

Planning Cultural Exchange Across Borders

First Steps Towards a Common Comprehension of Planning Paradigms in the Greater Region?

Beate Caesar

RPTU Kaiserslautern-Landau

beate.caesar@ru.rptu.de

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3578-8259>

Karina Pallagst

RPTU Kaiserslautern-Landau

karina.pallagst@ru.rptu.de

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8164-0979>

Tom Becker

University of Luxembourg

tom.becker@uni.lu

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4505-9829>

Jonas Pauly

RPTU Kaiserslautern-Landau

jonas.pauly@ru.rptu.de

<https://orcid.org/0009-0008-3161-3738>

Leah Honecker

RPTU Kaiserslautern-Landau

leah.honecker@gmail.com

<https://orcid.org/0009-0000-0785-1674>

Hélène Rouchet

University of Liège

helene.rouchet@ulg.ac.be

<https://orcid.org/0009-0003-8586-1001>

Abstract

Cross-border spatial development poses distinct challenges where differing planning cultures and paradigms meet at national borders, a reality that is particularly evident in the Greater Region. We present an innovative, intercultural planning game developed by the UniGR-CBS Spatial Planning Working Group, which serves as a science-policy interface with a dual purpose: it functions as a data collection methodology drawing on discourse analysis of stakeholder reasoning, and as a training format for spatial planners in cross-border contexts. The results highlight planning cultural differences and similarities as expressed by French, Walloon, German and Luxembourgish participants. These observations are followed by a reflection on the strengths and weaknesses of the planning game methodology, considering both its capacity to generate evidence on planning paradigms and its potential as a continuing professional development tool. Together, these two dimensions point toward the broader argument that sustained intercultural exchange and mutual understanding are not only academically valuable but politically necessary especially when the foundation of cross-border cooperation in spatial planning is being challenged.

Keywords: Intercultural Training, Cross-Border Spatial Development, Cooperation, Planning Games, Planning Cultures, Planning Paradigms, Greater Region

Relevance and special features of cross-border spatial development, planning cultures and other challenges for functional border areas

Various development trends and crises—such as demographic change and the growing threats posed by climate change—increasingly challenge the spatial development of regions and the provision of equal living conditions. Ensuring the provision of basic public services while adapting spatial structures to new needs in a resilient manner is becoming an urgent issue. It is therefore increasingly important for local and regional authorities to engage in cooperation beyond administrative boundaries in terms of information - international exchange of planning strategies and practices fosters knowledge transfer and critical reflection on domestic practices (Pallagst, 2018) - but also in concrete material exchange. Particularly, rural areas located at the national peripheries might benefit from the complementary provision of services of general interest, such as health care and education (Caesar et al. 2025). At the same time, the Schengen freedoms have enabled decision-makers, investors and border residents to pragmatically exploit border differentials, i.e. regional disparities, such as socio-economic imbalances, between neighbouring European border regions (cf. Braunerhielm et al. 2019; Terlouw, 2012). This has created strong functional interdependencies with visible spatial effects such as the designation of new settlement areas, fuel stations and shopping centres at the border. Another prominent indicator of cross-border interdependencies is strong commuter flows across the border because of an attractive labour market on one side, which leads to a functional polarisation of the border regions (Decoville & Durand, 2017). Additionally, disparities can increase competition between neighbouring regions (cf. Ricq, 2006).

Spatial planners are professionally trained for mitigating and averting conflicts of interests and land-uses (cf. Decoville & Durand, 2021) and could play a key role when it comes to steering cross-border development. However, they often lack specific cross-border training. Spatial planning traditionally stops at the national administrative borders because its scope of action and the related competences are legally bound to a nation state's boundaries. In most countries, cross-border spatial planning is not a priority in planners' day-to-day business and is merely an additional task. The legal tie of spatial planning to a nation goes hand in hand with a certain national *“way in which a society possesses institutionalised or shared planning practices. It refers to the interpretation of planning tasks, the way of recognising and addressing problems, the handling and use of certain rules, procedures and instruments, or ways and methods of public participation. It emerges as the result of the accumulated attitudes, values, rules, standards and beliefs shared by the group of people involved”* (Knieling & Othengrafen, 2009, p. 43) – which is described by the concept of planning culture.

Planning culture directly influences planning practice and thus the actual planning processes (Knieling & Othengrafen, 2009) as well as planning education. Thus, the country-specific planning context is often the *“basis for [...] the training of new planners”* (Knieling & Othengrafen, 2015, p. 2137f.). It comprises i.a. planning principles, paradigms, core planning missions, habits and traditions (Pallagst, 2024; cf. Caesar & Evrard, 2020) which *“are learnt by those directly involved, usually recognised consciously, and are sometimes explicitly*

articulated in the planning process” (Knieling & Othengrafen, 2015, p. 2137f.) - but are not self-evident for planners from other planning contexts. Thus, it is very likely that cooperation challenges arise when two or more planning cultures come together in cross-border planning processes (cf. Caesar & Evrard, 2020). The strong national influence on spatial planners is further reinforced by the requirement to represent the interests of the society (cf. Turowski, 2005) while managing complex land-use conflicts. In a cross-border planning context, planners’ national interests may conflict with the interests of the cross-border area and complicate the development of a sound cross-border development strategy for the common good: they need to think ‘outside the box’, and take into account existing cross-border interdependencies that constitute the cross-border region (Decoville & Durand, 2021). Besides, linguistic barriers, different competences, stakeholders to be involved as well as increased bureaucratic efforts hamper cross-border cooperation (Cerić, 2023; Jacobs, 2016). Therefore, planning processes are more time- and resource-consuming than within a purely national context (Nienaber, 2018).

Because of these cultural cooperation differences, we argue that there is an increasing need to empower and train planners from neighbouring countries. So far, there is a lack of methodological teaching approaches in the education and training of spatial planners located in cross-border regions to differentiate and reflect about the planning cultural subtleties of their neighbouring countries. To complement the traditionally national focus of planning (cultural) education and training in border regions, we propose to facilitate a cross-border exchange and interaction process of planning students and practitioners, i.e. colleagues from neighbouring countries. Through joint reflections about their planning (practices) planners can better understand how cultural contexts shape planning behaviour and develop a better intercultural understanding as common ground for further cooperation (cf. Durand & Decoville, 2018). Pallagst et al. (2021) further emphasise that learning through exchange fosters reflexivity: planners and students become aware of their own cultural biases and develop the ability to critically assess their own systems. This experiential learning helps future planners grasp the cultural dimensions of planning beyond theoretical knowledge. Literature by Pallagst (2020) emphasises how such interactions enable mutual learning in cross-border contexts. We expect that the exchange across borders helps to better coordinate the spatial development in cross-border areas with strong functional interdependencies and to mitigate contradicting spatial planning developments and conflicts in the long run.

Combining the educative approach with a research interest in planning cultures: development of a methodology for intercultural training and data collection

The Routledge Companion to Comparative International Planning highlights the range of motivations which might underlie comparative planning efforts – from knowledge exchange, e.g. in the cross-border context, to theory building (Babalik, Frank & Sykes, 2026). Besides our goal of empowering spatial planners from neighbouring countries to

plan across borders, we want to gather evidence about the influence of planning cultures on cross-border spatial planning as well as planning cultural differences and similarities within the Greater Region. Why this also requires an intercultural exchange is explained in the following.

