep up with the growing changes in various planning-relevant sectors. This can lead one to argue that, when it comes to candidate countries, the EU has failed planning... in a way. Besides those aforementioned, there is a number of arguments supporting such a statement, some of which are as follow:

- Lack of formal support to spatial planning. The Community does not directly support the strengthening of planning institutions in candidate countries as a part of the accession process, which has driven the resulting administrative and institutional reform to completely neglect the needs of planning practice and deliver ephemeral and interim solutions that only 'patch' and do not comprehensively address existing issues.
- *Lack of knowledge-exchange activities on spatial planning*. Spatial planning and planning-related issues rarely make the focus of EU-facilitated cooperation activities (when it comes to candidate countries).
- *Bureaucracy issues.* The EU faces the problems of bureaucracy in decision-making which are not only reflected in the member states, but also (and possibly even more) in the candidate countries and potential candidates. Planning is also not immune to such issues and, under the umbrella of European integration, it tends to develop more like a formal bureaucratic procedure than a purposeful and comprehensive activity.
- *Discourse discrepancy.* There are still notable discrepancies between the European planning discourse and planning discourses of candidate countries. When it comes to spatial development, relevant Union policies mainly address the topic of 'growth' and similar issues, while the themes specific to candidate countries and potential candidates like informal construction and corruption are not of interest (and relevance) to modern EUrope.
- One size fits all. Although advocating a place-based approach (as in Barca, 2009) and introducing place-specific spatial policy instruments (e.g. macro-regional strategies), still the Community cannot not rise above the one-size-fits-all policy approach when it comes to the area of spatial development, which leaves Union provisions sometimes 'overly generalized' to be comprehensively applied in specific domestic contexts of candidate countries (especially at the lower governance levels).
- *Weakening of EU spatial policy.* Since its inception in 1999, the ESDP has been the most frequently used and cited EU spatial policy document, despite the Community has moved on to develop and adopt other territorial development instruments after that. This is also true when it comes to candidate countries, even nowadays. Therefore, it

appears that subsequent EU initiatives in the area of spatial development have not been as impactful as the ESDP (e.g. weak uptake of macro-regional strategies), which goes in line with the Community's gradual retreat from the spatial policy in recent years (Faludi, 2009).

- *It's nothing new.* Most ideas and concepts advocated by the European spatial planning are not a novelty for domestic planners in candidate countries. In most of the cases it comes down to largely superficial differences, like the use of different terminology, from which no substantial effects on national planning discourses are derived or expected.

'Planning with Europe'

However, despite the aforementioned shortcomings, European influences on the activity of spatial planning in candidate countries cannot be utterly neglected. Despite the fact that European documents and initiatives in the area of spatial planning may not be completely relevant for the planning in domestic contexts of these countries, the Union is still a formation of a considerable importance and influence at the European as well as global playing field, and thus, its recommendations for the spatial development, even if not ultimately applied in practice, are (and have to be) at least considered in the planning activities of other European non-member states.

Following on Böhme and Waterhout (2008) who introduced the concepts of 'planning for Europe' when referring to the European spatial planning, i.e. planning at the Community level, and 'planning in Europe' when referring to spatial planning in EU member states, spatial planning in EU candidate and potential candidate countries can be labeled as the 'planning with Europe'⁷⁷.

EU activities in the field of spatial planning are important for these countries for two main reasons (I10):

- 1. Checking the course (orientation) of the national spatial development policy and supplementing domestic planning practice with the elements of European spatial planning can contribute to the quality of spatial and urban planning activities.
- 2. Moreover, harmonization of domestic spatial planning policies with the EU policies of spatial development also benefits the coordination of territorial activities with other countries and facilitates cross-border, transnational and interregional cooperation.

 $^{^{77}}$ Sometimes labeled as Europeanisation (of planning) outside Europe (Vujošević & Petovar, 2010).

Therefore, when it comes to 'planning with Europe', European spatial planning is and will remain to be the main reference point for domestic spatial planning policies and planning practices of candidate countries, regardless of the final outcome of their integration process, i.e. whether they accede the Union or not.

6.2 Recommendations

Speaking of spatial planning, this study brings mixed messages for candidate countries (and future candidates) in their 'quest' for the EU membership as well as for the Community itself.

The most important lesson for candidate countries (both present and future), is not to transpose EU legislation, principles and priorities to national planning contexts mechanically and uncritically. Before everything, it is necessary to understand the characteristics of the application of Union principles in the domestic context (and under domestic conditions) in order to achieve benefits for the planning and spatial development of the national territory in the first place, which is impossible without a programmed, organized, systematic research and thorough understanding of lessons from previous and existing experiences of the EU integration, both positive and negative (Vujošević & Petovar, 2010).

When it comes to the cases of Serbia and Bosnia, this should be accompanied by the comparable investments in research activities and by the establishment and strengthening of planning and research ('think tank') institutions (especially in Bosnia where such institutions do not exist). Planning processes should be facilitated by research activities for territorial evidences which should also be supported by national spatial data infrastructures and relevant findings of the ESPON.

