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Public transport strategies in Ljubljana Urban Region (LUR)

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1. Introduction of the case

Territorial governance issues in light of the development objectives

This case study focuses on territorial governance practices and innovative regional policies in Central Slovenian (“statistical/developing”) NUTS 3 region - known as *Ljubljana Urban Region* (LUR) after establishment of *the Regional Development Agency of Ljubljana Urban Region* (RDA LUR) in year 2001. Most notably the case study is focusing on formulation and implementation of public transport policies at the (inter)municipal – regional level, as part of spatial planning and regional development policies in Slovenia. The case study of LUR provides some evidence of good (and other) practices in relation to inherent conflicts of interest, and different institutional arrangements, under new territorial challenges of Europe 2020 strategy – *smart, sustainable and inclusive urban regions*. At the same time the LUR case study would have identified some conditions for (possible) transferability of territorial policies and practices - especially to other Central and Eastern European (urban) regions.

Until now (December 2013) NO administrative NUTS 3 regions (e.g. *provinces*) - with political representation - have been established in Slovenia, due to long-term professional and political debates about the number and size of these regions. For analytical purposes 12 NUTS 3 »statistical« regions (known in 1980s as »planning« or geographical regions) have been used in Slovenia since mid-1990s for statistical and analytical purposes, mainly by the *Statistical Office of Republic of Slovenia* (SORS) and EUROSTAT as well as by the *Government Office for Macro-Economic Research and Development* (responsible for macro-economic monitoring and policy evaluation). Since year 2002 these 12 NUTS 3 regions have also been known as »developing« regions in the new national and regional policy documents. From January 2008 there are also two NUTS 2 European cohesion regions in Slovenia – more developed West Slovenia NUTS 2 region and less developed South-East Slovenia NUTS 2 region - but there are also without political representations (Černe, Kušar, 2006; Pichler-Milanović, Kreitmayer McKenzie, 2008).

In order to establish administrative regions (provinces) in Slovenia, the Government of the Republic of Slovenia proposed 14 new administrative regions (provinces) in years 2007-2008. This proposal was a result of intensive professional efforts taking place already in 1990s, public discussions and political negotiations process. The proposed map of these administrative NUTS 3 regions (provinces) was partly similar to current 12 NUTS 3 (statistical) regions, but with some modifications / divisions of Podravska and Savinjska NUTS 3 regions respectively, as well as dividing the Central Slovenian NUTS 3 region (LUR) to the City Municipality of Ljubljana (NUTS 3 = LAU 2) and the city hinterland as separate NUTS 3 region. This proposal was unsuccessfully evaluated at the referendum in June 2008 by the citizens of Slovenia, especially in the City Municipality of Ljubljana and other municipalities in LUR (Kušar and Pichler-Milanović, 2010).

CASE STUDY AREA 11: LJUBLJANA URBAN REGION



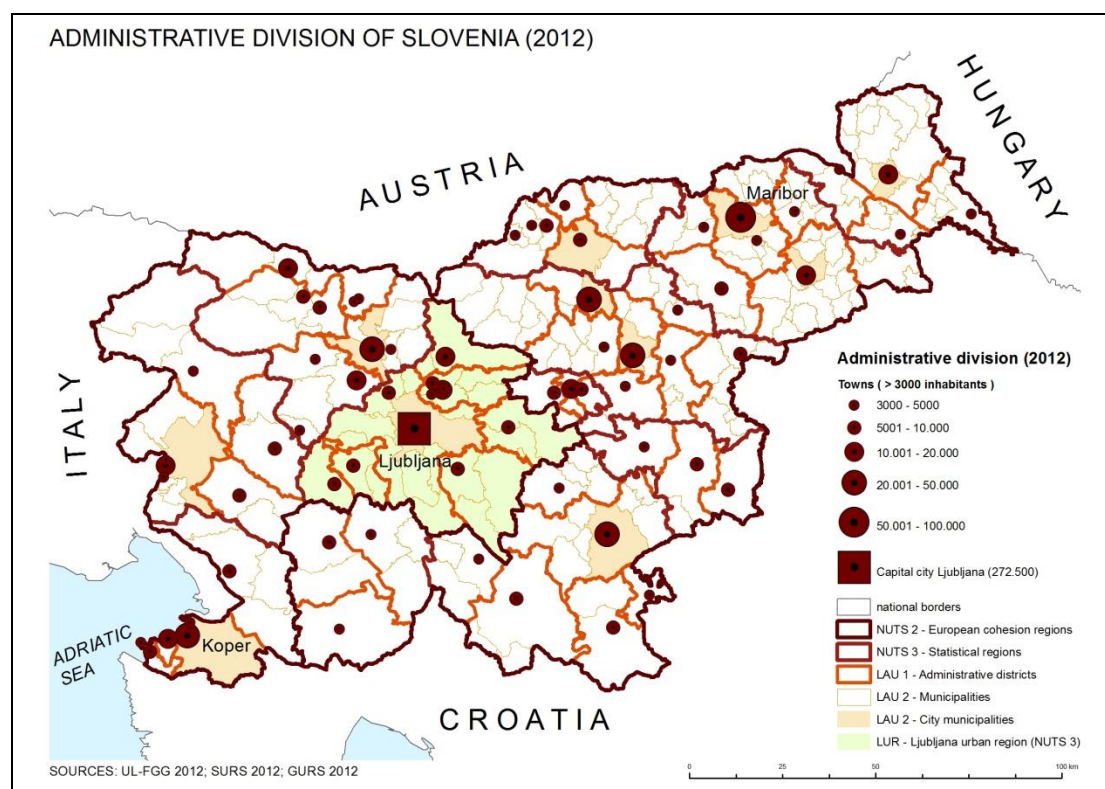
Map 1: Case study area: Ljubljana Urban Region

The Central Slovenian NUTS 3 (statistical / developing) region is the largest in Slovenia by the size of population with approx. 500.000 inhabitants (25% of the total Slovenian population) and 13% of the country's territory - comprising the City Municipality of Ljubljana (capital city) and other 25 smaller NUTS 5 / LAU 2 municipalities. The City Municipality of Ljubljana (LAU 2) and Central Slovenian NUTS 3 (LUR) region have been the most important locations of economic and human activities in Slovenia, while at the same time preserving the environmental quality with good living conditions for local inhabitants.

In order to understand institutional settings and territorial governance practices it is worth mentioning that LUR generates 35% of Slovenia's GDP. The GDP per capita in LUR is for 30% higher than the national average. LUR accounts for 45% of the total value-added, and more than half of all foreign investments in Slovenia. Productivity (e.g. value added per employee) was

more than 25% higher and the average salary was 20% above the national average, mirroring the concentration of employment in higher value added activities (i.e. banking, insurance, public administration, pharmaceuticals) – most of them concentrated in the City Municipality of Ljubljana – the central and the largest LUR municipality (see Figures 1, 2, 3) (Pichler-Milanović, 2005a, 2010). Between 2009-2013 due to economic crisis the unemployment rate in LUR increased from 5,6% to 10,0% (in Slovenia from 7,4% to 12,5%). The productivity and other economic indicators of LUR have decreased since 2009 but they are still above the national average (www.ruralur.si).