Over the past 20 years, interest in international exchange in spatial planning has grown significantly (Reimer, 2017). Since the 1990s, efforts like the EU Compendium (EC, 1997) and typologies by Newman & Thornley (2005) or Farinós Dasí et al. (2007) have classified systems by legal, administrative, and economic traits, highlighting European commonalities and differences. Comparative research since the 1990s has shown that purely descriptive or structural comparisons are insufficient to capture these embedded cultural dimensions. According to Stead (2026), comparative planning research often relies on variables such as legal frameworks, administrative structures, and policy instruments, and due to its complexity requires thorough guidance taking into consideration time and choice of cases which might lead to different results. While these approaches helped identify formal similarities and differences, they tended to simplify planning practices and overlook the cultural logics behind them (Pallagst, 2018). Also, Babalik, Frank & Sykes (2026) emphasise that planning systems cannot be fully understood outside their cultural and institutional contexts. To address these shortcomings, the concept of planning culture was introduced. It operates on multiple levels, from societal norms to professional practices, and is often implicit, making it difficult to (a) anticipate for planning practitioners from other countries, and to (b) analyse through conventional comparative methods – yet planning culture has a significant influence on practice (Caesar & Evrard, 2020).

International comparative research identified planning paradigms that are shared among countries. They either have a normative character such as the 15-Minute City (cf. Khavarian-Garmsir, Sharifi & Sadeghi, 2023; Moreno et al. 2021), indicating planning objectives, or describe planning procedures, i.e. guide the organisation of planning processes (cf. Albrechts 2006; Hein, 2017). To ensure relevancy of planning in the face of transformations in society, paradigms change from time to time (Khavarian-Garmsir, Sharif & Sadeghi, 2023; Chandy, 2023). While certainly common paradigm trends exist among countries, there are also distinct differences in the way in which paradigm implementation occurs, influenced by specific structures, legalities and planning cultures (Albrechts, 2006; Hein, 2017). A practice-oriented cultural analysis of planning paradigms is necessary to understand how they manifest in everyday procedures, actor constellations, and modes of participation (Hein, 2017). Understanding the influence of planning paradigms must go beyond pure policy analysis and involve the study of actual practices. Planning paradigms are deeply embedded in planning cultures. This is demonstrated by Knieling & Othengrafen's 'Culturized planning model' (2009). In this model, three layers of planning cultures are suggested, which are societal environment, planning environment, and planning artefacts. The layer 'planning environment' represents the shared assumptions, values and beliefs of planning professionals. Subsequently, planning paradigms, although not explicitly discussed, are closely related to this layer of planning

cultures. In their empirical research on planning cultures, Pallagst et al. (2021) for instance identified the ‘compact city’, which is an important planning paradigm, as a common factor in the Japanese, German and US planning cultures.

Caesar & Evrard (2020) recommend examining and comparing the implicit elements of planning cultures in neighbouring countries, to learn more about the specific challenges of cross-border spatial planning. Empirical analysis of planning cultures is difficult and challenging, given the long-standing lack of suitable tools for analysing planning cultures and cross-border spatial planning (Reimer, 2017). A focussed intercultural exchange with and among planning professionals seems essential (cf. Knieling & Othengrafen 2015) to meaningfully study planning cultural differences, because planning systems are deeply embedded in socio-cultural, political, and historical contexts. It facilitates practical knowledge transfer beyond theoretical analyses, addressing the complexities of diverse national systems. Such a reflexive learning is crucial for meaningful comparison, as it shifts the focus from static system typologies to dynamic, practice-oriented understanding. It thus allows to uncover implicit assumptions and taken-for-granted planning cultural practices that would otherwise remain invisible (Pallagst, 2018).

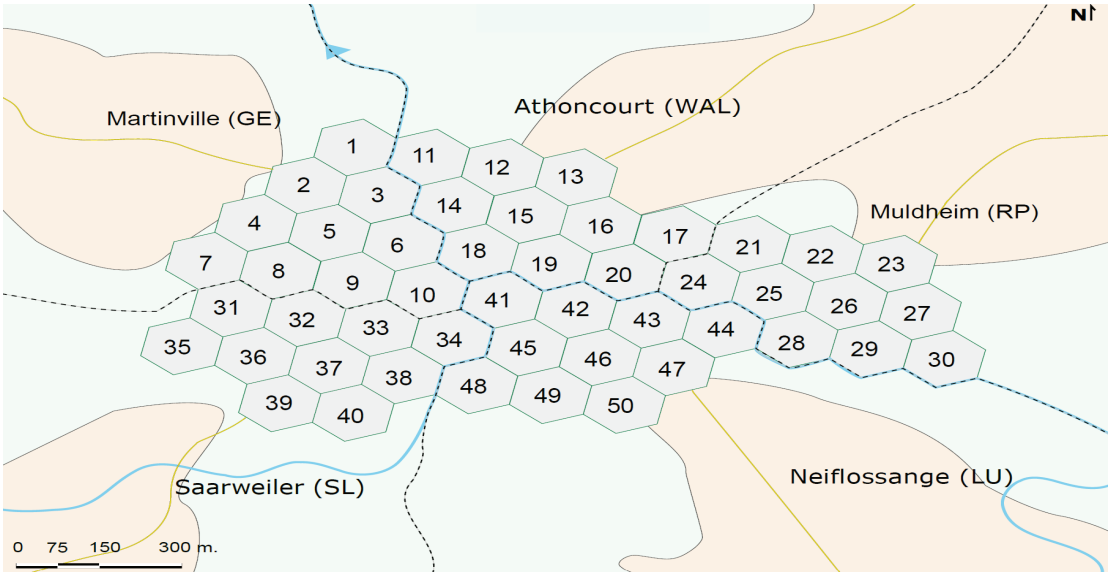
As mentioned above, practice orientation both in terms of exchange with professionals and observation of their planning behaviour is key to produce evidence on planning cultural implicit differences. There are numerous approaches to engaging with planning practice, ranging from living labs and planning games to focus groups and other participatory formats. Each of these methods offers distinct advantages in terms of interaction, observation, and knowledge generation. In our research, we chose the planning game method, as it enables an in-depth discourse among participants while remaining embedded in a structured yet interactive and game-based setting. This combination allows for both reflective discussion and the observation of situated decision-making processes, thereby providing valuable insights into planning practices.

The ‘planning game’ method does not directly refer to spatial planning but has been applied in multiple fields. It is a “*method belonging to the category of simulation games and can be used in different contexts [...] such as education, professional training and research*” (Rouchet, 2025, p. 65) with particular characteristics. First, it simulates real-life, dynamic, and complex situations by representing institutional or administrative systems within dynamic models. To manage the inherent complexity, the approach is based on three design principles: reduction (retaining only pivotal elements), abstraction (representing elements with less detail than reality), and symbolisation (transforming reality into game components such as rules and scenarios). This allows for the faithful simulation of real professional structures and processes. Second, teamwork and collaborative processes constitute an intrinsic and fundamental pillar of the method. Participants are divided into teams representing various stakeholders and must work together to achieve common goals. This interactive framework fosters the development of both individual and collective skills, particularly in communication, negotiation, and group responsibility. Third, the methodology relies on dynamic processes involving actions, decision-making, and their consequences. As a

strictly action-oriented method, it requires participants to make concrete decisions whose effects are then tested and verified within the model. The situation evolves in real time based on these choices, allowing the participants to experience moments of conflict, negotiation, and strategic development as they would in a professional setting. Unlike many other games, the planning game relies on an open scenario where results cannot be defined in advance. There is no single ‘correct’ or reproducible solution; instead, the outcome is a unique product of the specific strategies and interactions adopted by the teams. In this context, success is defined as finding a positive solution to an initial problem rather than defeating an opponent. Finally, the method provides an opportunity to test different strategies and learn through trial and error. It creates a safe learning environment where errors do not have permanent real-world consequences. This absence of ‘real impacts’ allows participants to test various strategies and optimise their decision-making processes before they are eventually transferred to an actual professional context (Rouchet, 2025).

