

国境超えのパートナーを探して：  
クロスボーダー・コーポレーションに関する文献研究  
Searching for Partners Across Borders:  
A Literature Review on Cross-Border Cooperation

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**Abstract**

Recent literature on regional policies and development suggests that cities and regions have been increasingly affected directly by material and non-material flows on a global scale. Border regions, which tend to be located on the periphery of a nation state, have been changing under the influence of ongoing dynamic changes in the global flows. For this type of region, Cross-border Cooperation (CBC) has become a new strategy for regional development in the context of globalization. The concepts of region, border, and boundary are fundamental to understand the ongoing discussions on CBC but the literature often defines them variously. The functions of borders that affect the connectivity of networks between border regions have attracted the interests of a variety of scholars. Such functions as 'openness and closedness' and 'complexity and contradictions' are discussed frequently in the literature. It is believed necessary for researchers of CBC to pay attention to the dynamic nature of the border rather than to conceptualize it as static. The literature also examines driving forces for CBC. These include economic reasons, political reasons, cultural and historical reasons, and cooperation and competition. The practices of CBC in various regions have been examined in the literature and are discussed typically in the context of such international institutions as the EU, NAFTA, and Growth Triangles in Asia. From a perspective of regional development, this literature review finds that it is fundamental to observe that networks provide a central mechanism and impetus for building CBC, and thus networking is an urgent task for region-based actors who are involved in CBC.

地域政策や開発に関する近年の学術文献は、都市や地域がグローバルな規模での物質・非物質のフローに、より直接的に影響されるようになってきていることを示唆している。辺境に位置することの多い国境付近の地域「ボーダー・リージョン」も、このグローバルなフローの変化の影響を受けて変化しつつある。このような地域において、クロスボーダー・コーポレーション (CBC) が地域開発の新たな戦略となってきた。リージョン、ボーダー、バウンダリーなどの概念は現在の CBC に関する議論を理解するための基本であるが、その定義は文献により様々である。学者たちは「ボーダー・リージョン」間のネットワークの結節性を左右する機能に興味を寄せている。文献では「開放性と閉鎖性」や「複雑性と矛盾」などに関する活発な議論が展開されている。また「ボーダー」を動的なものと概念化することが必要であると考えられている。文献はまた、経済、政治、文化・歴史、協力・競争など CBC の原動力についても調べている。地域別での CBC の実践については、

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EU、NAFTA、アジアの成長三角形などの国際的な機構との関連で調べられている。地域開発の視点から、この文献レビューは、ネットワークがCBCの中心的メカニズムと推進力を提供することを調べるのが基本であり、したがってCBCに関わる地域主体にとってネットワークが緊急課題であることを確認した。

## 1. Purpose of the paper

Recent literature on regional policies and development suggests that cities and regions have been increasingly affected directly by material and non-material flows on a global scale. Subnational regions adjacent to national boundaries, known as border regions, are not exceptional. The conditions of the development of border regions, which tend to be located on the periphery of a nation state and dependent on a relatively weak economic and political base, have been changing under the influence of ongoing dynamic changes in global flows along with global economic restructuring. The dissolution of the USSR in 1991 has also changed political economic conditions that affect the trajectory of the development of the border regions in many parts of the world; borders in some areas became more permeable or even disappeared while in other areas they have become more firm or have been redrawn. Recently, a number of border regions have started to try to take advantage of their unique locations in order to ameliorate backwardness and to enhance their territorial competitiveness by building cooperative relationships with neighbouring regions across interstate boundaries. Thus, for both public and private actors in such border regions, rethinking and reinterpreting the meanings of boundaries as well as developing strategies for cross-border relationships have become urgent tasks. One new regional endeavour is called Cross-border Cooperation (CBC). Although CBC is not new,<sup>1</sup> researchers began to address it in the 1980s and their studies began to proliferate in Europe, North America and Asia in the 1990s.

The main objective of CBC is economic development, but other considerations such as human resource development and environmental protection have also begun to be addressed. This trend indicates the potential capacity of CBC for moving from a level of mere trade-partnership building to facilitating the creation of a new geographic scale for improving economic, human, and environmental conditions.

CBC has substantial potential for a new competitive and region building framework, in which networks and networking between diverse actors and sectors can play an important role. In this paper, I will review the recent research on CBC and discuss the fundamental characteristics and mechanisms of CBC as a new region building tool. I will also explore the involvement of planning in developing CBC, focusing on the significance and role of networks and networking, which I believe is a key to understanding CBC and developing relevant policies.

This paper proposes a theoretical foundation for the development of border regions in general and in particular Okinawa, a maritime border region located in the southwesternmost part of Japan. It aims to explore the opportunities in, and constraints of, building CB networks of cooperation - specifically those expected to increase regional competitiveness within the rising global context of 'the space of flows' (Castells 1996). It also suggests approaches to

understanding the growth of transnationalism by focusing on subnational regions on the border.

## **2. Nature of CBC**

As mentioned before, CBC itself is not new. Aykac (1994) suggests that formal transfrontier co-operation has existed since the 18<sup>th</sup> century in Europe.<sup>2</sup> However, as a modern regional development practice, CBC is new in that it involves foreign, national, and regional governments in addition to supranational institutions. The involvement of multilevel institutions beyond national boundaries makes CBC distinctive from traditional regional development, which was originally intended to solve regional discrepancies within national boundaries (Friedmann and Weaver 1979).