However, there is also a need for increased domestic efforts to address present strategic issues of both national and a wider Balkan territory, both within and outside the EU integration process. These efforts should be primarily focused on three main activities (I13):

- 1. Organizing systematic discussions on 'the reasons for joining the EU' and 'the reasons for withdrawing from the EU accession process', while, in the case of the latter, searching for alternatives – based on structured, logical and plausible scenarios;
- 2. Creating necessary requirements for the reconstruction of strategic research and management through the development of appropriate scenarios, including the preparation of spatial and environmental implications or consequences of those scenarios;

3. Defining new concepts in terms of economic, infrastructural and spatial integration of a wider Balkan area, for example, through joint development strategies⁷⁸.

When it comes to the European spatial planning, future European spatial development initiatives and instruments should certainly address the main planning problems of the entire South-East Europe, including emigration and depopulation, economic inefficiency and lack of competitiveness (to which the EU itself has been largely contributing, e.g. through trade liberalization), poverty, and waste management, but they should also consider issues specific to candidate countries, such as informal construction and corruption.

In the pre-accession process, the Community should pay more attention to the strengthening of domestic planning institutions in candidate countries, also by giving a direct and formal support to planning under SAA and IPA programmes. In addition, it is necessary to strengthen cooperation of EU institutions dealing with regional policy and urban development with other European and international organizations that already have a rich experience in supporting development activities in candidate countries and other European non-EU states (e.g. the Council of Europe bodies like Conference of Ministers responsible for Regional Planning (CEMAT) whose activities are of the specific interest to the Community).

On the other hand, there is a need for the Community to show a renewed interest in the spatial development policy. Based on the unparalleled success and consistency the ESDP has shown in candidate countries and in the light of the growing spatially-relevant issues the EU faces today (which are also relevant for the future members), maybe now more than ever, the Union needs a comprehensive spatial development policy developed on the foundations and principles of the ESDP. Integration (enabled and promoted by such policy) and not coordination of policies may be the answer for the Union's struggles in the area of territorial development.

Furthermore, following on the good experiences with the documents like ESTIA (Kafkalas, 2000) and Vision Planet (Schneidewind, 2000) which have found a wide use in the spatial planning activities in relevant candidate countries, the Union should give more support to similar bottom-up cooperation initiatives in the area of spatial development.

Still, it is very important that each national policy of spatial development has its own autonomy, in order to enable better development of innovations

⁷⁸ EU macro-regional strategies may be a good start, but firstly, there is a need to establish monitoring and evaluation framework for the implementation of such strategies, but also for identifying key needs and challenges of the macro-regional area.

as well as the preservation of existing planning traditions in national contexts. European and transnational planning policies should remain at the level of recommendations (and not requirements). That leaves EU member states, candidate and potential candidate countries (as well as countries that cooperate with the Community) with a freedom to incorporate in their national, regional or local spatial development policies those elements that are consistent with their actual development needs and interests.

6.3 Limitations of the research

The main limitations of this research come from its comprehensiveness. The attempt to develop overall understanding of Europeanisation of spatial planning in two candidate countries through extensive and thorough research activity in a relatively short time frame was an ambitious enterprise. It required not only strong efforts to collect data from a variety of sources, but also to systematically analyse diverse sets of gathered data and draw relevant conclusions. The complexity of such approach especially posed a threat to the generalization of results and conclusions, as it often dealt with a multitude of narrow and specific (and sometimes opposed) findings. Therefore, the research was largely focused on the unique, contextbound characteristics of the research phenomena, rather than to its general aspects.

Furthermore, one question that this study only partially answered was the actual impact of the Community on domestic spatial planning in candidate countries, i.e. to what degree the transformation of planning and space can be attributed to the process of Europeanisation. Namely, it was almost impossible to completely separate EU influences on planning from the following processes:

- Horizontal cooperation activities and knowledge exchange processes that are not facilitated by the Community;
- Influences coming from other international actors and organizations (e.g. the UN);
- Post-socialist transition process in ex-YU countries and wider societal transformations it has brought.

Likewise, the adopted methodology has also shown limitations in terms of complexity, as it provided a host of different and specific findings (from diverse sources) which were complicated to systematize. Also, the sheer amount of gathered data was difficult to deal with. When it comes to the use of specific methods throughout the course of the research, following problems ensued:

- There is a general lack of secondary data relevant to the study;
- The pool of knowledge on the issue is limited. After several interviews, all answers started to look alike. Subsequent interviews did not prove to be worthwhile.
- Besides it was hard to reach relevant interviewees, their availability was also low at this time of the year, which only prolonged the data collection process.
- In Bosnia, it was hard to identify and reach relevant interviewees, especially when it comes to institutional actors at the state level and those from the Federation of B&H. However, it was also due to a general lack of professionals competent on the issue.
- Analysing spatial planning documents from planning levels besides national was not considerably useful for the study and proved to be only time-consuming;
- Data analysis process proved extremely demanding, as much of the time was spent on the screening and selection of relevant 'writings' that were to be coded;
- The survey failed to attract respondents with richer professional experience, which slightly decreases the relevance of the findings from this method.
- The Delphi method had to rely on the opinion of three experts only.