Our intercultural planning game invites planning practitioners, planning students and local politicians from the different parts of the Greater Region, i.e. the Grand Est in France, Luxembourg, Wallonia in Belgium, and Saarland and Rhineland-Palatinate in Germany, to collaboratively engage in a fictional but close to reality cross-border planning process scenario, including national, bilateral and multilateral negotiation phases, and to develop a joint cross-border planning concept as final output. Participants engage as (future) planning practitioners respectively as politicians from their respective regions, i.e. roles that they also play in real life. Each regional team ideally consists of two practitioners, three students and one local politician.

Figure 1: Game board of the planning game



Source: UniGR-CBS Working Group Spatial Planning, 2022.

In the planning game, participants are confronted with a fictional cross-border planning scenario with a fictional geographical setting: The planning area, a brownfield and former industrial site, spans across the territories of one Luxembourgish, one French, one Belgian and two German municipalities and covers 75 hectares. Some border municipalities are separated by a river, the settlement areas of two municipalities have grown together (see fig. 1).

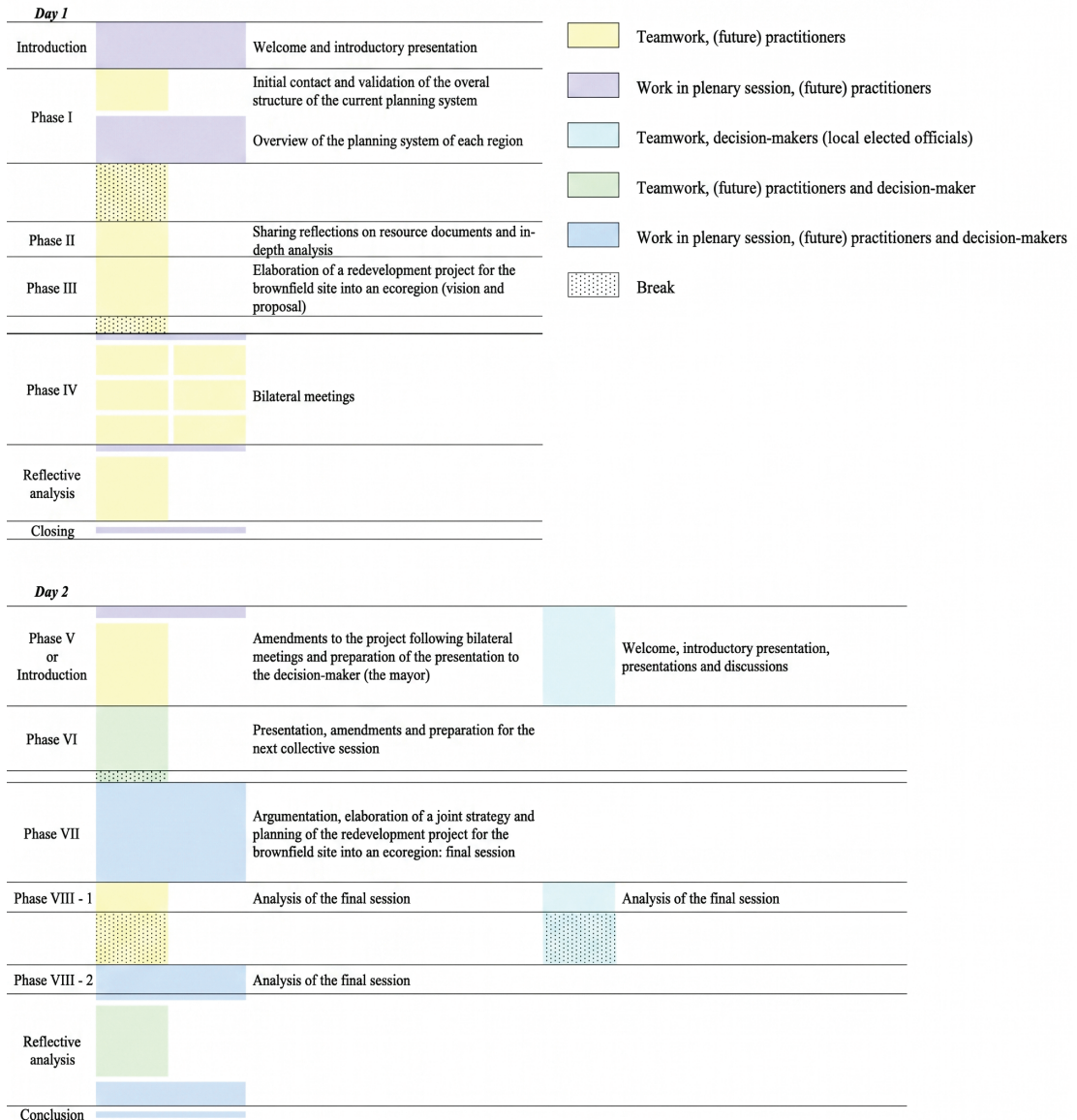
During the game, the teams are asked to develop a land-use concept with the objective to revitalise and develop the brownfield site to an 'Eco Region' with a joint 'ecologically just future'. Fourteen different types of land-use tokens are predefined, their number being limited. Tokens comprise special land-uses such as a city centre, a shopping mall, an educational hub, three different forms of renewable energies (wind, solar and hydroelectric power) as well as office districts, commercial and industrial areas, residential and mixed-use areas, and four different types of green spaces. The tokens have to be situated on the fifty empty hexagons in the planning area (see fig. 1) according to some predefined rules. The final allocation, however, depends on the team's choice. We inserted some highly conflictual land-uses to provoke discussions. Besides that, the scenario defines fictional information on the five municipalities and their surrounding regions' territorial characteristics as well as broad regional planning objectives¹ which helps participants and regional teams to develop their planning concept. Municipal territorial characteristics differ; defined needs purposely create some tensions about jobs or residential areas to stipulate active negotiations between the regional teams.

The planning game can be conducted on-site or online² and lasts approx. 14 hours. It consists of eight phases and two reflection phases that are described below (see fig. 2). Some phases take place in the plenary, others in regional or bilateral settings thereby providing a clear representation of the complexity of real-world spatial planning processes, which are similarly shaped by the interplay of different people, functions and interests. All of them are moderated by the researchers in a way that the planning processes and results are influenced as little as possible. Phase I is an ice-breaking activity for the regional teams and dedicated to a discussion on the cross-border region's inherent planning systems and their presentation in the plenary. Participants develop a common understanding of their own planning systems in regional groups and inform participants from other countries about their system. The phase sets the ground for the intercultural exchange, informs participants about neighbouring countries facilitates first individual reflection processes and illuminates first planning cultural differences.

1 The regional characteristics and individual regional planning objectives are based on the real-life municipalities and regional planning documents from the four different countries of the Greater Region.