CBC has been strongly affected by the historical and political context of each border region and thus the objectives of each CBC vary. For example, European CBC in general aims for the establishment of “a borderless Europe” (Veggeland 1993) in which economic, political and spatial cohesion are sought, CBC in North America is characterized by its distinctive economic (or functional) interdependence, though more diverse CB issues tend to have been dealt with recently (Scott 1999). It should be noted that for border regions either in Europe and North America, there are a number of different objectives and they are also increasing. For example, cross-border environmental issues are of growing concern.

The proliferation of CBC is identified by researchers as a manifestation of a new type of regionalism. For example, Aykac (1994) identifies the emergence of CB regions as ‘transborder regionalism’ and Scott (1999) as ‘cross-border regionalism’. According to Keating (1997b), the old regionalism “was largely contained within the nation state” and the new regionalism “transcends the nation states, as the old state-region dynamic gives way to a complex set of relationships among regions, states, international regimes and the global market,” although the latter does not only refer to CB regionalism. Keating (1997a) further suggests that the nature of the CBC is a ‘reterritorialization’ of economic, political, and governmental activity’. This territorial primacy is proposed by Friedmann and Weaver (1979).<sup>3</sup> Indeed, many other scholars (for example, Cappellin 1993, Hansen 1981, Kratke 1999, Nijkamp 1993 and Wong-Gonzales 1998) suggest that both territorial and functional integration are critical to CBC. In other words, increases in the interaction of people flows of goods and capital and exchanges of knowledge, information and culture between border regions in the process of CBC can lead to the organization of a new scale of development. Therefore, CBC should be understood as a new form of regional development.

## **3. Basic concepts in the discussions of CBC**

### **3-1 Region**

CBC has been discussed by scholars of diverse disciplines. As a result, confusion regarding the meanings of some important terms still exists. From the outset of the discussion, it is necessary to define the terms. First, I find that the definition of ‘region’ is problematic. Currently, there is no single definition shared by scholars.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, there are numerous types

of regions conceptualized, for example: natural, economic, historical, cultural, administrative, planning, ecological, currency, etc. What is common to them is the concept that a region can be defined by certain homogeneity. This is a traditional approach adopted in the study of the region.<sup>5</sup> It suggests that region is not an entity that exists as such but that is discovered or perceived by viewers in terms of a homogeneity of sorts. According to Glasson (1974), the emphasis on homogeneity represents a 'subjective view' in contrast to an 'objective view' - although these concepts are confusing because 'region' is always used by people to satisfy their respective purposes.<sup>6</sup>

Scale is another defining criterion. The literature shows that region lies somewhere between the largest territorial unit and smaller one, notably between the national and local levels (i.e. subnational region) as suggested by Glasson (1974), or even between the entire globe and the nation-state. The latter is the definition adopted generally by international relations and international economics. The above discussion suggests that the identification of a region is made through a process of including and excluding certain factors in order to encompass a specific territorial expansion according to viewers' perceptions or purposes.

On the contrary, Keating (1998: 79) suggests that the idea that the region is something intermediate is not necessarily applicable to every situation, pointing out that the term region has been applied to units of local government. He argues that it is reasonable to look at the region as a system of action that is not stable because different kind of regions have been defined and redefined. An identical territory also often belongs to multiple types of regions. Keating's argument that the region is a dynamic system is useful for understanding the emergence of CB region that is accompanied by changes in economic, political and social interaction between members of neighbouring border regions sharing the interstate boundaries. The idea that the region is something intermediate is still useful as well. It is not a problem if the region in question happens to be conterminous with a jurisdiction of a local government as far as it can be perceived as a system of action and as a geographical unit without referring to the boundary of the local government when certain factors are featured.

In this paper I will use the term region as: 1) a subnational geographical entity which may or may not be identical to local government and 2) also as a dynamic system of action.

### **3-2 Border and boundary**

The terms 'Border' and 'Boundary' are often used interchangeably without the meanings clarified in discussions of CBC. Definitions of the terms which are useful for the study of CBC are shown in Eskelinen et al. (1999: 13), who develop an argument drawing upon Prescott (1987). According to Eskelinen et al., 'Boundary' can be understood as a line of physical contact between states, and 'Border' as denoting the adjacent areas which line a 'Boundary.' In this regard, I find that 'Border' is synonymous with 'Borderland' - another term often used by scholars. Prescott (1987) states that 'Borderland' is a transition zone within which the 'Boundary' lies. I interpret 'Border' and 'Borderland' as a zone in which multidimensional impacts of the presence of a 'Boundary' such as disputes over national boundaries are mediated. This implies

that there can be multiple 'Borders' (or 'Borderlands') lining an identical boundary when different elements of impacts are taken into consideration. A 'Border' is also a dynamic system of action as 'Region' is. I have observed that the term 'Border' is often used to denote a line 'Boundary' in the literature but in this paper I will use the term 'Border' when zones around the linear 'Boundary' and events occurring in the zones are issues of discussion, and 'Boundary' when its function of dividing the sovereignty of nation states is an issue.

The study of cross-border cooperation focuses on interaction of various factors and activities that develop between 'Borders' on both sides of a 'Boundary.' Thus, the term 'Cross-Border' cooperation is more appropriate than 'Cross-Boundary' cooperation because border regions, i.e. zonal units around the 'Boundary,' are the scope of the study.

### **3-3 Border regions and Cross-border regions**

Having examined the concepts of 'Region,' 'Border' and 'Boundary,' I will further discuss the concepts of 'Border regions' and 'Cross-border regions.'