Figure 1: Administrative and territorial division of Slovenia

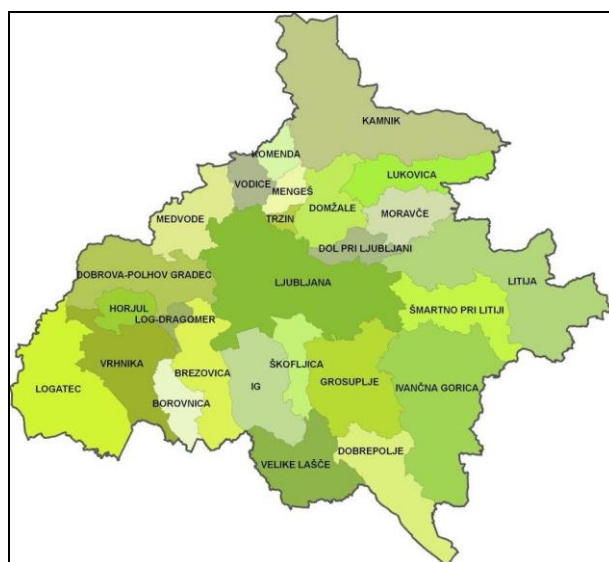


Source: Pichler-Milanović, Zavodnik Lamovšek, 2010; Statistical Office of Republic of Slovenia (SORS); Surveying and Mapping Authority of Republic of Slovenia (GURS).

The City Municipality of Ljubljana and Ljubljana Urban Region are located at the intersection of European-wide infrastructure corridors (TEN), especially corridors V and X, near the international airport “Jože Pučnik” (know as Ljubljana airport) and close (100 km) to the important Central European port of Koper at the Adriatic coast. The development of the transport system in Slovenia during the past few decades has primarily been oriented towards improving the road infrastructure (especially motorways) in the past and, consequently, improving the mobility of individual vehicles, whilst public transport remained stagnant and neglected especially after year 1998. This development resulted in the higher number of private vehicles, lower mobility of non-motorised users, traffic congestion, lack of parking spaces in urban areas, environmental pollution (air, noise) as well as the deterioration in traffic

safety. It is commonly thought now that up-grading of public transport facilities in the city of Ljubljana and LUR will enhance the region's attractiveness as a location for living, studying, working and visiting, and hence increasing the LUR international competitiveness as – a smart, sustainable and inclusive European capital city region – following *the Europe 2020 strategy*.

Figure 2: Ljubljana urban region (NUTS 3) with 26 municipalities (LAU 2)



Source: www.rra-lur.si.

Ljubljana is the largest urban settlement and a town in Slovenia with approx. 260.000 inhabitants but the city contains only about 15% of the total Slovenian population. This relatively low primacy rate of Ljubljana is directly related with the specificities of the urban and settlement system (small and medium size towns) and polycentric development policies in Slovenia from the end of 1960s onwards - not favouring the growth of Ljubljana only, but also other urban centres (according to the hierarchy of central places) in Slovenia. In December 1994 the new Local Self-Government Reform Act has changed the local administrative division of Slovenia – transforming 62 communes into 147 municipalities first and then further to 211 municipalities (LAU 2) by year 2013 - of which only 11 are urban municipalities. At the same time the state (re)created 58 local administrative (NUTS 4 / LAU 1) units (districts), equivalent to previous communes, with the exception of Ljubljana (former five communes) that become one LAU 1 unit after year 1994.

Therefore the local government reforms in late 1994 transformed the city of Ljubljana administratively and spatially. From 1955 - 1994 Ljubljana agglomeration was administratively divided into five communes covering the (large) territory of 902 sq. km with 321.607 inhabitants. In 1995 the official (administrative) city territory of Ljubljana was reduced to 272 sq.km with establishment of the City Municipality of Ljubljana and 9 surrounding small LAU 2 municipalities (Pichler-Milanović, 2005a). Central Slovenian NUTS 3 (statistical) region with initial 25 municipalities was (re)established in year 2000 (new boundaries) together with other NUTS 3 regions in Slovenia.

Central Slovenian NUTS 3 (statistical) region is also known as Ljubljana Urban Region (LUR), especially after establishment of the *Regional Development Agency of Ljubljana Urban Region* (RDA LUR) in year 2001 (www.rralur.si).

The main task of RDA LUR has been the preparation of the *Regional Development Programme of Ljubljana Urban Region* (RDP LUR) for the programming periods 2002-2006, 2007-2013 and the new 2014-2020 period - in cooperation with municipalities, the state, sectors and other public and private actors and stakeholders, together with formulation and implementation of operational programmes with the key development projects of regional or (inter) municipal importance eligible for different EU funds (especially Structural and Cohesion Funds). Since year 2003 municipal authorities in Slovenia have been obliged by the new *Spatial Management and Planning Acts* (2002 & 2007) to formulate and adopt new long-term spatial development strategies, municipal and detailed land-use plans with environmental impact assessments, in order to accommodate new development projects and revitalise and/or protect urban and rural environment on their territories. But there is a policy “mismatch” with implementation gap especially between sectoral policies, regional programming and spatial planning in Slovenia that are causing important developmental problems for territorial and regional governance.

Therefore this case study of territorial governance practices in LUR will primarily emphasise some of these policy gaps while focusing on regional programming activities in LUR especially on formulation of public transport policies in relation with the regional spatial planning concept (i.e. inter-related policy areas), as well as relevant policy actors and stakeholders active within these territorial governance domains.

During 2008-2010 as part of the RDP LUR implementation, the RDA LUR coordinated a preparation of the first *Regional Spatial Development Concept of LUR* according to the new spatial planning policies and regulations (> 2002) as a joint venture between the City Municipality of Ljubljana together with other municipalities and stakeholders in LUR. At the same time the project *Expert Basis for Managing Public Transportation in LUR* was prepared in connection with the *Regional Spatial Development Concept*. These two study documents together with RDP LUR represent an important step towards preparation of the prospective (first) Regional Spatial Development Plan of LUR in the future. Therefore case study focus is on formulation of new public transport strategy as part of regional programming activities and spatial development and planning strategies in LUR and the relation with the City Municipality of Ljubljana. The availability of national and EU funds with public-private investments for particular (public) transport projects have been important impetus for local authorities vis-à-vis planned development according to the official municipal spatial and land use plans favouring protection of the agricultural land and the environment.

The next important challenge for the spatial, regional, transport, environmental and land use development as well as territorial governance

practices in LUR is the implementation of different (inter)national, regional, local policy goals, strategies, programmes, and projects - formulated at different horizontal and vertical levels, especially challenging the next programming period 2014-2020 - with the new policy demands for climate adaptation and mitigation, energy efficiency, low carbon economy, etc – in order to adapt to new circumstances and achieve complex goals of *Europe 2020 strategy*, - also taking in consideration political and economic crisis, financial constraints and rising unemployment in Slovenia (as well as in other European countries) that has been taking place for several years now.

Therefore the empirical research has been conducted in two stages. First, the relevant (inter)national and regional as well as some municipal programmes, plans and some projects were revised and analyses to access whether there is coherence between the intensions of the regional programming documents and those at the national and municipal levels. Secondly, a number of face-to-face interviewees (15) were conducted with 20 mostly spatial and regional policy makers and planners (between December 2012 and March 2013) responsible (directly or indirectly) for overall spatial and regional planning and development in Ljubljana Urban Region. The overall aim of this study is to analysis how actors and institutions at different levels formulate and implement policies, programmes and projects to achieve a certain territorial goal – as well as to find out what can be improved in the future.