2 In February 2022, it was conducted as a two-day online event because of COVID but was originally planned and designed as a two-day on-site event.

Figure 2: Planning game phases and distribution of collaborative work



Source: Rouchet, 2025.

The simulation starts in phase II, where regional teams familiarise themselves with the scenario, the game descriptions and regional needs before they develop their planning concept in phase III. The latter entails the creation of an individual vision and planning principles for the planning area and the allocation of the land-uses on the cross-border territory. At the end, teams choose their two favourite negotiation partners for the subsequent fourth phase. Phase IV is dedicated to three rounds of two parallel bilateral discussions, each between two regional teams. Additional teams were allowed as listeners. Each regional team presents its concept, followed by a bilateral discussion or negotiation.

Each region is represented in at least two bilateral rounds of negotiations. A reflection phase follows this intensive exchange. Participants individually complete a questionnaire about the previous phases of the intercultural training. Afterwards the results are discussed within the regional groups. This reflection phase allows participants to step back from the simulation and highlight the parallels with real-life planning situations, as well as the learnings achieved. The next day starts with phase V, where the regional groups get the opportunity to adjust their original land-use allocations and concepts based on the findings of the previous bilateral negotiations. In parallel, the local politicians join the planning game, and moderators brief them about the planning game's progress before they meet their regional teams. In group phase VI, the regional teams present and discuss their planning concepts with their politicians. All participants meet in the plenary phase VII. Here, each team's politician presents their regional cross-border concepts, before all participants jointly negotiate a common one.

In phase VIII-1, participants reflect in two groups (politicians / practitioners & students) on the cross-border process. Learnings, insights and findings are exchanged in the plenary in phase VIII-2. This is followed by an individual reflection questionnaire, posing similar questions as on the first day to step back from the simulation game and to request if the completion of the planning game has changed the participants' attitudes and highlighting the parallels with real life. The exchange is facilitated by simultaneous interpretation that helps overcome linguistic barriers. Overall, participants benefit from the intercultural and professional training with stakeholders from the neighbouring countries because they practice communication, mitigation and coordination of spatial development ideas and consensus-building while exchanging different planning approaches (cf. Rouchet, 2025).

During the game, researchers document the regional teams' course of action. Through videorecording of all interaction processes and transcriptions, gameplay observations and reflection rounds, they gain insights into participants' practical reasoning and interactions as well as underlying thoughts. Based on this, we trace subtle planning cultural differences that formal comparisons often overlook. Thereby, we want to learn more about inherent cross-border regional' planning cultures, their differences and similarities and how the planning cultures influence cross-border spatial planning processes. The next chapter presents findings from our planning game conducted in 2022.

Traces of planning cultural evidence from the Greater Region - comparing the interpretation of planning paradigms across borders

In this analysis we focus on planning paradigms as elements of planning culture. We illustrate which key paradigms help to describe teams' deliberate course of action in national and cross-border exchange processes and show which were applied to explain participants' planning choices. We then compare the subtle differences underlying regional comprehensions across the French, Walloon, Luxembourgish and two German teams.

Methodology of the analysis of interactions

A discourse analysis of the participants’ discussions during the planning game is used to study participants’ expression of planning rationalities, negotiations, and multiple paradigmatic orientations through talk. Furthermore, the planning processes were traced. This was done to identify implicit assumptions, power relations, and communicative routines in social interaction. A deductive coding approach was used, drawing on seven planning paradigms from previous research in advanced planning theory (see fig. 3). Deductive coding allows for systematic theory-led analysis regarding emergent themes in the data (Saldaña, 2021).

Figure 3: The seven planning paradigms considered in this study

Paradigm	Category	Explanation	References
Integrative strategic planning	Process	A goal-oriented approach, that coordinates multiple sectors, actors and spatial scales, bridging strategic thinking with spatial action	Albrechts, 2006
Just planning		A normative framework that centres equity, social justice and the fair distribution of benefits and burdens in the design and outcomes of planning processes	Fainstein, 2010
Communicative planning		An approach grounded in deliberative discourse, emphasising consensus-building through inclusive dialogue among diverse stakeholders rather than top-down experts	Healey, 1997; Innes, 1995
Incremental planning		A pragmatic, incremental mode of decision-making that advances policy through small, adjustable changes rather than comprehensive rational plans	Lindblom, 1959
Resilient planning	Content	A planning orientation that prepares territories and communities to absorb, adapt to and recover from shocks and stresses such as floods or climate change	Davoudi et al. 2012
Health-oriented planning		An approach that proposes physical and mental well-being as a primary planning objective, shaping land use, mobility and green space decisions	Barton & Grant, 2006
Sustainable planning		A framework that integrates environmental protection, economic viability and social equity to meet present development needs without compromising future generations	Brundtland, 1987

Source: Own illustration, 2026.

For each of the seven planning paradigms, we developed a set of keywords and analytical indicators derived from the paradigm definitions established in the literature (see. fig.3). These indicators guided the coding of the transcripts of the teams’ discussions, negotiations and reflection rounds. They were applied both to the procedural dimension of the teams’ interaction processes (for example how planning tasks were organised and negotiated) and to the content of their planning concepts (e.g. objectives, patterns and land-use justifications), in line with the two categories distinguished in fig. 3. While this deductive coding scheme provided a theory-led starting point, we refined it inductively in a second coding cycle. In this way we unravelled patterns that the initial indicators could not capture, and we revealed unexpected combinations, and interactions between paradigmatic orientations, for instance where teams blended different paradigms in a single justification.

The additional codes were used to refine and extent the original framework. This iterative procedure allowed us to remain sensitive to the specific ways in which planning paradigms were mobilised in a cross-border, multilingual and multicultural setting.

In our analysis we present national differences and similarities in terms of the different planning concepts developed within regional teams and focus on the reasoning and prioritisation of objectives within national and multilateral interactions. It distinguishes two categories (see fig. 3). First, we characterise the process of planning concept development to classify the participants' course of action and compare regional team's internal processes with cross-border development processes in accordance with the simulation game phases to learn more about the particularities of the cross-border spatial planning context. Second, we analyse the reasoning of participants in terms of content (i.e. which objectives and arguments are pronounced while designing the planning concept). When analysing the participants' arguments and their references to important planning paradigms, it must be considered that the game materials influenced the game participants in terms of their approach (e.g. flood protection, sustainability goals, green spaces, etc.). Therefore, we compare the interpretation and prioritisation of these game rules.

National and cross-border processes of concept development: integrative strategic planning, just planning, communicative or incremental planning?

As mentioned above, the game distinguishes purely regional, group-internal phases, the bilateral negotiation phases and the joint approach in the final cross-border development concept. This allows us to draw conclusions about the differences between national and cross-border planning practice. When analysing the teams' procedures in the development process of the planning concept, various planning paradigms could be observed.