Hansen (1977) articulates that border regions are "sub-national areas whose economic and social life are directly and significantly affected by proximity to an international boundary." However, the concept of proximity remains unclear. Its numerical standard is not presented by most researchers of CB regions. Exceptionally, Aykac (1994: 7) mentions that "The transborder regions which extend anywhere between 15 and 25 kms from each side of the border are determined by several factors."<sup>7</sup> This standard of proximity is not particularly meaningful because it is not likely that various flows and actions are confined to a zonal area 25 kms from the boundary. It should also be noted that this is a view that considers the border region as a static geographic unit and is likely to overlook the dynamic nature of the border region.

The dynamic nature of the border regions is explored by Friedmann (1996). He examines 'frontier-ness' as a condition that characterizes border regions and contends that border and frontier regions are often in a rough coincidence. According to Friedmann, frontiers can be categorized into either 'static' or 'dynamic': static frontiers are identical with the political borders of a country and the regions immediately adjacent to them<sup>8</sup> and dynamic frontiers are 'settlement frontiers' and 'extractive frontiers.' The two types of frontiers represent the processes of opening up the frontiers by people with different purposes (the former represents the hunger for land of landless peasants who advance deeper into the forest instead of moving to cities and the latter the industrial interest of global capital in extracting natural resources reserved in frontiers). Friedmann's view is that the types of development define the dynamic nature of border or frontier regions. On the contrary, Stea (1996) suggests that an absence of development represents the characteristic of frontier regions. It would be necessary to explore the meaning of development in order to dissect their arguments, although that it is not an objective of this paper. More importantly, as Friedmann suggests, we should recognize that the discussion about the border and frontier regions tends to be metaphoric. The identification of dynamics that can describe them is an urgent task for students of border regions.

Finally, the meaning of 'cross-border region' needs to be examined. Aykac (1994) argues

that it depends which criteria are used to define the term national region. He suggests that transborder (i.e. cross-border) cooperation structures come close to the definitions of a region as an “association of municipalities” (as in Portugal) or a region as in “planning regions.” This is a view that presents an interest in administrative units. He further insists that none of such factors as regional identity, a common history and a common language is primary for defining cross-border regions. I disagree with his idea that only administrative units are relevant to the definition of CB regions and argue that those other factors could define CB regions. However, for the purpose of the study of CBC as a regional development strategy, I agree that administrative units can be basic.

Perkmann (1999) is more concerned about issues of geographical scale of a CB region in terms of the convenience for political actors to become involved in the formation of a CB region. He interprets region as a geographical unit organized by authorities but considers that the region is too big and thus not an appropriate unit of analysis of CBC. Rather, he focuses on local authorities (municipalities), which he considers much smaller than regional ones and which can, therefore, be more appropriate actors of CBC. It should be noted that Perkmann argues that the local authorities cannot build CBC without the strong involvement of non-local actors and emphasizes the importance of multilevel organizational networking that extends beyond localities. Compared with Aykac’s view, which is rather static, Perkmann refers to the dynamic nature of the CB region formed by multilevel and multidimensional networks among public and private sectors, and local and non-local actors. His focus on local and non-local actors is to support the view that the region is a system of action. I find this is useful for understanding CBC in terms of networks and networking. However, the idea that the region is too large for CBC is questionable.

## **4 Functions of borders**

### **4-1 Openness and Closedness**

I will look at the dynamic functions of borders that affect the connectivity of networks between border regions. Major discussions about the functions of the border in the literature centre on the degrees of its closedness and openness. The norm underpinning the discussion is that openness is more profitable than closedness for the development of CB regions. The idea suggests that stronger border integration can counterbalance the negative impact of increased competition; the result of cooperation would be a plus-sum.

In his study of the dynamics of borderland interaction, Martinez (1994) presents four models of borderland interaction: ‘alienated borderlands (border is functionally closed)’, ‘co-existent borderlands (border remains slightly open)’, ‘interdependent borderlands (economic and social complementarities prompt increased cross-border integration)’ and ‘integrated borderlands (there is unrestricted movement of people and goods across the boundary)’. The models are differentiated by the degree of cross-border contact, which can be assessed by cross-border movement and the forces that produce it. According to Martinez, the main reason that causes the transformation is the level of national security. It is important to note that Martinez

acknowledges that the last model has not yet been found but suggests that it would surely be Western Europe if any. The models are useful to understand that the border changes dynamically, if not in one direction. They are less useful in analyzing the degree of openness and closedness because at present most of the borders in the world are interdependent to varying degrees.

Based on the notion of openness and stability, Ratti (1993) builds different models of borders and borderlands from an economic point of view. He proposes that borders fulfill two basic functions at the same time. On one hand, the borders function as a dividing line between different political-institutional systems (he identifies this as a traditional approach); on the other hand, borders act as a contact area between different societies. They generate different types of 'border effects'. The former function has effects as the 'Border as Barrier', i.e. the border is a source of a long series of discriminating effects, penalizing border regions. The latter is an 'Open Border' where the functions of contact are predominant between a number of political and institutional systems. This is what Ratti considers as the model that should lead our prospective vision for border area development. This view, i.e. the border should be transformed on a spectrum from closedness to openness, is shared by Martinez. This seems to be a general tendency of existing borders but it should be noted that new borders which demonstrate aspects of political separateness have appeared in many parts of the world.

Ratti's model includes another type of border effects between 'Border as Barrier' and 'Open Border': the effects of 'Border as Filter'. It is similar to Martinez's 'interdependent borderlands'. 'Border as Filter' means that the border mediates discrimination between a number of political and economic systems. In other words, it facilitates segregated flows of labour, investment, goods and even crimes such as smuggling between regions divided by the boundary, taking advantage of the differences in two types of revenues available in each border, i.e. "a rent of position determined by the effect of proximity (economic, social, and cultural) that might create specific comparative advantages," and "a differential rent determined, for example, by salary differences between the zones divided by the border."