However, the advantages of this study can be observed in a detailed analysis that encompasses different views and perspectives. It has elevated the discussion on Europeanisation of spatial planning above the aspect of a formal compliance and related it to the real effects based on the experiences of planning practitioners, academics and institutional actors. However, this research can still be improved with additional insights coming from the lower planning levels (e.g. analyzing urban planning documents and interviewing local stakeholders).

In these terms, future research activities on the topic should consider the following:

- In order to separate Europeanisation from other influences, future studies should focus on the impact of specific EU initiatives (e.g. macro-regional strategies) in the area of spatial planning;
- There is also a need to focus research activities on specific themes, concepts and objects of planning.
- Studies on Europeanisation of spatial planning should be accompanied by the investigation of EU impacts in the actual planning space (e.g. by mapping EU-funded projects, and evaluating their results and effects);

- It would be also important to compare the Europeanisation of spatial planning in candidate countries and EU member states in order to further explore the scope and the nature of this process.

However, the comprehensive picture of the issue is never to be completely unfolded. Unique implications of each national setting, complexity of spatial planning and various directions and aspects of EU influences will always lead to unique outcomes and conclusions, regardless of the approach used. Therefore, each story of Europeanisation of spatial planning is not like any other and that is how it should be understood.

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ANNEXES

Interview code	Profession	Institute	Relevant country
Interview 1 ⁷⁹	Scholar - architect, PhD	University of Belgrade – Faculty of Geography; Republic Agency for Spatial Planning (Serbia)	Serbia and Bosnia & Herzegovina
Interview 2 ⁸⁰	Practitioner - planner, PhD	Urbis Centre Ltd. (Spatial planning and urban development)	Bosnia & Herzegovina
Interview 3	Scholar - architect, PhD	University of Banja Luka – Faculty of Architecture	Bosnia & Herzegovina
Interview 4	Scholar - planner, PhD	University of Belgrade – Faculty of Geography; Planning Commission (Serbia)	Serbia
Interview 5	Institutional actor - civil engineer, MSc	Ministry of Spatial Planning, Civil Engineering and Ecology (Republika Srpska)	Bosnia & Herzegovina
Interview 6	Scholar - sociologist, PhD	University of Belgrade – Faculty of Geography	Serbia
Interview 7	Scholar - planner, MSc	University of Banja Luka – Faculty of Sciences	Bosnia & Herzegovina
Interview 8	Practitioner/ Scholar - architect, PhD	University of Belgrade – Faculty of Architecture; Urbopolis Ltd.	Serbia
Interview 9	Scholar - geographer, PhD	University of Sarajevo – Faculty of Sciences	Bosnia & Herzegovina
Interview 10 ⁸¹⁸²	Institutional actor/ practitioner - planner, PhD	Ministry of Construction, Transport and Infrastructure; Republic Agency for Spatial Planning (Serbia)	Serbia
Interview 11	Practitioner – environmental engineer, MSc	Institute for urbanism, civil engineering and ecology of Republika Srpska	Bosnia & Herzegovina
Interview 12	Scholar – planner, PhD	University of Belgrade – Faculty of Geography; Serbian Spatial Planners Association	Serbia and Bosnia & Herzegovina
Interview 13 ⁸³⁸⁴	Scholar – economist/ planner, PhD & scholar – geographer, PhD	The Institute of Architecture and Urban & Spatial Planning of Serbia (IAUS)	Serbia

Annex I – List of conducted interviews

⁷⁹ The interview was delivered in the written form.

⁸⁰ There was a post-interview written correspondence on the topic in order to clarify certain statements.

⁸¹ An employee of Institute for urbanism, civil engineering and ecology of Republika Srpska (at the time), also took part in the interview.

⁸² There was a post-interview written correspondence on the topic in order to clarify certain statements.

⁸³ Two experts participated in the interview.

⁸⁴ There was a post-interview written correspondence on the topic in order to clarify certain statements.

Interview 14	Institutional actor/ practitioner,	Ministry of Construction, Transport and Infrastructure;	Serbia
	planner, PhD	Serbian Spatial Planners	
		Association	

Annex II – Interview guide⁸⁵

Question 1 Influence of EU sector legislation and sector policies

Please describe the relevance and the trend of the each influence.

How and to what extent were the ideas, aims, concepts and priorities included in the policies below taken into account in:

- the development of national legislation and policies (directly related to spatial planning/with a strong spatial impact/spatially defined).
- the development of national, subnational and local territorial governance and planning (and planning-related) institutions and agencies (e.g. capacities, competences, demand for new experts⁸⁶, etc.).
- the development of, type and content of spatial planning documents and other relevant planning instruments, especially when it comes to: the process of plan-making (in regard to different phases), cooperation, public participation, control, monitoring, quality, implementation, etc.
- practices, models and procedures adopted by planners (how they are conceived and adapted/modified to fit the domestic setting).
- domestic spatial planning discourses.
- education of planners.