When analysing regional approaches, we discovered references to integrative strategic planning, i.e. the teams' decisions relied on an underlying strategy which coordinated different objectives comprehensively. The two German teams defined comprehensive strategies. Other teams took a small-scale approach and directly discussed favoured combinations of land-use, such as green axes, or stated that combinations of certain land-uses were taboo, e.g. due to harmful emissions (see below). Additionally, all teams started their concept strategically with allocating the 'centre' in the planning area. Some regions adopted a polycentric logic (evenly distributed development to enhance resilience and balanced growth), while others chose to work with a mono-centric logic (strong urban core). This created conflicts among regions and required negotiating shared visions. Other key strategic decisions taken by the teams at an early stage were the allocation and choice of public service facilities such as energy plants, and two land-uses that were only available once, such as the shopping mall and the Ecolab. Three teams explicitly referred to existing land-use structures in the immediate vicinity (as described in the game documents) in their planning process and justified some land-use locations with the proximity of existing land-uses or infrastructures. Rhineland-Palatinate, for example, wanted to designate residential

areas near already existing ones, while France and Belgium decided to locate new residential and mixed-use areas (FR) respectively industrial areas (BE) near existing road axes (see below).

Despite the border context and the partly competing development needs of the sub-regions, as specified by the game materials, the French, Rhineland-Palatinate and Luxembourgish teams explicitly demonstrated their willingness to distribute land uses fairly, with the aim of achieving a more balanced development in the cross-border region, justifying many of their land-use allocations with specificities of their neighbouring regions. The Luxembourgish team, for example, placed the commercial area in the French municipality with a low employment rate. The Rhineland-Palatinate team allocated an industrial area in Saarland and the Ecolab in France, because they were affected by structural change. This points to the ‘just planning’ paradigm in the sense of distributional fairness. The Belgian team argued for polycentric development with the objective of dispersing the functions in a just manner. During the actual joint cross-border negotiation process for the joint concept, the Rhineland-Palatinate team became disappointed with their expectations of just distribution. They were given the floor very late in the negotiation process and tried (desperately) to allocate the shopping mall in Rhineland-Palatinate, but this was rejected by the other regions due to the risk of flooding.

The cross-border, multilateral game phases were particularly shaped by communicative and incremental planning approaches. Cross-border planning was seen as a communicative planning exercise rather than a technical one with predefined procedures. This is due to the clash of different planning cultures and their underlying systems, which are not coordinated with each other. The procedures needed to be negotiated first before the content was addressed. In our planning game, discussions were used to build a shared understanding and resolve conflicts. Participants valued the fact that the planning exercise was based on dialogue, consensus-building and fairness. They agreed on a common concept which reflected diverse interests and perspectives: every party was invited to make proposals that were negotiated and agreed on based on consensus. It points towards the fact that (a) communicative planning ideals are deeply rooted in all regions, and (b) governance capacities and trust are deemed important. Despite differences in governance culture and spatial disagreements, the process was consensus rather than conflict driven. The former was key for cross-border spatial planning.

Throughout the cross-border planning process, it became clear that adaptive or step-by-step decision-making was crucial. Adjustments were negotiated iteratively and collaboratively rather than being imposed by participants or planning paradigms. This finding reflects insights from the incremental planning paradigm (planning as gradual, adaptive, and pragmatic). Even though it shows the importance of flexibility and responsiveness of stakeholder concerns, this led to a somewhat more fragmented common long-term strategic vision than the regional visions originally presented by the

teams. Concepts were adjusted due to new information and reasoning of the different teams. Professional and political negotiations were crucial for assessing the feasibility of adaptations implementing this planning design.

Importance of resilient, health-oriented, and sustainable planning

In this section we analyse the participants’ references to the international planning paradigms ‘resilient’, ‘health-oriented’ and ‘sustainable’ planning. The discussions and negotiations focused on locations and of certain land uses. To better compare the differences and similarities in the teams’ arguments, we first examine specific locations and then certain land uses and describe participants’ reference to the paradigms. All three were addressed by the different teams’ conceptualisations. They interpreted them similarly, but the implementation and prioritisation varied among the teams as can be seen in the following.

Figure 4: Special locations of the planning area

Location	Planning principle	RLP (DE)	SL (DE)	WAL (BE)	LUX	GE (FR)	Paradigm
River	Risk prevention	Green spaces only (retention & maintaining landscape)	Green spaces only (retention), industrial areas possible with building rules	No residential	Green spaces only (retention), ‘Centre’ not in flood risk area	Flood protection relevant	Resilient planning
Transport axes	Accessibility			Industrial areas		residential and mixed-use areas	Sustainable planning
	Quality of life (emissions)		no residential areas directly at main roads		No residential-only		Health-oriented planning
Centre	Compact city	‘Centre’ & education, parks, central functions	‘Centre’, education, parks, offices, mixed-use	network of activities: ‘Centre’, offices, mall, education	‘Centre’ & mall (local amenities), inner city revitalisation with dense housing, education, offices	‘Centre’, education & mixed-use; mall (despite flood risk),	Sustainable planning
	Quality of life (emissions)		mixed-use only			mixed-use	Health-oriented planning

Source: Own depiction, 2026.

The teams identified plots near the river, plots along existing transport axes, and centrally located plots as special locations within the planning area (see fig. 4). The centre of the development area is bisected by two border rivers. The game scenario describes water bodies as a connecting element, although there is a risk of flooding, particularly in the French and the two German region. The teams restricted land-uses near rivers as a

flood prevention measure and referred to the paradigm of resilient planning. The German, Belgian and Luxembourg teams considered the risk of flooding to be a clear exclusion criterion for built-up areas and allocated green spaces in the immediate vicinity of rivers as potential retention areas. Wallonia excluded residential use. For the French team, flood protection was relevant, but not at the forefront of their considerations.

The map of the planning game entails a few bigger roads which ensure the villages' accessibility. The Walloon team considered them to be relevant for the allocation of industrial areas to ensure a good accessibility. France located residential and mixed-use areas along the road network to increase their accessibility and mobility (both refer to sustainable planning) and articulated no concerns about potential emissions. In contrast, due to expected high noise emissions, the Saarland and Luxembourgish team excluded areas for purely residential purposes on main access roads (health oriented planning) which conflicts with the French approach.

The centrally located plots are often situated directly at the regional borders and near the river, leading to conflicting objectives. Game materials encouraged teams to allocate complementary land uses on both sides of the (mostly centrally located) border rivers. Furthermore, participants need to allocate the special land use 'centre' which is open for further interpretation on the map. All teams favoured a compact, mixed urban structure with short distances (sustainable planning). To this end, all teams located the 'centre' function centrally and usually in a key location (four-country border, river crossing) as a social, identity-forming meeting place with appeal for the entire region. In accordance with the compact city concept, the 'centre' was combined with other central uses. Groups shared broad agreement that mall, education and office space should be combined with the centre. The German groups envisaged to allocate public spaces such as parks nearby. Despite general agreement, approaches varied: Wallonia, France and partially RLP distributed these central land-uses in a fair, and partially polycentric manner to increase regional accessibility and provision of services (BE) or form thematic clusters (FR), whereas Saarland and particularly Luxembourg followed the goal of a joint central concept based on industrial and office clusters with concentrated mixed-use areas around the 'centre' and decentralised housing in combination with leisure facilities. Due to potential noise emissions, France and Saarland agreed on restricting the centre for residential-only areas.