It is clear that both researchers support the principle of free-market competition and do not seriously take into account various economic and social costs of opening up the borders and the resulting emergence of new winners and losers. What it is that becomes more open and more closed across the interstate boundary needs to be closely examined and monitored in the process of CBC.

Indeed, identifying 'openness' and 'closedness' of the border becomes more difficult when the functions of the border are examined more closely. Clement et al. (1999: 268) present that border functions are exerted not only by a line but also by 'internal borders' (Note that 'borders' here means 'boundaries'). According to Clement et al., they are located away from the internationally-recognized exterior boundary of the state not in the form of lines but in the form of check points (on the movement of people and goods). As an example, they introduce that within the territory of European Union, it is common for individuals to be stopped and checked for proper immigration status, functions that previously were performed at the boundary before entering EU territory. However, it is misleading to call these check points 'internal borders'

because those points are not necessarily fixed and are not dividing lines of national territories. It should, however, be noted that the notion of internal borders suggests that as borders become more open, additional measures to check flows of people and goods could become necessary. It implies that 'Open Borders' could impose additional costs on border regions. The concepts of 'openness,' 'closedness' and 'filtering' compose fairly abstract discussions, and modeling based on the concepts seems quite difficult.

#### **4-2 Complexity and contradictions**

The difficulty in developing prototypical models of borders is discussed by Anderson and O'Dowd (1999). They don't look at borders in the spectrum from closed to open. Rather, they point out different qualities and contradictory characteristics that co-exist on borders. According to them:

...borders appear inherently contradictory, problematical and multifaceted. They are at once gateways and barriers to the 'outside world', protective and imprisoning, areas of opportunity and/or insecurity, zones of contact an/or conflict, of co-operation and/or competition, of ambivalent identities an/or the aggressive assertion of difference. These apparent dichotomies may alternate with time and place, but more interestingly they can co-exist simultaneously in the same people, some of whom have to regularly deal not with one state but two. (Anderson and O'Dowd 1999)

In addition, Anderson et al. suggest that varying degrees of the openness of borders can be found in relation to different types of sectors of flows, or networks. They state that borders may be highly porous for such things as capital flows but relatively impervious to others such as labour immigration. Thus their view challenges the idea that the borders are becoming increasingly more open. With regard to the forces affecting the stability of borders, Andersen et al. are concerned about the effects of more diverse forces such as economic, political and cultural forms of globalization. In addition, we should note that such 'transnational regimes' as the EU, NAFTA and NATO also alter the stability of borders (Keating 1997).

The above discussion shows that the development of CB interrelationships is conditioned by the dynamic nature of the borders, which degrees of openness and closedness vary for different sectors and actors.

### **5. Rationales for CBC**

In this part I will examine driving forces that penetrate interstate boundaries and network of material and non-material flows between neighbouring border regions across boundaries.

#### **5-1 Economic reasons**

Although goodwill cannot be ignored in its importance in the first stage of cross-border cooperation (Perkmann 1999), economic opportunity-seeking is often the primary reason for creating a cross-

border alliance (Cappellin 1993). As shown previously, major economic actors usually support stronger freedom to cross borders, although less-competitive industrial sectors such as agriculture in developed countries may not. The backdrop against which cross-border economic cooperation has been developed is, as Bramanti (1993) suggests, the shift of economic development strategies from a reliance on territorial concentration of developmental activities and resources to that of network-based economies that seek local competitive advantages. There are two opposing views that explain the development of economic networks between border regions. One insists that cooperation develops because border regions are disadvantaged economically (i.e. the border is an obstacle), a traditional view: the other is because they are advantageous (i.e. the border functions as an attractor). The former argues that, in general, border regions face significant difficulties in economic development in terms of market size, lack of technology and information, insufficient infrastructure investment, etc., and they are often not handled satisfactorily by states, which conventionally prescribed territorially concentrated industrial investment represented by the “growth pole approach.” In either case, complementarities are key in order for border regional economic actors to build linkages.

It should, however, be noted that network-based economic actors who look for complementary counterparts and are supported by the assistance of advanced communications technologies could go further outside their region. In other words, for them building a linkage with strong economic actors not in neighbouring border regions but in some other regions which do not share the boundary could be more attractive. Clement et al. (1999) discuss factors that affect economic actors’ decisions to build cross-border cooperative relationships. They present three basic concepts that explain cross-border cooperation: economies of scale, externalities and transaction costs. According to Clement, et al. economies of scale in cross-border regions are supported by the creation of the physical infrastructure facilities (e.g. bridges, highways and port facilities). Positive externalities are also likely to be brought about by the provision of those infrastructures, benefiting border regions on both sides, but negative externalities such as air and water pollution might be generated on one side of the border and affect the other. Transaction costs are considered to be high in comparison with expected profits. These factors are interrelated with each other and the mode and degree of interrelation could vary in different places and is also not independent of other non-economic factors. It is important to note that Clement et al. conclude that virtually anything that increases economic activity on one side of the border can result in some increased activity on the other through a variety of cross-border flows that arise because of the many asymmetries and complementarities between the regions. It should, however, be noted that the costs and benefits of CBC should be unevenly distributed among people in border regions.