Mainstream policies:

- EU Cohesion and regional policy
- EU competition legislation (e.g. public procurement)
- EU energy legislation
- EU environmental legislation (on Environmental Protection, EIA, SEA, Habitat, Bird Directives, Water framework directive, Directive Maritime Spatial Planning)
- EU transport legislation (e.g. TEN-T)
- EU urban policy (EU URBAN Community Initiative, Jessica)
- EU rural development policy (Common Agricultural Policy)

Other policies:

- Climate change policy
- R&D policy
- Social policy
- Integrated maritime policy
- Common fisheries policy

⁸⁵ This guide was prepared with the help of Erblin Berisha, PhD candidate at DIST -Interuniversity Department of Regional and Urban Studies and Planning of Politecnico di Torino.

⁸⁶ Due to novelties introduced, e.g. SEA, energy efficiency, green infrastructure, etc.

Question 2 Influence of EU instruments and initiatives

Please describe the relevance and the trend of the each influence.

How and to what extent were the ideas, aims, concepts and priorities included in the instruments and initiatives below taken into account in:

- the development of national legislation and policies (directly related to spatial planning/with a strong spatial impact/spatially defined).
- the development of national, subnational and local territorial governance and planning (and planning-related) institutions and agencies (e.g. capacities, competences, demand for new experts, etc.).
- the development of, type and content of spatial planning documents and other relevant planning instruments, especially when it comes to: the process of plan-making (in regard to different phases), cooperation, public participation, control, monitoring, quality, implementation, etc.
- practices, models and procedures adopted by planners (how they are conceived and adapted/modified to fit the domestic setting).
- domestic spatial planning discourses.
- education of planners.

Instruments and initiatives:

- European territorial cooperation (the EU macro-regional strategies, e.g. EU Strategy for Adriatic and Ionian Region)
- Pre-accession and neighbourhood policy (the IPA and the ENPI programmes as well as the previous PHARE ISPA, SAPARD, CARDS, MEDA and TACIS programmes)
- Pre-accession negotiation (SAP Stabilization and Association Process, SAA Stabilization and Association Agreement)

Question 3 Influence of EU discourses

Please describe the relevance and the trend of the each influence.

- 1. How and to what extent were the ideas, aims, concepts and priorities included in the documents/initiatives below taken into account in:
- the development of national legislation and policies (directly related to spatial planning/with a strong spatial impact/spatially defined).
- the development of national, subnational and local territorial governance and planning (and planning-related) institutions and agencies (e.g. capacities, competences, demand for new experts, etc.).
- the development of, type and content of spatial planning documents

and other relevant planning instruments, especially when it comes to: the process of plan-making (in regard to different phases), cooperation, public participation, control, monitoring, quality, implementation, etc.

- practices, models and procedures adopted by planners (how they are conceived and adapted/modified to fit the domestic setting).
- domestic spatial planning discourses.
- education of planners.

Documents and initiatives:

<u>EU development strategies</u> - The EU development strategies include the Lisbon and Gothenburg Strategies⁸⁷ and the EU2020 Strategy.⁸⁸

<u>EU spatial policy documents</u> - The EU spatial policy documents includes the ESDP⁸⁹, the EU Territorial Agenda⁹⁰, the EU Territorial Agenda 2020⁹¹, the EC Green paper on territorial cohesion⁹², etc.

<u>EU documents on urban development</u> - The EU urban agenda⁹³ and related documents including the Green paper on the urban environment⁹⁴; the Leipzig Charter on sustainable cities⁹⁵, etc.

ESPON Programme⁹⁶

- 2. How and to what extent did the European spatial planning discourse influence:
 - the debate of the domestic academic community;
 - the role of the spatial planning profession;
 - the evolution of spatial planning education.

- ⁹⁰ <u>http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/policy/what/territorial-cohesion/territorial_agenda_leipzig2007.pdf</u>
- ⁹¹ <u>http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/policy/what/territorial-</u>cohesion/territorial_agenda_2020.pdf

⁸⁷ <u>http://ec.europa.eu/archives/growthandjobs_2009/</u>

⁸⁸ <u>http://ec.europa.eu/europe2020/index_en.htm</u>

⁸⁹ <u>http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docoffic/official/reports/som_en.htm</u>

⁹² http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2008:0616:FIN:EN:PDF

^{93 &}lt;u>http://urbanagendaforthe.eu/</u>

⁹⁴<u>http://www.ecolex.org/details/literature/green-paper-on-the-urban-environment-communication-from-the-commission-to-the-council-and-parliament-mon-045223/</u>

⁹⁵ http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/archive/themes/urban/leipzig_charter.pdf

⁹⁶ <u>https://www.espon.eu/main/</u>

Annex III – Primary data documents

Annex III – 1 Laws

Serbia

- Law on Planning and Construction, "Official Gazette of RS", Nos. 47/2003, 34/2006
- Law on Planning and Construction, "Official Gazette of RS", Nos. 72/2009, 81/2009
- Law on Regional Development, "Official Gazette of RS", Nos. 51/09, 30/10

Bosnia & Herzegovina

- Law on spatial planning and construction, "Official Gazette of Brčko District B&H", no. 17/08;
- Law on spatial planning and land use in the Federation of Bosnia & Herzegovina, "Official Gazette of the Federation of B&H", Nos. 2/06, 72/07, 32/08, 4/10, 13/10 and 45/10;
- Law on Spatial Management and Construction, "Official Gazette of Republika Srpska", no. 40/13.