The allocation of industrial areas, energy plants and the shopping mall was often discussed controversially (see fig. 5). Some uses were deliberately placed on the periphery. When dealing with the allocation of industrial areas, but also (wind) energy plants the teams very often referred to their noise or CO₂-emitting character as challenge. This refers to the paradigm of health-oriented planning. To minimise the impact on people, residential areas were not located in the immediate vicinity of these uses (Saarland) but were often interspersed with mixed-use areas (FR & RLP) or allocated in the peripheries (Saarland & France). All teams but Wallonia envisaged the combination of energy and industrial or commercial areas - both were emission intense and needed a safe energy

provision (resilient planning). While Luxembourg initially planned to locate wind energy in peripheral areas of the planning area, and France interspersed with meadows, Saarland excluded the allocation of wind energy plants from the very start because the formal distance requirements specified in German planning law could not be met. For the French team, it was important to allocate industrial facilities only on the periphery due to their emissions. Saarland and Luxembourg team members argued similarly. The Luxembourg team considered it possible to combine industrial areas with office or mixed-use areas. The emissions of the industrial land-uses were less articulated in the Walloon team's discussions. Instead, it put its emphasis on their good accessibility. Regarding energy plants, both Rhineland-Palatinate and Luxembourg participants stated to follow a decentralised and diverse approach, as they had opted for an energy mix of the three available types. This points to the principle of crisis resistance and thus increased resilience, but also to the paradigm of sustainable planning. The requirement to locate a shopping mall (large-scale commercial premises) within the planning area was the subject of heated debates, particularly in Saarland, where it was declared inadmissible and ultimately located in France because the concept might still work there, while other groups interpreted this function more flexibly as commercial premises and assigned it to a central area to avoid long distances (sustainable planning).

Figure 5: Conflicting land uses identified during the planning game

Land-use	Planning principle	RLP (DE)	SL (DE)	WAL (BE)	LUX	GE (FR)	Paradigm
Industrial areas	Infrastructure provision	combined with solar energy	combined with energy production		combined with energy production	combined with energy production	Resilient planning
	Minimise emissions effects on people		in periphery	not too close to residential		in periphery	Health-oriented planning
		combined with mixed-use areas as buffer to residential areas			combined with mixed-use areas or offices	combined with mixed-use areas as buffer to residential areas	
Wind energy		mixed-use areas as buffer to residential areas, at the periphery only	Excluded (planning law), instead water & solar energy with less effects		in periphery only	meadows as buffer zones	
Energy	Risk prevention	decentralised energy mix		water & wind energy	decentralised energy mix		Resilient & sustainable planning
Shopping centre	Provision with local amenities	central, highly accessible, allocated in biggest village, provides local amenities	outdated concept, local amenities in polycentral mixed-use areas	central	central, provides local amenities and specific goods for development area (short distances)	central	Sustainable planning

Source: Own depiction, 2026.

The planning game differentiates six residential-only and ten residential areas with mixed uses (e.g. shops or offices). The regional teams pursued different approaches regarding the location of areas for purely residential purposes. Rhineland-Palatinate and Wallonia proposed an even distribution of residential areas across the city. All teams favoured a location with a high quality of life for its residents. Luxembourg located these areas in the centre to revitalise the latter and reduce the distances to services or recreation areas, while Saarland restricted residential-only areas in the centre due to expected noise emissions (see fig. 4). Generally, mixed-use areas were often located between residential only areas and industrial areas as a buffer for the emissions (see fig. 5) because they were less sensitive to noise. The Saarland team argued that areas for purely residential purposes should not be located on main access roads for the same reason. This all refers to the health-oriented planning paradigm. In contrast, the French team favoured the residential premises to be equipped with a high accessibility in the vicinity of main access roads (sustainable planning; see fig. 5).

The planning game differentiates four different green space categories (forests, public parks, urban gardening, meadows & pastures) that should not be located entirely at the riverside and defines the development of a green axis as an objective.

Figure 6: Planning principles in relation to green spaces mentioned in the planning game

Planning principle	RLP (DE)	SL (DE)	WAL (BE)	LUX	GE (FR)	Paradigm
Quality of life & high accessibility	Grouped at the river and next to residential areas (meadows, parks) for local recreation (green axis)					Health-oriented & sustainable planning
Cross-border link			green link connecting 'centre' with sub regions			Sustainable planning
Prevent urban sprawl	revitalisation of attractive landscape at the rivers	arrondation, maintain ecological attractiveness		high housing density next to green recreation areas	prevent urban sprawl	
Green buffer	next to river for retention (see above)			next to river	meadows as wind energy buffer	Health-oriented planning

Source: Own depiction, 2026.

The development of cross-border public parks is promoted particularly. Participants quickly established the consensus that public green spaces should be combined with residential areas to ensure their good accessibility (health-oriented and sustainable planning) and increase the region's attractiveness (see fig. 6). The importance of green spaces, especially meadows and parks for local recreation, was emphasised by all teams.

Many green spaces were grouped together and arranged close to the river to implement the game requirement for a continuous green axis. The connected green spaces near the river were justified by the increased quality of life (health-oriented planning), but also as a contribution to sustainable planning by linking the sub-regions (Wallonia) and to prevent urban sprawl respectively promoting densification in central locations (France, Saarland). Green spaces were also used as 'buffer' from the river to mitigate the flood risk (both German teams) and emissions from windmills (France).

Planning cultures and differences in planning paradigms

The reasoning of planning practitioners during the planning game revealed planning cultural similarities and differences. Often the teams shared a paradigm but interpret it differently. At the same time, attitudes towards the allocation of wind-energy and retail-led development were conflicting: some thought a shopping mall was necessary for economic growth while others rejected it as unnecessary or harmful to sustainability goals. Attitudes towards industrial or service-oriented developments were more lenient and uncritical but mostly implied a discussion about adjacent uses: In principle, emissions – either noise or air pollution - were important criteria for all teams in terms of usage distribution (health-oriented planning) but were not a criterion of exclusion. The same goes for flood protection (resilience): it was important for every team but implemented more or less strictly. Green spaces were allocated flexibly. Strikingly, finding the right balance between economic development (in terms of retail, industry, and green energy) and environmental priorities (ecology, health, quality of life) remained a key challenge in every region. On another note, findings from the planning game suggest (a) the presence of shared sustainable, resilient, health-oriented, just and integrated-strategic paradigms and (b) the emergence of a cross-border planning approach that includes communicative, incremental, and just processes. Conflicts remain in terms of spatial structure, flood risk, energy transition, commercial development.

The above-mentioned tendencies reveal the cultural embeddedness of cross-border spatial planning. There are shared ecological and urban priorities (e.g. sustainability, resilience, centrality, compact city and a focus on people and their health). These help to build a common ground (and to some extent even trust) during negotiations. The conflicting priorities which led to different regional planning processes and controversial discussions reflect divergent planning traditions and to some extent even governance cultures that collide. Intercultural understanding is crucial when interpreting these differences. At the very core of this interpretation lies the question which differences are more legitimate than others. The planning game also shows the importance of negotiations for finding hybrid solutions (as opposed to converging solutions) and thus communicative planning. However, such negotiations can only be successful if they build on cultural sensitivity and trust.

These findings are traces for distinct planning cultures, reflecting different planning traditions and indicate cultures that favour adaptive and negotiated planning over more rigid traditions. That said, the collaborative tendencies observed may be partly shaped by the game context, and real-world practice could prove more competitive. The findings also reveal a tension between economic competition on the one hand and more sustainability- and justice-oriented planning paradigms on the other. Comparing these perspectives matters because it illustrates both the complexity of cross-border cooperation in spatial planning and the conditions under which hybrid planning solutions tend to emerge.

Conclusions and outlook on planning cultural exchanges across borders

In this chapter, we reflect on the strengths and weaknesses of our planning game methodology in relation to our two main objectives, propose improvements for future planning cultural exchanges and discuss ways to sustain regular cross-border planning cultural exchanges in the Greater Region and beyond.