Hansen (1977, 1981, and 1988) insists that border regions are economically advantageous. He contends that major economic theories explaining border regions (i.e. international trade theory, location theory, and the growth pole approach to spatial development) recognize them as disadvantaged and thus cannot explain a symbiotic relationship between both sides of the border. Hansen’s study is limited to the U.S.-Mexico border region, which is based on a unique history

of dynamic labour migration and thus is not necessarily applicable to the explanation of other border regions. However, it poses an important question about the meaning of interdependence between border regions in the sphere of economic cooperation. Hansen argues that the U.S.-Mexico maquiladora (assembly plant zone), the major vehicle for the expansion of manufacturing in Mexico's borderlands, contributed positively to workers on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico boundary in that they became well off in the process of increasing cross-border activities. In his discussion, the increase of employment opportunities and wage earnings are key factors that promote linkages between border regions.

He acknowledges that the maquiladora program was criticized for increasing the economic dependency of Mexico on the United States but insists that Americans and Mexicans live together in a symbiotic relationship around the border area. This view is similar to that by Clement et al. on the whole, i.e. growth of one side of the border brings about an increase of economic activities in the other. CBC that is developed and maintained under a strong but uneven relationship may be the only realistic choice in some regions including the U.S.-Mexico border but the fundamental purpose of CBC should always be to lower the gap and increase complementary competitiveness that leads to the increase of the regional capacity of innovation in order to take advantageous position in the global economy.

Growth triangles, a model of CBC in Asia, are characterized by their distinct market-driven cross-border cooperation (Kakazu 1998). The nature of GTs is summarized by Kakazu as follows:

The GT has been attracting attention particularly because of its market-driven, peripheral-oriented, and private sector-led regional co-operation which differs from formal integration efforts such as the European Union (EU) and the North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). (Kakazu 1998)

According to Kakazu, globalism -which has induced foreign direct investment (FDI) and promoted exports in a competitive global market- together with open regionalism (accelerated mainly by the end of Cold War and the progress in China's economic reform and open-door policy) contributed to the emergence of GTs. Trade and investment play an important role in the development of CB cooperation but other special factors are identified as critical, for example the existence of metropolitan centres in border regions and economic complementarity between participating areas. It is important to note that the latter should specifically be related to the promotion of export activities in GTs. For example, in the South China Growth Triangle, the PRC has abundant land and labour, while Hong Kong and Taiwan are well-endowed with capital, technology, growth-supporting infrastructure and entrepreneurial skill (Thant and Tang, eds. 1996).

The uniqueness of GTs lies in that they have developed without such supranational institutions as the EU and NAFTA that set rules and processes of CBC; economic networks were developed under the framework of them. In addition, Kakazu acknowledges that strong

political commitment is necessary in order to ensure a functional institutional framework for co-operation among diverse actors. In other words, even with such economy-led cooperation as GTs, a purely economic rationale cannot wholly secure CBC.

## **5-2 Political reasons**

The emergence of CBC in many parts of the world is affected by the reconstruction of borders caused by the shift from the dichotomic world of political power blocs towards less rigid multilateral, macroregional cooperative arrangements (Eskelinen et al. 1999). As Eskelinen et al. and others (e.g. Jiang 1997, Shin 1998) suggest, the decrease of international military tensions, particularly in Europe and Asia, has contributed to provide opportunities for countries in those areas to seek cooperative economic relationships with neighbouring countries. It should, however, be noted that in different parts of the world new tensions are also being developed between nation states and ethnic territories which claim their own national sovereignty. Thus, favourable conditions for CBC do not necessarily develop in every corner of the world. However, the end of the Cold War and subsequent economic liberalization trends in the world economy have provided a favourable political context for the development of CBC. The growth of international institutions that promote freer international trading such as the EU, NAFTA and ASEAN has also contributed to provide a political foundation for the states to be more positively involved in CBC with lower risks.

The initiators of CBC are often not national governments but local and regional governments, and/or region-based public and private sectors. In particular, local and regional governments' diplomatic activities (called subnational diplomacy, paradiplomacy, etc.) represent unconventional political actions for the promotion of CBC.<sup>9</sup> The unique nature of subnational diplomacy is that it is not directly involved in defence-related security issues (Clement et al. 1999).<sup>10</sup> Hocking (1999) argues that the objective of subnational government's diplomacy is to develop international linkages between subnational regions and their own brand of strategic alliance aimed at strengthening their position in the global economy just as firms have engaged in the construction of strategic alliances for reasons of cost and competitiveness. This suggests that while inter-subnational regional relation building for economic development is a top priority of subnational diplomacy it does not deal only with economic issues but with much wider regional issues such as environmental problems and crime that can only be solved by CBC. Scott (1999) suggests that subnational diplomacy represents cross-border regionalism<sup>11</sup> and is a new form of governance with particular emphasis on allocative and redistributive policies,<sup>12</sup> but I argue that its entrepreneurial political orientation should be considered to be its foundation.

Subnational diplomacy, however, holds inherent limits because diplomatic actions by subnational governments (non-central governments) are constitutionally regulated by national governments. Keating (1999) contends that subnational diplomacy has not proved to be state-transforming.<sup>13</sup> La Palombara also suggests that even as national governments decide to share some of their sovereignty with their internal regions, their own scope of power can actually grow and not decrease (quoted in Hocking 1999: 19). Even so, national govern

ment's role and capacity for CBC are critical. One of the serious weaknesses might be its accountability. In general, diplomatic issues are not major agendas in local politics and thus not featured in local elections, and where decisions are made and how local interests are discussed and represented might not be clear to constituencies. It is about democracy in CBC. Local politics are not necessarily more democratic than national politics. Rather, local politics tend to be affected more by growth-oriented regimes. If subnational diplomacy circumvents local democratic discourse, its validity would be largely reduced.