2. Integrating policy sectors

The policies, programmes and projects as objects of the study largely set the main structural framework for 'policy packaging'. The structural context for sectoral integration is a common component of the 'horizontal' dimension of multi-level governance and features prominently as a dimension of territorial governance. They were designed, at least partly, to enable integration of different policy sectors. This is especially evident with regard to those case studies that cover 'soft' - more functional territories - like in the case of Ljubljana Urban Region (LUR).

At the level of the EU, sustainable mobility and urban transport have received particular attention over the last few years. This began with the 'Thematic Strategy on the Urban Environment' (EC, 2006) which, among other things, proposed that agglomerations of over 100,000 inhabitants (including the City Municipality of Ljubljana and LUR) – need to prepare sustainable urban transport plans. At the end of 2007, the European Commission published the Green Paper 'Towards a New Culture for Urban Mobility', which initiated a discussion on the content of European policy on sustainable mobility (EC, 2007). In September 2009, the Action Plan followed, setting out measures for a different urban mobility culture at the EU level. The measures include a follow-up to the CIVITAS ELAN initiative¹ - projects to encourage the use of

¹ The City Municipality of Ljubljana participated in the CIVITAS MOBILIS and CIVITAS ELAN (2008-2012) projects focusing on sustainable mobility issues in European cities.

lower or zero emission vehicles, the establishment of practical connections between urban mobility and existing EU policies relating to health, cohesion and disability, the improvement of travel information, and further support from the Commission for awareness raising campaigns such as European Mobility Week.

These EU recommendation has been taken in consideration at the formulation of new national transport policy in Slovenia (2006), as well as by the City Municipality of Ljubljana during preparation of the new Municipal Spatial Plan (adopted in year 2010) and for preparation of the public transport strategy with regional spatial planning concept (2010) for Ljubljana Urban Region. As a result of EU recommendation for sustainable mobility, the National Assembly of Republic of Slovenia adopted a 'Resolution on Transport Policy' (2006) - as the new national transport policy – with the focus on integrated public transport solutions concerning the inter-modality of public transport services, bus stops and terminals. The policy determines the state obligation to create a harmonised public transport timetable, a unitary pricing system and information system for all public transport operators in Slovenia. The policy states that particular emphasis should be placed on non-motorised transport modes (such as walking and bicycles), as well as parking facilities for private vehicles at the inter-modal terminals (P + R) provided with sufficient parking spaces. The transport policy further states that it is necessary to determine the content of public transport services, as well as national, regional and local management bodies competent for the provision of public transport. In terms of the cost public transport services will need to be accessible to all inhabitants in Slovenia.

Planning and development of transport infrastructure with provision of public transport services in Slovenia has been until recently in the domain of the Ministry of Transport of RS and Ministry of Environment and Spatial Planning of RS. After central government reforms in year 2012 they are put under one "umbrella" (and building) of the Ministry of Infrastructure and Spatial Planning of RS (www.mzip.gov.si). »Sustainable mobility« is of one of the 35 key national development projects also embedded in the framework of 'Resolution on National Development Projects for the Period 2007-2023' (2006). The project deals with the introduction of joint ticket system and travel information for public transport passengers, inter-modal terminals, and intelligent transportation system. The policy objective is to create conditions for the development of a competitive economy and the long-term provision of sustainable mobility for better quality of living. Therefore *Integrated public transport system in the Republic of Slovenia* (IJPP) is a national development project of the Ministry of Transport RS (now Ministry of Infrastructure and Spatial Planning) implemented from October 2011 within the Operation Programme (OP) - ROPI Cohesion Fund 2007-2013 (total estimated project costs 7,4 mil EUR of which EU funds 6,3 mil. EUR). The aim of the project is establishment of integrated public transport system – by rail, city buses and inter-city transport (i.e. "one management body, one ticket, timetable and information to service users"). The analytical part of the IJPP project was taking place between 2007-2009 by the ministry in cooperation with transport researchers and engineers while the implementation phase has been taking

place during 2010-2014. The stakeholders involved in this project are the national and local authorities, transport managers, transport companies, and passengers (<http://www.mzp.gov.si>). The strategic report *Sustainable mobility for successful future: recommendations for preparation of integrated transport strategy* were published by the transport ministry in 2012. According to one policy maker (G, 2013) from the Ministry for Infrastructure and Spatial Planning of RS the positive impacts of the project are expected to be in increased use of public transport in the future in comparison with the use of private vehicles which will result in reduced noise, CO₂ and reduction of air pollution emissions, as well as less traffic jams on important access roads (motorways, regional roads), especially in the city of Ljubljana and LUR.

2.1 Public-policy packaging

In terms of transport infrastructure provision, spatial planning and balanced regional development, the essential condition for the development of a polycentric urban and settlement network in Slovenia (including LUR) is a competitive and sustainable transport system, including intermodal freight and public transport service. This implies that all spatial development initiatives are linked to different models of mobility, housing patterns, social and economic activities, in order to reduce the use of private vehicles which pollute the environment, and to increase the space primarily for pedestrians, cyclists and other public transport means (H, 2012; M, 2013).

In December 2007 the RDA LUR advertised the public tender for preparation of the first regional spatial development concept and strategy following the new *Spatial Planning Act (2007)* as a joint venture between the City Municipality of Ljubljana and other LUR municipalities that was completed and approved by the LUR Council in year 2010 (www.rralur.si) – i.e. by the mayors of the LUR municipalities. A positive opinion was also issued by the (former) *Government Office for Local Self-Government and Regional Policy* (e.g. SVLR) responsible for regional policy in Slovenia. Since 2012 SVLR is part of the Ministry of Economic Development and Technology of RS (Directorate for EU Cohesion Policy and Directorate for Regional Policy and European Territorial Cooperation) (www.mgrt.gov.si).

The RDP LUR highlights the advantages of all LUR municipalities, sets targets and development priorities for the region and the regional development partnership, and suggests measures and actions for their implementation. The *Spatial Development Concept of LUR* was co-financed from the ERDF (360.000 EUR) through the Operational Programme Strengthening Regional Development Potentials 2007-2013 with additional contributions (175.000 EUR) from 22 municipalities in LUR. The main goal of the project was preparation of comprehensive territorial analysis of LUR with different spatial development scenarios. The project also took in consideration the functional urban region of Ljubljana (metropolitan area) taking in consideration the regional development programmes of the neighbouring NUTS 3 regions in Slovenia as well as near-by regions in Italy and Austria (www.rralur.si).

The study officially entitled 'Expert guidelines for the regulation of regional public transport' presents expert guidelines for the regulation and establishment of quality public transport in LUR by year 2027. It comprises six interim reports and a joint final report, which was submitted to the RDA LUR in October 2009. The task's result has been a proposal for a public transport system designed on the basis of the vision of allowing all users the convenient opportunity to choose a transport service which is attractive in terms of time and cost. The common goal of the new public transport regulation has been to raise the quality of life according to the paradigm of sustainable mobility. This study was prepared in connection with the *Regional Spatial Development Concept of LUR*. The RDA LUR also submitted this project to the public tender within the framework of the Operational Program Strengthening Regional Development Potential 2007 – 2013 and acquired co-financing from the ERDF (440.000 EUR) while the rest of funds were obtained by 24 municipalities of LUR with the City Municipality of Ljubljana contributing 227.552 EUR. The value of the entire project was 863.000 EUR (www.rralur.si).