Annex III – 2 Plans

Serbia

- Spatial Plan of the Republic of Serbia (1996)
- Spatial Plan of the Republic of Serbia (2010)
- Regional Spatial Plan of the administrative area of the City of Belgrade (2011)
- Regional Spatial Plan of the Autonomous Province Vojvodina (2011)
- Spatial Plan of the City of Novi Sad (2012)
- General Urban Plan of Niš (2010)

Bosnia & Herzegovina

- Spatial plan of the Federation of Bosnia & Herzegovina (2012)
- Spatial Plan of Republika Srpska (2008)
- Spatial Plan of Republika Srpska (2013)
- Spatial Plan of Sarajevo Canton (2006)
- Spatial Plan of Banja Luka (2014)

Annex III – 3 Strategies

Serbia

- Spatial Development Strategy of Serbia 2009-2013-2020 (2009)
- National Strategy for the EU Accession (2005)

Bosnia & Herzegovina

- National Development Strategy (2010)

Annex III – 4 Stabilisation and Association documents

Serbia

- Stabilisation and Association Agreement between the European Communities and their Member States of the one part, and the Republic of Serbia, of the other part (2008)
- COMMISSION STAFF WORKING DOCUMENT Serbia 2016 Report Accompanying the document Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions 2016 Communication on EU Enlargement Policy (2016)

Bosnia & Herzegovina

- Stabilisation and Association Agreement between the European Communities and their Member States, of the one part, and Bosnia and Herzegovina, of the other part (2008)
- COMMISSION STAFF WORKING DOCUMENT Bosnia and Herzegovina 2016 Report Accompanying the document Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions 2016 Communication on EU Enlargement Policy (2016)

Annex III – 5 IPA documents

Serbia

- IPA interim evaluation and meta-evaluation of IPA assistance, Country Programme interim Evaluation Serbia (2013)
- IPA II Indicative Strategy Paper For Serbia 2014-2020 (2014)
- Interim / Strategic Evaluation of EU IPA Pre-Accession Assistance to Serbia 2010/231827 Final Report (2011)
- IPA CBC Programme Serbia Bosnia & Herzegovina (2014)
- IPA CBC Programme Serbia Montenegro (2014)

Bosnia & Herzegovina

- IPA interim evaluation and meta-evaluation of IPA assistance, Country Report Bosnia and Herzegovina (2013)
- IPA II Indicative Strategy Paper For Bosnia & Herzegovina 2014-2020 (2014)
- Interim / Strategic Evaluation of EU IPA Pre-Accession Assistance to Bosnia & Herzegovina - Letter of Contract 2010/231827 Final Report (2010)
- IPA CBC Programme Bosnia & Herzegovina Montenegro (2014)
- IPA CBC Programme Serbia Bosnia & Herzegovina (2014)

Annex IV – Survey questionnaire and results

Annex IV – 1 Questionnaire

DESCRIPTION

This survey is conducted as a part of the research aimed at evaluation of the impact of the European Union (legislation, policies, instruments and planning discourse) on spatial planning in Serbia and Bosnia & Herzegovina. The idea is that respondents, based on their professional experience (and the experience of the educational process), express their opinion on the topic and related issues. The focus of this survey is the planners' awareness and knowledge of the legislations, policies, initiatives and instruments of the European Union relevant for the planning in the national context and the importance given to European spatial planning and EU territorial initiatives in domestic planning practices.

SEC1	TION 1 GENERAL INFORMATION
1.	Sex:
	- M
	- F
2.	Age:
	- 18-23
	- 24-29
	- 30-35
	- 36-41
	- 42-47
	- 48-53
	- 54-59 - 60-65
	- 65+
2	Country of origin:
5.	- Serbia
	- B&H (Republika Srpska)
	- B&H (Federation of B&H)
	- B&H (Brčko distrikt)
	- Other ex-Yu countries
	- Other (please specify)
4.	Countries where you earned your degree (multiple choice):
	- Serbia
	- B&H (Republika Srpska)
	- B&H (Federation of B&H)
	- B&H (Brčko distrikt)
	- Other ex-Yu countries
	- Other (please specify)
5.	Educational background (multiple choice):
	 Spatial planning Architecture-urbanism
	- Architecture-urbanism
	- Geography and related sciences (e.g. demography)
	- Civil engineering
	- Economy
	- Law
	- Political sciences
	- Sociology
	- Ecology and environment sicences
	- Agriculture and forestry
	- Other (please specify)