While the new political arrangement at local levels within the nation state that facilitates CBC has been emerging, supranational institutions represent another new political arrangement beyond the nation state. Particularly in Europe and North America, they have played a critical role in building CBC. The EU and NAFTA, which I will discuss later, have contributed to promote CBC by providing financing, a legal framework, and various services. As Alger (1999) suggests, UN agencies are potential institutions for CBC as well, though this is not a topic covered in this paper. It is clear that the role of the supranational institutions is growing but not clear whether their existence is inevitable. More precisely, their financial contributions are relatively clear but ways in which they mediate relation building between border regions is not. In addition to political arrangements for promoting CBC between local governments, national governments and supranational institutions are not very clear either. One reason might be because CBC is contingent upon specificities of each locality. Another might be due to its relatively short history of practice. Although extensive research is needed, it is understandable that conventional relationships between local and national governments have changed around issues of local autonomy when they are involved in CBC with supranational institutions. In addition to the involvement of supranational institutions, systemic political changes at a national level (e.g. decentralization and privatization) also affect CBC.

Differences in constitutional centre-subnational political relationship should also be taken into consideration. With regard to the implications of constitutional forms of national administration systems, Aykac (1994:46) suggests that federated states and their local governments have more competences in foreign relations than their counterparts in central states; an example of the former are German local authorities.<sup>14</sup> However, local-centre political relationships are not static, rather they change dynamically depending on the context of administrative decentralization. Increasing numbers and kinds of local actors involved in policy-making and implementation also have brought changes in the political balance between centre and local.

### **5-3 Cultural and historical reasons**

In the development of economic and political ties between regions on either or both sides of a boundary, cultural factors such as pre-modern trade partnerships and technology exchanges or common languages and religions can play significant roles because building cooperative economic and political relationships is difficult without high level mutual trust among the participants. In particular, the contribution of cultural and linguistic affinity as well as ethnicity to the formation of CBC is discussed by researchers. For example, Hsing (1998) suggests that

in the formation of cross-strait economic ties between Taiwanese investors and Chinese enterprises and local officials, a cultural-linguistic affinity and sociohistorical connections have facilitated a smoother and faster process of cross-border capital flows. It should, however, be noted, as Hsing also suggests, those cultural factors cannot develop a cooperative relationship as such; continuous negotiation and bargaining are needed and in that process culture itself can change. Aykac (1994) also argues that the influence of cultural factors on CBC building is critical in Europe. However, he also finds that shared language and ethnicity can have negative effects in some cases.

Cultural factors are associated with the historical exchange of people, goods, ideas, etc. between border regions and thus retrospective considerations tend to be raised. An important task for border regions involved in CBC is to take advantage of existing cultural ties between them and to nurture a new culture of cooperation.

#### **5-4 Cooperation and competition**

It is likely that tightening cooperative relationships with regional counterparts will increase the level of competition among them in various fields. It should be noted that competition itself is not necessarily unproductive but when it happens between regions with considerable economic gaps, cooperative relations can become difficult to build. In other words, when actions for CBC are seen to be not genuine by actors, CBC will lose its impetus.

Keating (1998) suggests that cooperation is most likely in areas such as infrastructure and environmental policy between neighbouring regions but those regions tend to be competitors in matters of economic development. This is quite a simplified view; each region has to evaluate the potential of cooperation and competition through the analysis of stakeholders.

The causal relationship between cooperation and competition is an important topic in the practice of CBC. At a local economic planning agenda, Bramanti (1993) presents in his study of the Swiss-Northern Italy transborder region the concept of a “cooperative competition” between neighbouring border regions. This is based on the idea that development is a phenomenon founded on articulation and interdependence among different points in space. Observing the advantage of cooperation in local economic development, Bramanti suggests that “it is necessary that between competition and cooperation an appropriate dialectic is developed, which from time to time allows growth opportunities for the local economy to be seized, or the necessary risk that each innovation or change bring about in economic development processes to be faced.” According to Bramanti, it is a new type of public-private partnership that can deal with cooperative competition. “What is partially new is the significance of a private-public partnership as a way adopted by private subjects in helping and supporting public actions” (Bramanti 1993). It should be noted that his discussion on public-private partnership indicates that the incentive of the formation of partnership between public and private actors lies in its potential for providing flexible and balanced solutions for administrative obsolescence and formal rigidities that can impair the economic competence of a border region. His idea represents one type of network but methods of checking the accountability of partners’ actions remain unclear.

The development of GTs in Asia has led to unique issues in co-operation and competition. According to Wu (1998), the success of economic development on the southern coastal border regions of China is dependent on complementarity between regions across the border. Thus, with this complementarity, a cooperative relationship has been developed. Inside the border, though, the gap of economic competitiveness between the coastal regions and other regions has grown and methods to narrow the gap have emerged as an important agenda item in Chinese national planning.

## **6. Practices of cross-border cooperation**

Because each CBC is built in different political and economic systems and cultural backgrounds, the processes and mechanisms of CBC vary. The most common approach adopted by researchers is to examine practices by supranational region, mainly the EU and NAFTA areas, and Southeast and Northeast Asia, although the latter are somewhat vague in their geographic definitions. Most of the literature on CBC centres on the study of cooperation structures of, or framework for, CBC, particularly in the context of the EU and NAFTA. As Veen and Boot (1995) and Jiang (1997) suggest, the involvement of subnational actors in CBC has not yet been studied extensively.