The public transport strategy and spatial development concept of LUR (2010) were prepared as part of the RDP LUR according to the EU and national policy recommendation but also according to the new spatial planning policies and legislation. The principle initiative for their preparation came from the City Municipality of Ljubljana, most notably the Department of Urban Planning which has been responsible for preparation of the new Municipal Spatial Plan of Ljubljana (adopted in 2010) and its implementation. The transport strategy and spatial development concept of LUR were prepared taking in consideration the need for the regional spatial plan of LUR in future - which is still missing, taking in consideration that administrative regions (provinces) in Slovenia were not approved by citizens at the referendum in June 2008.

The spatial planning policies and land use legislation are rather complex documents taking in consideration the traditional promoters and well-established public sector interests, but also the "new rules of the game" (after year 1991) with involvement of different political interests and public and private sector investors in land development (including individual interests). In 2002 the National Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia (after 10 years delay) adopted the new Spatial Planning and Management Act and Construction Act with Spatial Management Policy, and two years later the Spatial Development Strategy of the Republic of Slovenia with Spatial Order (2004). The Spatial Planning Act determines the responsibilities and procedures in spatial planning, and defines the types and contents of spatial documents at the national and local levels. The law also introduced a new document, the Regional Spatial Development Concept. With this document, the municipalities have an opportunity to coordinate their strategic development issues at the regional level. This is an "optional" document, filling the gap between national and local planning level - until the establishment of new administrative regions (provinces) or regional "institutionalisation" in Slovenia.

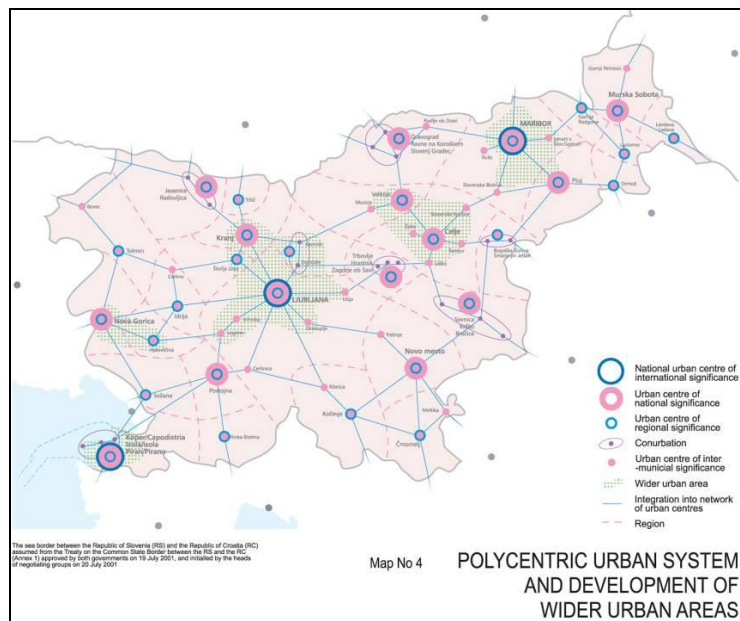
In April 2007 the National Assembly of Slovenia adopted the new (modified) *Spatial Planning Act* with new hierarchy and content of spatial planning

documents (e.g. bringing detailed land use plans back to the legislative agenda) at the national, regional and local levels. As a result all municipalities are now obliged by the law to prepare the new detailed municipal spatial development plans (Pichler-Milanović, Kreitmayer MacKenzie, 2008). The new spatial planning document at the national level – *Act Regarding the Sitting of Spatial Arrangements of National Importance in Physical Space* has been adopted in 2010 (with amendments in 2012) for larger infrastructure and transport projects and environmental protection areas of national importance. The state (instead of individual municipalities) is directly responsible for preparation and these spatial planning documents at the local level. Preparation of the regional spatial concepts and plans are the responsibility of municipalities that have been more occupied in the past 10 years with preparation of their new municipal spatial plans to satisfy the complicated legislative requirements and procedures (C, D, E, F).²

The preparation of municipal and regional spatial documents need to follow the *Spatial Development Strategy of Republic of Slovenia* (SPRS, 2004) prepared by the (former) Ministry of Environment and Spatial Planning of RS (in cooperation with sectors, professional planners and spatial researchers). The national spatial strategy is promoting (as before) the polycentric development of Slovenia through a network of 50 urban centres of (inter)national, regional and inter-municipal importance (with 62 urban settlements including several city clusters/conurbations) and 15 functional urban areas with centres of national importance (i.e. regional centres). Ljubljana, the capital city, with Maribor, the second largest city near Austria, and the Coastal conurbation (Koper-Izola-Piran) near Italy and Croatia are also defined as centres of international importance. From this point of view polycentric (urban) development corresponds to the balanced regional development, and development of integrated transport infrastructure in Slovenia (SPRS, 2004).

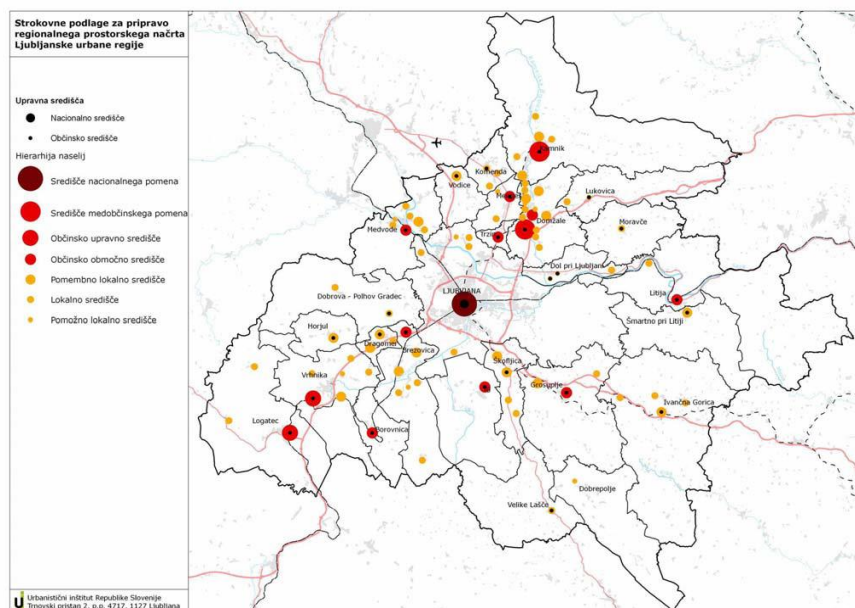
² As a result of this process - until June 2013 – less than 60 municipal spatial plans were approved by municipal councils and the (new) Ministry of Infrastructure and Spatial Planning RS. In LUR only the City Municipality of Ljubljana (2010), and other three municipalities (Litija, Trzin, Ig) recently adopted their municipal spatial plans, while (only) few other municipal spatial plans in LUR are close to be adopted soon.