Timeframe of professional education (multiple choice):	
- 1960-1970	
- 1970-1980	
- 1980-1990	
- 1990-2000	
- 2000-2010	
- 2010+	
Employment:	
- In a profession directly related to planning	
- In a profession related to planning	
- In a profession not related to planning	
- Unemployed	
- Student	
- Retired	
Country where you had professional working experience (multiple choice):	
- I do not have a professional working experience	
- Serbia	
- B&H (Republika Srpska)	
- B&H (Federation of B&H)	
- B&H (Brčko distrikt)	
- Other ex-Yu countries	
- Other (please specify)	
Sectors of both past and present employment (multiple choice):	
- Public sector (national and subnational level institutions)	
- Public sector (local level institutions)	
- Public sector (international level institutions)	
- Private sector	
- NGOs (national level)	
- NGOs (international level)	
- Academic and educational institutions	
- I have not been employed	
. Years of professional experience:	
- I do not have a professional working experience	
- 0-1	
- 1-3	
- 3-5	
- 5-10	
- 10-20	
- 20+	
. Proficiency in English:	
- I am not familiar with the English language	
- Very low	
- Low	
- Good	
- Very good	
- Excellent	

SECTION 2 EU LEGISLATION AND SECTOR POLICIES

- 1. Please rate your knowledge on the following EU policies (0-not familiar at all, 5-excellent knowledge):
 - EU Cohesion policy
 - EU competition legislation (e.g. public procurement)
 - EU energy legislation
 - EU environmental legislation (on Environmental Protection, EIA, SEA, Habitat,

Bird Directives, Water framework directive, Directive Maritime Spatial Planning) EU transport legislation (e.g. TEN-T) EU urban policy (EU URBAN Community Initiative, Jessica) EU rural development policy (Common Agricultural Policy) Climate change policy R&D policy Social policy Integrated maritime policy Common fisheries policy 2. Please indicate what EU policies have you encountered during your professional education (multiple choice): EU Cohesion policy EU competition legislation (e.g. public procurement) EU energy legislation EU environmental legislation (on Environmental Protection, EIA, SEA, Habitat, Bird Directives, Water framework directive, Directive Maritime Spatial Planning) EU transport legislation (e.g. TEN-T) EU urban policy (EU URBAN Community Initiative, Jessica) EU rural development policy (Common Agricultural Policy) Climate change policy _ R&D policy Social policy Integrated maritime policy Common fisheries policy Other (please specify) 3. Please indicate what EU policies have you encountered during your professional employment (multiple choice): EU Cohesion policy EU competition legislation (e.g. public procurement) EU energy legislation EU environmental legislation (on Environmental Protection, EIA, SEA, Habitat, Bird Directives, Water framework directive, Directive Maritime Spatial Planning) EU transport legislation (e.g. TEN-T) EU urban policy (EU URBAN Community Initiative, Jessica) EU rural development policy (Common Agricultural Policy) Climate change policy R&D policy Social policy

- Integrated maritime policy
- Common fisheries policyOther (please specify)
- SECTION 3 EU INSTRUMENTS AND INITIATIVES
 - 1. Please rate your knowledge on the EU macro-regional strategies (0-not familiar at all, 5-excellent knowledge):
 - EU Strategy for Adriatic and Ionian Region (EUSAIR)
 - EU Strategy for Danube Region (EUSDR)
 - 2. Please rate your knowledge on the EU pre-accession and neighbourhood policy (0not familiar at all, 5-excellent knowledge):
 - the IPA and the ENPI programmes
 - PHARE ISPA, SAPARD, CARDS, MEDA and TACIS programmes
 - 3. Have you ever participated in any EU pre-accession and neighbourhood programmes (the IPA and the ENPI programmes as well as the previous PHARE ISPA, SAPARD, CARDS, MEDA and TACIS programmes):
 - No, I have not participated
 - No, but the organization/institution I am affiliated with has participated

- Yes, but only on a strategic level of the programme
- Yes, I have directly participated on a project level
- Yes, but only through a process of monitoring and/or evaluation
- 4. Please rate how well you are informed on the pre-accession negotiation of your country and the EU (SAP Stabilization and Association Process, SAA Stabilization and Association Agreement) (0-not familiar at all, 5-excellent knowledge)

SECTION 4 EU PLANNING DISCOURSE

- 1. Please rate your knowledge on the following EU documents and initiatives (0-not familiar at all, 5-excellent knowledge):
 - <u>EU development strategies</u> The EU development strategies include the Lisbon and Gothenburg Strategies⁹⁷ and the EU2020 Strategy.⁹⁸
- 2. Please rate your knowledge on the following EU documents and initiatives (0-not familiar at all, 5-excellent knowledge):
 - <u>EU spatial policy documents</u> The EU spatial policy documents includes the ESDP⁹⁹, the EU Territorial Agenda¹⁰⁰, the EU Territorial Agenda 2020¹⁰¹, the EC Green paper on territorial cohesion¹⁰², etc.
- 3. Please rate your knowledge on the following EU documents and initiatives (0-not familiar at all, 5-excellent knowledge):
 - <u>EU documents on urban development</u> The EU urban agenda¹⁰³ and related documents including the Green paper on the urban environment¹⁰⁴; the Leipzig Charter on sustainable cities¹⁰⁵, etc.
- 4. Have you ever encountered any other EU document/initiative related to planning or territorial development during your education and professional employment? If yes, please specify.
- 5. How well you are informed on the publications of the ESPON programme:
 - I regularly follow ESPON publications
 - I tend to read something from time to time
 - Only if someone recommends me a certain publication
 - I do not follow ESPON publications
 - I do not know what ESPON is
- 6. Are you familiar with the academic debate on European spatial planning:
 - Yes
 - Partially
 - No
- 7. What are the main barriers to your greater involvement in the debate on European spatial planning (multiple choice):
 - There are no real barriers
 - Lack of time
 - Lack of information
 - Linguistic barriers
 - Lack of interest
 - Other (please specify)