It should be noted that Higgins and Savoie (1997) suggest that CBC itself represents the emergence of a new level of planning, which is conducted beyond national boundaries. However, their focus is on international organizations including the UN, OECD, the Group of 7, etc. and as a result they term it 'global planning' or 'transnational planning.' I argue that CBC needs planning as a central dynamic at regional levels to initiate and maintain momentum of networking but that regional actors need support in the form of finances, legal arrangements, technologies, information, etc. from national governments and supranational institutions. This type of planning should be called 'cross-border planning' and distinguished from 'global planning' or 'transnational planning.' The former concept is to look at CBC from within the border region and the latter two from outside.

I will review three important structures for CBC being developed in Europe, North America and Asia.

### **6-1 CBC in Europe**

With regard to modern practices of CBC in Europe, Aykac states that the 1950s and 1960s were remarkable for pollution-related co-operation and the emergence of technical transfrontier commissions with well-defined powers and with a specific mandate,<sup>15</sup> and the 1970s saw the growth in cooperation in transfrontier regional planning and the proliferation of regional planning committees. As a formal cooperation scheme in a modern political and economic context, a cross-border regional entity made up of both Dutch and German municipalities, the Dutch-German Euregio, which was established in 1965 and has its own local council and close ties to German and Dutch state agencies, has served as a model of CBC (Scott 1999). Sodupe (1999) also notes that from the 1970s onwards the forging of cross-border ties intensified,

due to the increasing difficulties posed by economic recession.<sup>16</sup> Today, CBC involves an increasingly wider range of issues.

In the EU, the most important regional policy instrument for cross-border cooperation is the community initiative INTERREG (International Regions) launched in 1989, in particular INTERREG II A (1994-99), which was guided by the Commission of the European Communities and financed by the Structural Funds for the purpose of developing CBC and assisting areas on the Union's internal and external frontiers to overcome specific problems arising from their relative isolation within these respective national economies and the Union as a whole (European Commission 1998). For the implementation of INTERREG II A, 59 programs were submitted (European Commission 1998). INTERREG's fund is a major incentive for the members of the EU to participate in CBC even if the amount of the fund is not adequate (Cappellin 1993, Scott 1998). Access to the supranational institutional arrangement from the beginning characterizes European CBC and thus it needs to be understood in the context of the EU in general, and of the INTERREG initiative in particular.

However, other political and economic arrangements are also critical for CBC in the EU. In particular, various treaties and agreements that regulate CBC under the framework of public laws, for example, the Germano-Dutch Convention (signed between the Federal Republic of Germany, the Land of Lower Saxony, the Land of North-Rhine-Westphalia and the Kingdom of Netherlands in 1991) (Aykaç 1994) and the Co-operation Agreement of 1987 (between Kent, UK and Pas-de-Calais, France), are made in order to overcome serious (non-financial) obstacles for cooperation. Those legal instruments contribute to provide a stable and supportive environment for the development of CBC.

Relations between local governments, national governments and supranational institution (i.e. the EU) also characterize European CBC. The INTERREG program supports a bottom-up method of implementation but this does not necessarily mean that local governments can decide independently ways in which they are involved in CBC. Rather, as exemplified in the case of the UK where eligibility for INTERREG funding was strongly dependent on support from the central government (Church and Reid 1996), European CBC is not necessarily led by local governments. As Scott (1999) suggests, it is "a combination of local initiatives and supportive measures implemented by national and EU institutions, resulting in a complex multilevel framework of formal institutions, political associations, lobbies and incentive programmes." Thus local or regional governments as the main actors of CBC are necessarily involved in complex coordination tasks in the authorization and implementation of CB projects.

## **6-2 CBC in North America**

The development of the formal CBC in North America (Canada, the United States and Mexico) has the history of about 40 years; formal CBC in North America began in the Arizona-Sonora Region in 1959 (Wong-Gonzalez 1998). Compared with the ongoing institutionalization of national and supranational support for CBC in Europe, it is notable that there is no broad policy platform and central state government support for CBC in North America (Scott 1999).<sup>17</sup> Rather,

provinces and states play a more important role than the national government (Higgins and Savoie 1997). As the EU has a decisive influence on European CBC, North American CBC has also been influenced by their supranational institutions, i.e. NAFTA and other international institutions,<sup>18</sup> but their involvement in CBC is more limited than that in Europe (Scott 1999). Wong-Gonzalez (1998), however, argues that processes of joint transborder actions similar to those in Europe are also developing in North America. According to Wong-Gonzalez, the idea of exploring the possibility of drawing up more formal agreements of co-operation between the border regions of Mexico and the U.S., as well as between the latter and Canada had been suggested already since the beginning of the 1980s 'based on the European experience.'

### **6-3 CBC in Asia**

As mentioned above, GTs, which have emerged since the late 1980s, represent cross-border economic cooperation in Asia. Notable examples of GTs include the Singapore-Johor-Riau Growth Triangles (SIJORI), the Southern China Growth Triangles (Hong Kong-Taipei), China-southern China (mainly parts of Guangdong and Fujian provinces), the Tumen River Area Development Programme (parts of Jilin province in PRC, Siberia in Russia and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea), the Greater Mekong Subregional Cooperation, the Indonesia-Thailand Growth Triangle, and the Brunei Darussalam-Indonesia-Malaysia-Philippines East Asian Growth Area (Tang and Thant, eds. 1996). They have resulted from a complex interplay of key factors, including massive flows of foreign direct investment (FDI), export-oriented development strategies, and spatial differences in factor development (Thant 1998). The processes and the degree of progress of their development vary. Although not comprehensive, a typology of border region development presented by Wu (1998) is useful to understand the variety and dynamics of cross-border development.<sup>19</sup> Their emergence is not only accelerated by the expansion of open regionalism in Asia but also as a counter measure to the formation of trading blocks outside Asia, i.e. the EU and NAFTA.