Figure 3: Concept of the polycentric urban network – 50 centres of (inter)national, regional and inter-municipal importance - with city conurbations, agglomerations and local functional urban areas (SPRS, 2004)



Source: Spatial Development Strategy of Slovenia (2004). Ministry of the Environment and Spatial Planning of the Republic of Slovenia.

Figure 4: Polycentric development of urban and other settlement centres in LUR according to the Spatial development strategy of Slovenia (SPRS, 2004)



Source: Analytical sources for preparation of the Regional Spatial Plan of LUR (2010) (<http://rralur-prostor.uirs.si>).

However most interviewees agreed that there is a strong strategic commitment to formulate integrated spatial, regional, transport – and other policies at the capital city region level (LUR) and to include relevant policy goals, sectors, actors and diverse stakeholders. Formal policy packaging is decided by different legislative regulations at the national (and EU) level and somehow integrated in national spatial and regional documents, and at the regional level within preparation of regional programming activities. But national policies and sectoral strategies (with the exception of spatial and regional policies) are not very well linked to a "place-based approach" - especially not at the NUTS 3 regions in Slovenia - with no administrative and political representation - but to particular political and economic interests of sectoral lobbies and (some) municipalities, as important decision-making actors in Slovenia (K, 2012).

2.2 Cross-sector synergy

As already mentioned above establishment of integrated public transport strategy is one of the EU priority recommendations for sustainable mobility at the municipal, regional and (inter)national level. The strategy is also an inter-sectoral instrument for achieving sustainable growth, energy efficiency, improving health and environmental conditions, and quality of life for local inhabitants. Preparation of the sustainable mobility strategy at the national, regional and municipal levels in Slovenia is an institutional process of capacity building and learning process of linking sectoral policies and strategies with spatial planning and regional programming documents as well as land use regulations and municipal spatial plans (G, H, 2013). Cross-sectoral policy

integration is officially present in strategies and programmes at the national level - but in practice – as most interviewees agreed - the integration is difficult at the municipal level (or regional level) – with many conflicts between sectors and actors over land use change and development (especially between environmental and spatial development interests).

Therefore the formulation of RDP LUR with spatial concept and transport strategies is based on the national strategic policy development framework which defines responsibilities and cooperation across different territorial scales: (inter)national, regional, local.³ Lack of complex regional spatial development plans – is partly due to the non-administrative status of NUTS 3 regions in Slovenia, as an obstacle to more balanced and sustainable regional and spatial development - but it could be solved with proper regional programming activities and implementation of strategic and coherent projects with active stakeholder participation and cooperation at the inter-municipal level with efficient use of different funding sources (J, 2012; O, 2013).

Formulation of public transport policy with horizontal participation and inter-municipal cooperation as well as inter-sectoral synergy has happened within a "soft" platform at the regional - LUR level. RDA LUR serves as an inter-sectoral coordination body at the regional level with inclusion of local authorities (municipalities), public and private sectors, professional bodies and consultants, as well as non-profit organisations, civil society and inhabitants (J, K, 2012). There is a formal commitment now at the national level from various policy sectors and agencies, as well as from the City Municipality of Ljubljana - and other municipalities in LUR - for implementation of public transport strategies not only at LUR level (NUTS 3) but also at the level of (larger) functional (urban) region – or metropolitan area of Ljubljana (J, D, 2012; H, 2013).

Efficient public transport strategy is compatible with sustainable, balanced and polycentric development of LUR - with cohesive urban and rural settlement development, energy efficiency and improved environmental quality. But further development of public transport is somehow in conflict with the fiscal sector (due to taxes on oil and gas) and different lobby groups, as well as the individual choice of consumers (and their life styles) - to use private vehicles for their individual mobility at lower costs (J, 2012; L, 2013). Hence, in this case sectoral interests dominate over some of political interests. The new (more realistic) strategic developing documents for 2014-2020 programming period (and especially their implementation) could have resolved (to some extent) different sectoral interests providing some emerging synergies that are really needed (K, 2012; M, 2013).

³ Identifying (formal) institutional platforms and networks as well as stakeholders for cooperation already took place at the national level during preparation of the *National Strategic Reference Frameworks 2007 - 2013* and during discussions over new *Operational Programmes* for the next programming period 2014-2020 (A, B, 2013).

Consensus over the need of integrated public transport among stakeholders in LUR has been achieved by taking in consideration evidences (i.e. professional studies, surveys, monitoring, etc.) and constraints such as environmental pollution, traffic congestion, road accidents, increased costs of fuel, maintenance, parking, etc. Various public and private actors and stakeholders were invited to give evidence to various committees at the city and regional level in the formulation phase of these spatial and transport strategy documents (i.e. meetings, workshops, e-mail correspondence....) (H, 2013). Territorial integrated strategies could stimulate coherence between sustainable spatial planning requirements and effective use of transport infrastructure at the national, regional and local levels. The implementation of public transport strategy in LUR depends at the moment on “soft policy approach” and partial interventions by the City Municipality of Ljubljana (with mainly EU and local funds), but the situation has been changing (K, 2012). At the moment there is a lack of proper institutional capacity at RDA LUR as a barrier that might be resolved by further devolution of decision-making power from the national to the regional level with establishment of the regional (coordination) management body in LUR responsible for provision of public transport services – that is already envisaged in public transport strategy of LUR (2010) but not implemented as yet (J, 2012).

Therefore the synergies across sectors were mainly conducted through established communication channels, procedures and regulations through networking and partnerships, during preparation of the regional development programme of LUR, strategies and projects at the inter-municipal level with the help of (some) experts and professions. The conflicts between the sectors are actors were addressed at different “strategic forums” at RDA LUR and resolved (or not) through official communication and informal discussions. Actors from various sectors often come from different professional backgrounds and sometimes speak very different ‘languages’. As the institutional capacity of RDA LUR is weak at the moment to deal more effectively with conflicting sectoral interests they are resolved primarily at the inter-municipal level, even though this may be a way to increase the capacity of the RDA LUR to mobilise resources for addressing better sectoral conflicts (K, J, 2012).

3. Coordinating the actions of actors and institutions

As already mentioned above the Ljubljana Urban Region (LUR) is the largest NUTS 3 region in Slovenia with approx. 500.000 inhabitants, consisting of the City Municipality of Ljubljana (capital city) and other 25 smaller LAU 2 municipalities. Regional Developed Agency of Ljubljana Urban Region (RDA LUR) is responsible for preparation of the Regional Development Programmes (RDP LUR) for programming periods 2002-2006; 2007-2013, 2014-2020 respectively, with the list of priority projects of regional importance that are also eligible for EU funding. The RDA LUR is a development agency, supporting economic, social and cultural activities, access to public services while at the same time trying to preserve the natural and cultural heritage in all LUR municipalities. RDA LUR provides opportunities for implementation of

effective regional development projects with the provision of necessary information to municipalities and other stakeholders for their implementation. The RDA LUR prepares programs and projects for development of the entire region with harmonisation of regional and structural policies. At the same time RDA strives to become an internationally recognised and competitive development agency that will successfully contribute to the regional development of LUR and Slovenia (www.rralur.si). But RDA LUR is 100% owned by the City Municipality of Ljubljana, as a “subsidiary” organisation of the capital city of Ljubljana, in order to improve horizontal and vertical governance, project management and regional development activities in LUR.