⁹⁷ <u>http://ec.europa.eu/archives/growthandjobs 2009/</u>

⁹⁸ <u>http://ec.europa.eu/europe2020/index_en.htm</u>

⁹⁹ <u>http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docoffic/official/reports/som_en.htm</u>

¹⁰⁰ <u>http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/policy/what/territorial-</u>

cohesion/territorial_agenda_leipzig2007.pdf

¹⁰¹ <u>http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/policy/what/territorial-cohesion/territorial_agenda_2020.pdf</u>

¹⁰² <u>http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2008:0616:FIN:EN:PDF</u>
¹⁰³ <u>http://urbanagendaforthe.eu/</u>

¹⁰⁴<u>http://www.ecolex.org/details/literature/green-paper-on-the-urban-environment-communication-from-the-commission-to-the-council-and-parliament-mon-045223/</u>

¹⁰⁵ http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/archive/themes/urban/leipzig_charter.pdf

 How well you have been informed on the topic of European spatial planning throughout your professional education: The topic was not part of the curriculum at all Despite the topic was not part of the curriculum, it was covered indirectly through one or several courses or modules The topic was directly covered by the curriculum through a specially designed course or module
 In your opinion, how important are European spatial planning and territorial initiatives of the EU for the planning in the national context: Extremely important Important Useful Relevant only in certain cases/situations/areas Irrelevant
 D. Please rate the level of importance given to the EU territorial initiatives and to the European spatial planning in the domestic planning practice: Enough Not enough Too much I do not know
 I. Do you exchange professional opinions with planning professionals from other European countries: Yes Yes, but only from neighbouring countries No
 2. Are you familiar with planning systems of other European countries and have you used/consulted planning instruments and related documents from other European countries throughout your education and professional employment: Yes Yes, but only from neighbouring countries No
 B. Do you participate in scientific or professional conferences/seminars/workshops in other European countries: Actively From time to time Rarely I do not participate
 4. What are the main barriers to your greater participation in these conferences/seminars/workshops (multiple choice): There are no real barriers Lack of time Lack of finances Linguistic barriers Lack of information Lack of interest Demanding administrative procedures (e.g. visas)

- Other (please specify)

SECTION 5 REFLECTION ON THE SURVEY

1. Please indicate your opinion on the survey and where needed please point to drawbacks (weaknesses) and suggest necessary improvements. Thank you.

Annex IV – 2 Survey results

A total of 133 responses to the survey were collected. The results of the survey are available at the following link:

https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1tJtiRpJfVZ2wYB-4TsOacElXcWX9gJXoDp6wx_Bmzil/viewanalytics#responses

Annex V – Coding scheme

Textual data to which the content analysis was applied includes selected parts of: interview transcripts, and documents given in the Annex III. Firstly, several basic codes were assigned to each unit of analysis (individual sentence or a paragraph that makes a rounded thought). Secondly, the identified codes were grouped into categories which were later organized under the specific themes, in accordance with the methodological approach. A group of non-standard categories was also developed for codes/categories not fitting exclusively into any of the themes, but which can relate to all of them. Lastly, a qualitative analysis of all identified categories was performed.

Themes	Categories	Examples of basic	
		codes	
	EU legislation	European standards EU directives	
PLANNING	Domestic legislation	Planning legislation Planning-related legislation	
STRUCTURE	European integration and accession	Accession documents Formal requirements	
	Territorial governance and organisation	Administrative reform New departments Planning institutions	
	Domestic planning documents	Strategies Plans	
PLANNING INSTRUMENTS	Planning procedures	SEA EIA Public participation	
	Transnational cooperation documents	Macro-regional strategies IPA	
	EU spatial development documents and initiatives	ESDP Territorial Agenda	
PLANNING	Learning and cooperation	Learning and cooperation	
DISCOURSES	Concepts in planning	Polycentric development Sustainability	
	Planning education	Planning education	
	Channels	Channels	
NON-STANDARD CATEGORIES	Uptake factors (drivers and inhibitors) Trends	Uptake factors (drivers and inhibitors) Trends	
	Post-socialist transition Changes 'Funds'	Post-socialist transition Changes 'Funds'	

Annex VI – Delphi method

The main purpose of the conducted Delphi method was to validate research conclusions and/or findings. All interviewed experts (see Annex I) were invited to take part in the Delphi round where a selected number of conclusions/findings (for which the author did not find strong argumentation in the empirical research) were sent to them for validation ('agree/ do not agree' form, including a brief argumentation of the response). However, out of 15 potential respondents, only 3 of them answered within the given time frame. Given the small number of participating experts and due to the fact that at least one participant agreed with each tested statement, the author therefore decided not to rule out any of the conclusions. However, the collected expert remarks proved to be useful in clarifying or modifying certain conclusions. The used assessment form with the selected conclusions can be found below.