A distinctive feature of GTs is in the form of the involvement of national governments. In Europe and North America, CBC is associated with institutional rearrangement on a national and international level but GTs usually involve only portions of countries and thus national governments can lower political and economic risks if GTs are not successful. In addition, when they are successful, benefits can be easily extended to other parts of the member countries of GTs (Tang and Thant 1994). This does not mean that GTs are irrelevant to supranational institutionalisation. Indeed, an important role of GTs in Asia is their contribution to the advancement of the ASEAN Free Trade Areas signed in 1992 (Kakazu 1992, Naseem 1996).

While evidence points to the economic success of GTs, negative impacts brought about by the growth of CB economic activities in GTs should not be ignored. In particular, CB environmental and security issues are increasing and special CB arrangements are needed to cope with them (Grundy-Warr and Rajah 1997; Nanthavong and Phanousith 1997; and Hearn 1997). Border regions and states facing those issues should expand the recognition of the role and potential of CBC as an economic development mechanism into an arena in which non-economic

issues can be addressed. The establishment of a supranational institution that manages CBC, exemplified by the EU and NAFTA, might be effective to expand its role and potential. It is not certain, though, whether any supranational institution will be established in Asia in the near future; considering historical, economic and political contexts of Asian CBC, flexible coordination systems at various levels of governments might be more realistic and effective than the supranational types of institutions as suggested by Jiang (1997).

## **Conclusions**

This review of the above literature on CBC shows that scholars in various fields have tried to clarify the emergence of new geographical units of governance, i.e. cross-border regions. They have focused upon various places in the world vis-a-vis the rise of globalization as well as new political, economic, and cultural actors in border regions, and the formation of various cross-border functional networks. There is also literature that focuses on the influences of international institutions such as EU and NAFTA on the growth of CBC. Various approaches can be taken for the study of CBC, but from the view point of regional planning, it is fundamental to observe that networks provide a central mechanism and impetus for building CBC, and thus networking (i.e. the building of linkages,<sup>20</sup>) is an urgent task for region-based actors who are involved in CBC. Networking is a collective action aiming not only to build new relations with neighbouring regional actors but also to restructure the basic power relations between local authorities and national governments (Friedmann 1987: 400).

In my review of the literature, I found distinctive aspects of networks and networking in the process of CBC. Firstly, CB networks are multisectoral and each type of network has its own reasons for linking. For example, economic networks develop where complimentary capacities exist between border regions that increase their economic competitiveness in the global market; political networks between border regional authorities develop around non-security issues, and; cultural networks are formed based on affinities of ethnicity, language, and religion and on histories of exchange of arts and crafts, and ideas and technologies. It is important to note that the multisectoral networks represent 'horizontal' relation-building and that the number of sectoral issues is increasing.

Secondly, CB networks are multileveled. They develop between region-based actors and their national governmental agencies, region-based actors and supranational institutions, and national governmental agencies and supranational institutions. They also develop between public and private sectors inside and outside the border region. It should not be forgotten that the border region provides the fundamental arena from which different levels of networks extend. However, functions of multilevel networks could challenge the autonomy of regional governments in the process of CBC because regional governments are subordinate to national agencies and cannot directly negotiate with supranational institutions. For region-based actors with limited capacities and limited access to resources, multilevel supports are critical. Thus, networking with those upper-tier authorities is also crucial for regional actors. The multilevel networks represent 'vertical' relation building.

Thirdly, flows of people, goods, capital and ideas are facilitated by networks of infrastructure, i.e. physical networks, such as transportation routes and telecommunications facilities (Vartiainen 1999). However, physical networks can only provide opportunities for facilitating the flows. This is to say that physical infrastructure building in itself does not produce networks.

Fourthly, networks are not stable but dynamic. As the above discussion shows, the multidimensional nature of networks and the networking between border regions suggest that a number of different networks are continuously being formed, transformed, or even discontinued. This flexibility is often pointed out as either a strength or a weakness of networks.

Fifthly, networking for CBC presents significant challenges regarding the accountability of networkers. It is a critical issue for both informal and formal networks to act transparently in the public realm as far as any public resources are mobilized. Because such non-routine tasks as CBC may not be articulated in regional development policies and plans, local officials need to be held accountable for their decision and actions.

Finally, networking itself should not be a means to an end. It should be a means to build competitive and robust CB regions in the face of globalization. Networking that facilitates circulation of capital, goods, people, ideas, and cultures is not a panacea, but effective and accountable networks can be influential in building CB regions.

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<sup>1</sup> The Dutch-German Euregio (a transfrontier regional structure established between the Rhine, Ems and Ijssel rivers) is considered to be the first CBC scheme involving local and regional governments by Aykac (1994) and Church and Reid (1999). The latter understand it started in 1965 but the former finds it initiated in 1958 and the name "Euregio" was invented in 1965.

<sup>2</sup> "In the 19<sup>th</sup> century interstate agreements were signed primarily for demarcating frontiers, regulating fishing and navigation in border lakes and rivers (e.g. the Rhine, Lake Constance). Border rivers and lakes together with mountainous areas have also been catchment areas for intergovernmental transborder cooperation and the establishment of transfrontier institutions after the Second World War. The rivers Rhine, Ems, Waal, Maas, Ijssel and the Alpine and Pyrenees mountain chains are some examples where contemporary transborder institutions are established" (Aykac 1999: 8).

<sup>3</sup> The concept of functional and territorial integration is explained by Friedmann and Weaver (1979:7) as follows.