3.1 Governing capacity

The coordination of decision-making process at the RDA LUR level is set up as a strategic platform for policy formulation - but not necessarily project implementation that is mainly the responsibility of municipalities. The regulatory power is based at the local (municipal) levels and normative power at the national level. Municipal councils with local politicians have formal power in LUR through representative democracy while RDA LUR with the Regional Development Council of LUR (advisory and policy making body) and LUR Council (municipal mayors – decision making body) has the coordination role in policy and decision making process in LUR. There are also 10-15 employees (full time / part-time) involved in day-to-day administrative and project work. Some of them are involved as project managers and researchers in European projects where RDA LUR is a project partner (J, K, 2012; I, 2013) (for the list of projects see also www.rralur.si).

The Regional Development Council of LUR (RDC LUR) – consists of the following representatives:

- 26 representatives of LUR municipalities;
- 26 representatives of the associations of the economy at the regional level;
- 13 trade union representatives, non-governmental organisations and other representatives of stakeholders at the regional level;
- 1 representative of administrators from environmentally protected areas;
- 1 representative of the Roma community.

These members of RDC LUR are active in several boards / committees such as: a) *Human Resources*, b) *Infrastructure, Spatial Planning and Environment*, c) *Economy*, d) *Rural Development*. The board members are appointed by their organisations. The boards contain between 7-15 members. The members are in close contact with the i.e. operational actor – RDA LUR (administrative team), LUR Council (municipal mayors), and other (thematic) boards of the RDC LUR.

The main tasks of the LUR Council are the following:

- acceptance of the RDP LUR;
- approval of the Implementation Plan(s) as part of the RDP LUR;
- approval of the criteria for the preparation of priority regional development projects;
- appointing municipal representatives to the Regional Development Council

of LUR;

- appointing representatives to the development council of the NUTS 2 Cohesion region – West Slovenia;
- defining the organisation of institutions at the level of NUTS 3 regions;
- concluding contracts for financing of regional projects between municipalities and other partners at the regional level;
- representing LUR in cooperation with other NUTS 3 regions in Slovenia and abroad.

The main tasks of Regional Development Council of LUR are the following:

- adopting decisions on the preparation of the RDP LUR and other decisions in the preparation procedure;
- preparation of proposal for Implementation Plan(s) of RDP LUR;
- monitoring and evaluation of RDP LUR;
- appointing representatives to the Development Council of Cohesion NUTS 2 Regions;
- participating in the programme councils for the preparation of the regional spatial planning documents;
- participating with regions from other countries;
- appointing board heads of Regional Development Council;
- adopting the Rules of Procedures;
- other issues of regional importance.

The LUR Council that manages the RDA LUR is the decision-making body and involves the locally elected representatives (municipal mayors). The Chairperson of the LUR Council is Mayor of the City Municipality of Ljubljana Mr Zoran Jankovič. The Regional Development Council of LUR exercises the political tasks and is linked to the institutional members. The administrative team of RDA LUR works together with the institutional members. The thematic boards at the RDC LUR analyse the proposals for the projects and development programmes suggested by the municipalities, institutional members and local community groups. For example Head of the Department of Urban Planning at the City Municipality of Ljubljana is also a Chairperson of the RDC LUR thematic board *Infrastructure, Spatial Planning, Environment* (H, 2012). This is important for further development of transport strategies and implementation of projects at the LUR level, taking in consideration the stakeholder's active role in development of public transport projects in the City Municipality of Ljubljana.

RDA LUR is closely cooperating with the *Government Office for Local Self-government and Regional Policy* (i.e. from February 2012 part of the Ministry of the Economic Development and Technology of RS) and through them or directly with other ministries and agencies of RS. In the case of provision of transport infrastructure and integrated public transport the relations with the Ministry of Infrastructure and Spatial Planning RS are equally important.

Therefore the RDA LUR is still an operational body (and becoming a management body) of the territorial governance system, and the contact point between different stakeholders - the politicians, municipalities, sectors, other institutional partners, and bodies in charge of different legal aspects, etc.

Different boards and committees are also the “monitoring” actors important for implementation of the RDP LUR and different projects (J, K, 2012; I, 2013). In the past few years the governing capacity of RDA LUR is shifting from mainly “soft” instruments based on coordination and cooperation between municipalities in LUR and other actors and sectors to strategic (policy) platform at the regional (inter-municipal) level with stronger leadership influence from the City Municipality of Ljubljana. Different partnership-making and networking experiences at the LUR level are also important for capacity building at RDA LUR necessary for implementation of regional development programmes and projects.

3.2 Leadership

Since recently RDA LUR is in the 100% ownership of the City Municipality of Ljubljana receiving approx. 20% of the budget from them, while the regulatory power comes from the national level (with approx. 10% of the RDA LUR budget). The rest of the funds come from other LUR municipalities and RDA LUR participation in different projects, especially EU projects. As a consequence there is somehow a power struggle between the City Municipality of Ljubljana and other small municipalities in LUR, and among some mayors governing other LUR municipalities. The largest municipality in LUR – the City Municipality of Ljubljana dominates over decision-making process in RDA LUR, somehow due to strong leadership skills of the Mayor of Ljubljana (Mr Zoran Jankovič).⁴ Some spatial and urban planners from the City Municipality of Ljubljana also play an important role in the policy making process in LUR due to their planning skills, knowledge of policies, and practices of »transferring« the EU requirements and recommendations into local and regional policies and projects (C, I, 2013; J, K, 2012).

Hence the awareness of the power balance between the City Municipality of Ljubljana with other LUR municipalities, and other public and private actors over public transport issues is also evident in the decision and policy making process in LUR. Normative leadership in preparation of the overall public transport strategy at the LUR level is based on consensus between sectors and actors following the regulation at the national level. A larger informal power is also given to sectoral (transport) interests of the national roads agency and national railway company, international airport and the port, and the financial sector due to budget constraints and larger expenditures that are needed for some transport projects of national interests in the future, like upgrading of the railways in Slovenia, modernisation and reconstruction of the main bus and railway station in Ljubljana, expansion of the international airport near Ljubljana and the port of Koper at the Adriatic coast, etc. (J, 2012; H, 2013).

⁴ Mr Zoran Jankovič, the Mayor of Ljubljana (since year 2006) is the economist and the former manager of the largest retailing company Mercator in Slovenia. His political party “The League of Zoran Jankovič” has the majority of seats in the City Council of Ljubljana and in the Parliament of RS (since 2011). Since March 2013 the party has been also running the coalition government of Slovenia with the first female Prime Minister Mrs Alenka Bratušek.

3.3 Subsidiarity

Ljubljana, the capital city of Slovenia is also the most important and largest urban municipality in Slovenia from 1995 onwards. LUR is also the largest NUTS 3 region in Slovenia with 26 LAU 2 municipalities. But the official jurisdiction of the city of Ljubljana over its territory is different now (smaller) than in it was before local government reforms in year 1994. The official governance over the LUR territory has to be shared between the City Municipality of Ljubljana and other LUR municipalities - despite their size.