Regarding our first objective, i.e. fostering mutual intercultural understanding in cross-border spatial planning processes, the planning game proved effective in establishing contact among previously unacquainted participants, both within regional teams and across countries. Participants learned about neighbouring countries' planning systems, engaged in technical discussions and were encouraged to reflect on their own experiences. *Due to time constraints, however, the comparison of planning systems remained somewhat superficial, exposing gaps in participants' knowledge. We therefore recommend supplementing the introductory information with more in-depth exchanges on planning systems at future events.*

The online format also limited spontaneous conversation. Future editions should ideally be held face-to-face and on-site, enabling richer interaction during breaks and reducing technical barriers. By working through a cross-border scenario, participants gained a tangible sense of the complexity involved in cross-border **exchanges**. **The game thus served as both preparation and sensitisation, building an initial awareness of the importance of intercultural skills and competences in practice.**

The mix of experienced practitioners, emerging professionals and local decision-makers generated interactions that closely mirrored real-life dynamics. Experienced practitioners and elected representatives were called upon to explain and justify their approaches and choices, while emerging practitioners contributed creative and innovative ideas, demonstrating the value of their contributions during the collaborative process (cf. Rouchet, 2025).

To reach our second objective, i.e. collecting evidence and researching planning cultures, the planning game creates an engaging and playful setting that encourages active participation. One analytical limitation is that the game rules prescribe specific topics, objectives and tasks (e.g. addressing flood risk, developing a green network, designing

an Eco Region or developing renewable energies). This leaves open the question of whether participants would have raised these themes unprompted. Reducing prescribed requirements in future gaming sessions could lead to more authentic insights.

Time pressure due to technical difficulties constrained the gameplay. For future editions, we recommend separating the concept development phase within the regional groups from the cross-border event. Teams would prepare more detailed presentations, including visualisations like slides and sketches, allowing the cross-border event itself to focus on cross-border exchanges, short internal reflection phases, bilateral negotiations and the joint development of a shared planning concept. This structure would generate richer evidence on cross-border planning processes and cultures.

We also propose introducing an additional early phase with a scenario set entirely within a borderless territory. The border scenario would be added only in a subsequent phase. Comparing how teams plan across these two settings could reveal how the presence of a border influences strategic land-use decisions.

The involvement of younger and experienced professionals and local politicians reveals the different roles, responsibilities and decision-making processes that exist across countries. This is all the more true since participants draw on their own real practices. Structured reflection phases help participants identify these differences and translate that knowledge into professional practice (cf. Rouchet, 2025).

National, regional respectively local identities are deeply embedded in the societal environments that shape planning cultures. While it is difficult to derive concrete identity patterns from simulation game data alone, the game offers valuable insights: by observing planners in action we learn how they proceed, explain their decisions, set priorities and react when confronted with unfamiliar approaches.

The cross-border planning game forces stakeholders to reflect and negotiate beyond their established and accepted national or regional norms. This can foster a shared understanding of different planning paradigms and give rise to hybrid concepts that blend elements of distinct planning traditions (e.g. combining France's hierarchical planning logic with Germany's collaborative, 'Gegenstrom' (counter-flow) approach). Such hybrid governance arrangements may also lay the groundwork for new cross-border governance models. However, not all participants are equally equipped to navigate such negotiations. Finding a position, communicating it effectively and building support for it at home can be challenging. This 'creativity-under-pressure' poses interpretative difficulties for us during the analysis, particularly when deriving generalisable results.

Newly developed common identities (around flood resilience or green corridors in the planning game, for example) often come with a new common language and logic. These may compete with entrenched national identities. As a result, they compete with, or in some cases, disrupt traditional national or regional identities or development models. This points to a broader political sensitivity as cross-border concepts developed collaboratively may prove difficult to implement in real-life national contexts. Mutual intercultural understanding, as shown through our planning game, plays a crucial role in this process.

It facilitates negotiations, builds trust and is indispensable for communicative planning in cross-border settings that lack binding rules or shared authorities. Rather than producing convergence, it fosters hybrid, and admittedly to some extent fragmented, planning solutions across borders that reflect the full complexity of cross-border cooperation. It can also serve to prevent conflicts when planning priorities diverge.

Sustaining regular cross-border exchanges in the Greater Region and beyond requires institutional commitment and dedicated formats that go beyond one-off events. Planning games such as ours offer one such format. They are low-threshold, engaging and adaptable to different regional contexts and planning challenges. They can contribute to longer-term communities of practice that keep intercultural dialogue alive across electoral cycles, institutional changes and shifting political priorities. Embedding these exchanges within existing cross-border governance structures, academic networks or professional associations could help ensure their continuity.

Whilst the planning profession has traditionally regarded international comparisons as a valuable source of learning and innovation, the shifting geopolitical landscape and the rise of nationalist tendencies risk diminishing the perceived value of comparative and cross-border planning (Babalik, Frank & Sykes, 2026). In this context, sustained efforts to build intercultural learning competence do not only present academic merits, but they are also politically necessary.

References

- Albrechts, L. (2006). Shifts in Strategic Spatial Planning? Some Evidence from Europe and Australia. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 38(6), 1149–1170. <https://doi.org/10.1068/a373>
- Babalik, E., Frank, A. I., & Sykes, O. (2026). International Comparative Planning: Key Findings and Future Agendas. In E. Babalik, A. I. Frank, & O. Sykes (Eds.), *The Routledge Companion to Comparative International Planning* (pp. 487–501). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003299004-44>
- Barton, H., & Grant, M. (2006). A health map for the local human habitat. *The Journal of the Royal Society for the Promotion of Health*, 126(6), 252–261. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1466424006070466>
- Braunerhielm, L., Alfredsson Olsson, E., & Medeiros, E. (2019). The importance of Swedish–Norwegian border residents’ perspectives for bottom-up cross-border planning strategies. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift*, 73(2), 96–109. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00291951.2019.1598485>
- Brundtland, G. H. (1987). *Our Common Future: Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development*. UN-Document A/42/427. <http://www.un-documents.net/ocf-ov.htm>

Caesar, B., Funk, I., Lenz, J., Mangels, K., & Pallagst, K. (2025). Die Bedeutung der Daseinsvorsorge in der grenzüberschreitenden Raumentwicklung. In P. Ulrich, N. Cyrus, & J. Jańczak (Eds.), *Grenzüberschreitende Daseinsvorsorge. Räume – Grenzen – Hybriditäten* (pp. 69–103). Springer VS. https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-658-46396-0_4

Caesar, B., & Evrard, E. (2020). Planungskulturelle Vielfalt in Grenzräumen - Theoretische und methodische Ansätze zur grenzüberschreitenden Raumplanung. In F. Weber, C. Wille, B. Caesar, & J. Hollstegge (Eds.), *Geographien der Grenzen. Räume – Ordnungen – Verflechtungen. (Räume – Grenzen – Hybriditäten)* (pp. 95–116). Springer VS. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-30950-3_5

Cerić, D. (2023). Obstacles to cross-border tourism cooperation across the Baltic Sea as seen by Interreg stakeholders. *Geografický časopis*, 75(4), 317–339. <https://doi.org/10.31577/geogrcas.2023.75.4.16>