Statement	Yes/No	Short comment (optional)
Most ideas and concepts advocated by the European spatial planning discourse are not a novelty for domestic planners.		
EU provisions in the area of spatial planning are overly generalized to be properly applied in domestic contexts of candidate countries (especially at the lower governance levels).		
There are still huge discrepancies between the European planning discourse and planning discourses of candidate countries. Various planning topics that are not specific to the majority of EU states are present in the Western Balkans.		
Under the umbrella of European integration, planning tends to develop more like a formal bureaucratic procedure than a purposeful and comprehensive activity.		
European integration has managed to redirect the interest of planners and decision-makers further away from the substantial spatial development issues of respective territories toward bureaucratic questions of EU requirements and policy compliance.		
Spatial planning faces substantial issues including the legitimacy of planning and corruption, which makes the notion of European spatial planning of a third-grade importance for domestic planners.		
Domestic planners still have a limited knowledge of the relevance of European spatial development initiatives for the planning in the national context.		
Europeanisation of spatial planning in candidate countries is mainly driven by strong Union membership aspirations which is coupled with formal requirements of the EU accession process and the availability of the Community funding that this process brings.		

Annex VII – Judgment sampling scheme

Judgment sampling of relevant texts from primary sources that were used for the content analysis was conducted based on the keyword/reference scheme presented below.

General	EU policies	EU instruments	EU spatial development documents	EU concepts
EU Europe	Cohesion/ regional policy <i>Competition</i> <i>legislation (e.g.</i> <i>public</i> <i>procurement)</i> Energy <i>legislation</i> <i>Environmental</i> <i>legislation (on</i> <i>Environmental</i> <i>Protection, EIA</i> , <i>SEA, Habitat,</i> <i>Bird Directives,</i> <i>Water</i> <i>framework</i> <i>directive,</i> <i>Directive</i> <i>Maritime Spatial</i> <i>Planning)</i> Transport <i>legislation (e.g.</i> TEN-T) <i>Urban policy (EU</i> <i>URBAN</i> <i>Community</i> <i>Initiative,</i> <i>Jessica)</i> Rural development policy (Common Agricultural Policy) <i>Climate change</i> <i>policy</i> <i>R&D policy</i> <i>Social policy</i> <i>Integrated</i> maritime policy <i>Common</i> <i>fisheries policy</i>	European territorial cooperation, e.g. EU macro- regional strategies (EUSAIR, EUSDR) <i>Pre-accession</i> and neighbourhood policy (the IPA and the ENPI programmes as well as the previous PHARE ISPA, SAPARD, CARDS, MEDA and TACIS programmes) Pre-accession negotiation (SAP - Stabilization and Association Process, SAA – Stabilization and Association Agreement)	EU development strategies - The EU development strategies include the Lisbon and Gothenburg Strategies and the EU2020 Strategy <u>EU spatial policy</u> documents - The EU spatial policy documents - The EU spatial policy documents includes the ESDP, the EU Territorial Agenda, the EU Territorial Agenda 2020, the EC Green paper on territorial cohesion <u>EU documents</u> on urban development - The EU urban agenda and related documents including the Green paper on the urban environment; the Leipzig Charter on sustainable cities <u>ESPON</u> Programme	Polycentric development Compact city Sustainable development Public participation Reindustrialization Development based on the knowledge economy and creative industries Flexible knowledge-based economy Smart growth Inclusive growth SMEs as a growth driver Development of human capital Social cohesion Territorial/ spatial cohesion ICT as a growth generator Long-term viability of the regions Relevance institutional and administrative capacity Place-based access Multilevel governance Horizontal and vertical cooperation

For domestic planning documents and legislative acts:

For interviews:

-	the development of national legislation and policies (directly related to spatial
	planning/with a strong spatial impact/spatially defined).
-	the development of national, subnational and local territorial governance and
	planning (and planning-related) institutions and agencies (e.g. capacities,
	competences, demand for new experts, etc.).
-	the development of, type and content of spatial planning documents and other
	relevant planning instruments, especially when it comes to: the process of plan-
	making (in regard to different phases), cooperation, public participation, control,
	monitoring, quality, implementation, etc.
-	practices, models and procedures adopted by planners (how they are conceived and
	adapted/modified to fit the domestic setting).
-	domestic spatial planning discourses.
-	education of planners.
-	the debate of the domestic academic community.
-	the role of the spatial planning profession.

For relevant EU documents (SAA and IPA):

REFERENCES

- Spatial planning/ management Regional/ urban development Territorial governance -
- -
- -
- Territorial cooperation -
- Territorial development -
- _ Public administration reform