After independence in 1991 the democratic local elections in Slovenia (1994, 1998, 2002, 2006, 2010, 2012) brought directly elected mayors (with deputy mayors) and (city) municipal councils. In the City Municipality of Ljubljana, the City Council has 45 directly elected local politicians (from different political parties), City Management Authority (with more than 20 different departments and offices), 17 local city districts, and other legislative, management or advisory bodies (www.ljubljana.si). Since year 2006 the Mayor of Ljubljana has been Mr Zoran Jankovič, whose political party won the majority of seats in the City Council (2006-2013) as well as in the National Assembly of RS (Parliament) since the national elections at the end of 2011. The Mayor of Ljubljana and the City management authority and spatial planning staff from the City Municipality of Ljubljana have been closely involved in preparation of the spatial development concept and public transport strategy as part of the RDP LUR, in order to achieve balanced regional development, polycentric development and territorial cohesion of LUR – according to the spatial planning, regional development and other strategic documents at the (inter)national as well as local level. After (unsuccessful) regional referendum in Slovenia (June 2008) and also due to economic crisis since then, the City Municipality of Ljubljana has been cooperating more closely with other LUR municipalities through RDA LUR, as the regional management body in-making.

In order to achieve some regional development goals, RDA LUR and the City Municipality of Ljubljana are also participating as project partners (or observers) in many EU funded projects - transnational, cross border and inter-regional cooperation programmes such as INTERREG IV C, INTERACT II, ESPON II, URBACT II, 7th Framework Programme, and other international city networking activities. This is also an institutional learning process for RDA LUR as well as individual learning for the staff and members of the regional councils. In this way most of participating stakeholders are improving their knowledge over regional development issues in Europe, while at the same time strengthening capacity building process in public transport needs and demands with the help of the EU funding mechanisms (J, K, 2012; H, 2012).

Even though there is a dominance of the City Municipality of Ljubljana over other (small) municipalities in LUR, and in the RDA LUR, the local (municipal) political participation is well rather represented and supported through the RDA LUR. Local government empowerment controls the policy making process in LUR. This is also a link between the new municipal spatial planning documents - still under preparation in many LUR municipalities (with the

exception of Ljubljana, Trzin, Litija, and Ig respectively), regional programming documents, and sectoral policies (e.g. transport) at the national level (B, C, H, 2013).

Therefore coordination of actors and institutions by RDA LUR is rather transparent through the i.e. strategic platforms, as a soft way of territorial governance by RDA LUR – through meetings, workshops, conferences, public events, professional studies, territorial analysis, and preparation of project documentation. Different actors have had various roles in each phase of the transport strategy preparation (e.g. initiation, formulation, decision-making, and feedback). RDA LUR is a contact point between different stakeholders which organises and manage the system of actors and institutions. Partnership bodies and informal governance structures and networks are also established with exchange of ideas between stakeholders. There is also a continuous development of staff in RDA LUR. Local knowledge has been utilised and actors are invited to make various presentations for decision and policy making bodies at the LUR level (J, K, 2012; I, 2013).

Cooperation between municipalities in LUR is also motivated by development of projects which have had high political priority, economic viability and environmental quality for all stakeholders involved in the policy and decision-making process. The preparation of regional public transport strategy together with regional spatial development concept was a good way to define actions of relevant actors at all territorial levels – national, regional, municipal - and a forum for knowledge coordination and consensus. Political support at the national and local levels for these projects eased the discussions, as well as collaborative relationship with sectors (despite their different interests) and needs of service providers. At the RDA LUR coordinating actors and institutions was by organising forums, workshops and conferences where actors and sectors could meet (e.g. at the “neutral location” in Ljubljana) to discuss the actions that are taking for the benefits of all. This platform at the RDA LUR level could be institutional in the future involving other actors like civil society and individuals. In the case of LUR distribution of power has occurred through intra-municipal setting where the largest municipality (capital city of Ljubljana) dominates over smaller municipalities even though there is a subsidiarity in the form of sharing funding resources, initiatives, knowledge and experience.

4. Mobilising stakeholders participation

As already mentioned , the most important activity of the RDA LUR has been the preparation of the RDPs LUR for periods 2004-2006 and 2007-2013, and currently the for the new programming period 2014-2020 with a list of projects within a participative approach involving different territorial actors such as municipalities (i.e. decision-makers: municipal mayors, local politicians; policy-makers, and practicionaries), responsible ministries (i.e. “top-down” sectoral approach), private sector (i.e. Chambers of Commerce and Industry, Chambers of Crafts, developers, investors, construction firms, other companies, etc.), professional associations, non-profit organisation, local

community groups and individuals - involved in the public consultations or directly through communication with RDA LUR. The stakeholders' involvement is possible through a *Communication Plan* managed by RDA LUR and *Implementation Plan(s)* of RDP.

4.1 Democratic legitimacy

The Regional Development Programme (RDP LUR) 2007-2013 was approved on 17 April 2007. This is the fundamental development document on the regional level. RDP LUR defines the advantages of all municipalities in LUR, sets the objectives and regional development priorities and partnerships, and suggests the measures and activities to be taken for their realisation. This document was formulated under the guidance of the RDA LUR while more than 200 stakeholders from the public, private, and civil society spheres defined their vision of regional development, objectives, and the principal measures to achieve the goals. The RDP LUR was initiated and adopted by the LUR Council – i.e. the mayors of all municipalities in LUR. Members of the Regional Development Council (RDC) of LUR actively participated as experts and professionals in particular fields (spatial planning, infrastructure, environment; human resources, economy, rural development, etc). The RDP LUR also received a favourable opinion from the (former) Government Office for Local Self-Government and Regional Policy of the RS at the end of 2007, responsible for implementation of national regional policies in Slovenia.

Therefore strategic policy formulation platform at LUR is characterised with indirect democratic legitimacy (top-down) of relevant sectors, and local level (municipal) participation with direct democratic legitimacy (bottom-up) of other stakeholders. As far as transport strategy and regional spatial planning concept is concerned, the lead institutions – City Municipality of Ljubljana and RDA LUR invited other stakeholders based on their knowledge and experience of transport and spatial development issues, and using established routines and communication channels according to the normative regulation and practice (J, K, 2012; I, 2013). The selected practices vary - from wide and open consultation to mobilising only well-known stakeholders that are expected to support particular interests following basically the logic of political priorities which led to the mobilisation of well known stakeholders based on professional (and personnel) networks (K, 2012). Thematic working groups and workshops at RDA LUR were also organised for preparation of the transport strategy and regional spatial development concept in which local authorities, public and private actors, experts and other stakeholders participated. The workshops were also organised for a larger public audience. Participation included also (to some extent) civil society organisations and individuals. Insufficient cooperation (rather competition) between small municipalities in LUR is based on different political and fiscal strength and due to allocation of (rather small) regional development funds (national / EU funds) to them. Diversity of views between other stakeholders was also observed but with consensus and capacity-building at the end especially with regards to the needs of public transport in relation with the polycentric concept and balanced regional development (J, K, 2012; I, 2013). Therefore some kind of routines have been established which also showed some degree of transparency.

Specific institutional arrangements (e.g. 'platforms') have been formed at the level of RDA LUR that already represents the intended range of stakeholders and some networks. Another issue that has been brought up by some interviewees (J, 2012; B, 2013) - is that due to limited resources not all stakeholders that were identified as being relevant were able to participate in the process of policy formulation or implementation.