Chandy, J. (2023). *A Speculative Exploration into the Current Planning Paradigm and Discourse on Planning Education*. University of Waterloo. <https://uwspace.uwaterloo.ca/items/81964593-87bb-4fe4-8d0e-23455019156c>

European Commission (EC). (1997). *The EU compendium of spatial planning systems and policies*. Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

Davoudi, S., Shaw, K., Haider, L. J., Quinlan, A. E., Peterson, G. D., Wilkinson, C., Fünfgeld, H., McEvoy, D., & Porter, L. (2012). Resilience: a bridging concept or a dead end? “Reframing” resilience: challenges for planning theory and practice interacting traps: resilience assessment of a pasture management system in Northern Afghanistan urban resilience: what does it mean in planning practice? Resilience as a useful concept for climate change adaptation? The politics of resilience for planning: a cautionary note. *Planning Theory & Practice*, 13(2), 299–333. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649357.2012.677124>

Decoville, A., & Durand, F. (2017). Challenges and obstacles in the production of cross-border territorial strategies: the example of the greater region. *Transactions of the Association of European Schools of Planning*, 1(1), 65–78. <https://doi.org/10.24306/TrAESOP.2017.01.005>

Decoville, A., & Durand, F. (2021). An empirical approach to cross-border spatial planning initiatives in Europe. *Regional Studies*, 55(8), 1417–1428. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00343404.2021.1902492>

Durand, F., & Decoville, A. (2018). Establishing Cross-Border Spatial Planning. In E. Medeiros (Ed.), *European Territorial Cooperation - Theoretical and Empirical Approaches to the Process and Impacts of Cross-Border and Transnational Cooperation in Europe* (pp. 229–244). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-74887-0_12

Fainstein, S. (2010). *The Just City*. Cornell University Press. <https://doi.org/10.7591/9780801460487>

Farinós Dasí, J., González, J. R., Milder, J., Payà, M., Davoudi, S., Evans, N., Cotella, G., Janin Rivolin, U., Servillo, L., Borrelli, N., Governa, F., Santangelo, M., Dematteis, G., Dispenza, R., Rossignolo, C., Toldo, A., Ache, P., Peters, S., Hill A., Hoeweler, M., Heilmann, N., Zimmermann, F., Osebik, J., Osebik, D., Jørgensen, J., Damsgaard, O., Ikonen, R., Pettersson, Å., Ruotsalainen, A., Lähteenmäki-Smith, K., Sukeviciute, R., Valeviciene, N., Moxnes Steineke, J., Dahlström, M., Bjarnadóttir, H., Asprogerakas, E., Gianniris, E., Pagonis, A., Petropoulou, C., Wassenhoven, L., Sapountzaki, K., Lagendijk, A., Hendriks, B., Biot, V., Bonerandi, E., & F. Santamaria (2007). *Governance of territorial and urban policies from EU to local level. ESPON Project 2.3.2 Final Report - Part I. European Observation Network for Territorial Development and Cohesion*. ESPON.

Healey, P. (1997). *Traditions of planning thought. Collaborative planning: Shaping places in fragmented societies*. Macmillan Press. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-25538-2>

Hein, C. (ed.) (2017). *The Routledge Handbook of Planning History*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315718996>

Innes, J. E. (1995). Planning theory's emerging paradigm: Communicative action and interactive practice. *Journal of planning education and research*, 14(3), 183–189. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0739456X9501400307>

Jacobs, J. (2016). Spatial planning in cross-border regions: A systems-theoretical perspective. *Planning Theory*, 15(1), 68–90. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1473095214547149>

Khavarian-Garmsir, A. R., Sharifi, A., & Sadeghi, A. (2023). The 15-minute city: Urban planning and design efforts toward creating sustainable neighborhoods. *Cities*, 132, 104101, 1–5. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2022.104101>

Knieling, J., & Othengrafen, F. (2009). Spatial Planning and Culture – Symbiosis for a better Understanding of Cultural Differences in Planning Systems, Traditions and Practices. In J. Knieling, & F. Othengrafen (Eds.), *Planning Cultures in Europe. Decoding Cultural Phenomena in Urban and Regional Planning* (pp. 23–35). Ashgate.

Knieling, J., & Othengrafen, F. (2015). Planning Culture - A Concept to Explain the Evolution of Planning Policies and Processes in Europe? *European Planning Studies*, 23(11), 2133–2147. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09654313.2015.1018404>

Lindblom, C. E. (1959). The Science of “Muddling Through”. *Public Administration Review*, 19(2), 79–88. <https://doi.org/10.2307/973677>

Moreno, C., Allam, Z., Chabaud, D., Gall, C., & Pratlong, F. (2021). Introducing the “15-Minute City”: Sustainability, Resilience and Place Identity in Future Post-Pandemic Cities. *Smart Cities*, 4(1), 93–111. <https://doi.org/10.3390/smartcities4010006>

Newman, P., & Thornley, A. (2005). *Urban Planning in Europe: International Competition, National Systems and Planning Projects*. Routledge.

- Nienaber, B. (2018). Grenzen als überwindbares Phänomen in der Raumplanung? In M. Heintel, R. Musil, & N. Weixlbaumer (Eds.), *Grenzen, Theoretische, konzeptionelle und praxisbezogene Fragestellungen zu Grenzen und deren Überschneidungen* (pp. 161–179). Springer.
- Pallagst, K. (2018). Planungssysteme. In Akademie für Raumforschung und Landesplanung (Ed.), *Handwörterbuch der Stadt- und Raumentwicklung* (pp.1761–1770).
- Pallagst, K. (2020). Cultures d'aménagement et villes en décroissance: Vers des recherches appliqués dans les régions transfrontalières. In G. Hamez, & J.-M. Defays (Eds.), *Réalités, perceptions et représentations des frontières l'espace transfrontalier de la Grande Région Sare-Lor-Lux* (pp. 183–198). EME Éditions.
- Pallagst, K. (2024). Planungssysteme und Planungskulturen im Grenzraum. In C. Gohde, & C. Mayer (Eds.), *Planung - Umwelt – Recht: Festschrift für Willy Spannowsky zum 65. Geburtstag* (pp. 71–84). C.H. Beck.
- Pallagst, K., Fleschurz, R., Nothof, S., & Uemura, T. (2021). Shrinking cities - implications for planning cultures? *Urban Studies*, 58(1), 164–181. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098019885549>
- Ricq, C. (2006). *Handbook on transfrontier co-operation for local and regional authorities in Europe*. Council of Europe.
- Rouchet, H. (2025). *Formation des futurs aménageurs et relations praticiens – mandataires publics : conception et implémentation d'un module de formation*. ORBi-University of Liège. <https://orbi.uliege.be/handle/2268/337567>
- Saldaña, J. (2021). *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*. SAGE.
- Stead, D. (2026). Planning Systems Compared: A reflection on the state of art. In E. Babalik, A. I. Frank, & O. Sykes (Eds.), *The Routledge Companion to Comparative International Planning* (pp. 143–155). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003299004-15>
- Terlouw, K. (2012). Border Surfers and Euroregions: Unplanned Cross-Border Behaviour and Planned Territorial Structures of Cross-Border Governance. *Planning Practice and Research*, 27(3), 351–366. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02697459.2012.670939>
- Turowski, G. (2005). Raumplanung. In Akademie für Raumforschung und Landesplanung (Ed.), *Handbuch der Raumordnung und Landesplanung* (pp. 893–898). Selbstverlag der ARL.