4.2 Public accountability

The RDP LUR was prepared according to the national legislation and regional policy documents in Slovenia.⁵ The implementation of RDP LUR is based on the approved *Implementation Plans* for a three year period. RDP LUR 2007-2013 with Implementation Plan(s) and other policy documents adopted at the national level, such as the Operational Programmes, represent the implementation of the EU Cohesion policy at the regional level in Slovenia. The regional public transport strategy and spatial development concept (as RDP projects) were completed in 2010 according to the EU and national transport policy as well the new spatial development strategy (SPRS, 2004) with spatial planning legislation (2002-2012) in Slovenia involving a lot of different stakeholders in formulation of both projects.

The stakeholders in LUR are (officially) responsible and accountable to the public for making territorial decisions in the public interests for the benefits of all residents, as stated in the RDP Implementation Plans. Some institutional synergy has been observed at the RDA LUR level but not sufficient links with wider civic society were observed (H, J, 2012). Personal contacts and relations seem to be more important (K, 2012). Democratic legitimacy and accountability has certainly been secured in terms of representative democracy at the municipal level, otherwise not formalised at the regional level. Certain anonymity of power was present from the national level due to different sectoral interests / conflicts, mainly over distribution of resources and projects between municipalities (J, 2012). Emerging territorial governance structures at the LUR level do not include additional forms of representative democracy.

4.3 Transparency

For the implementation of RDP LUR, the LUR Council adopted the first Implementation Plan 2007 – 2009 in July 2007, which was amended and supplemented twice (25 October 2007 and 23 April 2008). In 2009, the RDA LUR prepared the new Implementation Plan for the period 2010 – 2012. The method of preparation of the Implementation Plans are legally defined and harmonised with the RDP LUR 2007-2013. It includes a selection of project proposals with (potential) contribution to the realisation of regional development goals for 2007-2013 that are eligible to be financed from

⁵ *Decree on Regional Development Programmes (2006), Promotion of Balanced Regional Development Act (2005), Management Authority Recommendations for Implementation of Technical Assistance of Cohesion Policy 2007-2013 (2007), Operational programmes 2007-2013: a) Regional Development Potentials, b) Environment and Transport Infrastructure, c) Human Resources, National Strategic Reference Framework 2007-2013, National Development Programme 2007-2013, etc.*

different EU sources. The most important regional development projects in LUR are: new waste collection plant, integrative public transport, logistics centre, enterprise zones with technology parks, flood protection measures, and establishment of (natural) public parks (www.rdalur.si). The Implementation Plan(s) includes all regional projects and particularly those which LUR submitted for financing through public tenders within the framework of the Operational Programme *Strengthening Regional Development Potential 2007-2013*, and projects listed in the *Resolutions on National Development Projects 2007-2023*.

The implementation of RDP LUR 2007-2013 was planned to be financed from multiple sources: 105 mil. EUR from the state budget, 87 mil. EUR (municipal budgets), 20 mil. EUR (ERDF), 11 mil. EUR (ESF), 215 mil. EUR (Cohesion Fund), 10 mil. EUR (Rural Development Fund), 3. mil EUR (other programmes), and 385 mil EUR from the private capital (www.rralur.si). The distribution of (programmed) resources shows the perceived importance of the EU funds in regional development.

Political bodies at the local and national levels have dominated the policy and decision-making process (J, K, 2012). But participative governance at the LUR level also includes (officially) social and economic actors, non-profit sector, individuals, etc. Allocation of political resources (legitimacy) and institutional capacity of different stakeholders (national / local) as well as the communication channels between the RDA LUR and stakeholders (and among stakeholders) has been also improving over the time (K, 2012; B, 2013). Integration of different interests and viewpoints depends on the willingness and knowledge of the lead institutions – the City Municipality of Ljubljana with RDA LUR, as well as relevant ministries (sectors), especially the (former) Government Office for Local Self-Government and Regional Policy of the RS (since 2012 Directorate for Cohesion Policy and Directorate for Regional Policy and European Territorial Cooperation at the Ministry of the Economic Development and Technology of RS). Ministry of Infrastructure and Spatial Planning of RS (former Ministry of Transport and the Ministry of Environment and Spatial Planning of RS) is also involved through normative and regulatory powers as well as through involvement of key policy-makers in decision-making process at the LUR level (H, 2012; E, G, 2013). Sometimes it was hard to integrate some views from different cross - sectoral interests, but apparently in the case of integrated and sustainable public transport strategy - it was sufficiently due to the collaborative culture of the public actors and institutions involved (H, J, 2012). Increasingly the commuting problems in a wider urban area of Ljubljana – functional (LUR) or metropolitan area of Ljubljana (territory larger than LUR), i.e. “external” views outside of LUR jurisdiction were taken into account (G, H, M, 2013).

Insights into territorial governance process and transparency was secured through traditional and online media channels, workshops, meetings, web pages, e-mail communication, etc. The RDP LUR, public transport strategy and spatial planning concept are available (as pdf documents) on RDA LUR web page, as in the printed form. However the governance process was sometimes “hidden”, as the decision-making process was not always

transparent for all actors and institutions involved, and less transparent for citizens or professionals not involved in the policy-making process (N, 2012; O, 2013). Apparently it was more focused on informing the public about the policy options and its possible impacts than the territorial governance process as such. Daily governance processes are complex and only the major decisions affecting the LUR are easily accessible to the public. But there are also examples of a new approach of participative policy-making, with official incorporation of (some) local community groups and civil society initiatives (J, 2012; B, 2013).

The key importance of the preparation of RDP LUR is the selection of projects and operations. This is based on analysis of regional development potentials and opportunities and the definition of regionally specific priorities and activities that should be ensured by the comprehensive development and selection approach and stakeholders participation at the regional level (B, I, 2013; J, 2012). RDP LUR takes into consideration strategic development documents adopted at the EU and national level for the period 2007-2013. Based on professional and stakeholders analyses and taking into consideration development potentials, RDA LUR defines specific priority areas for territorial development and contributes to the mobilisation of funds – (inter)national, regional, local. The vision of regional development corresponds to balanced economic and social cohesion and environmental quality in order to ensure a high standard of living and quality of life for all citizens, following the paradigm of sustainable development in the widest possible sense, but interpreted differently at the regional (inter-municipal) level, especially over distribution of resources between LUR municipalities (N, 2012; M, O, 2013).

5. Being adaptive to changing context

5.1 Reflexivity

The territorial governance adaptation can be found in reference both to the internal context and to the external one. The first internal change that the territorial governance system has had to face is concerned with the establishment of LUR (or officially Central Slovenian NUTS 3 statistical region) in year 2000 with the RDA LUR (2001), and promotion of »statistical« towards »developing« NUTS 3 regions for preparation of the RDP LUR 2004-2006 and 2007-2013 with Implementation Plans (for 3 years). Further step was the parallel preparation of the *Regional Spatial Development Concept* with *Public Transport Strategy* in LUR (2010) as part of RDP LUR – and as a “guideline” for preparation of the new municipal spatial plans with (detailed) land use regulations in LUR municipalities - with the exception of the City Municipality of Ljubljana which adopted the new municipal spatial plan in year 2010. The formulation of public transport strategy in LUR is characterised by being rather well communicated between the City Municipality of Ljubljana (giving the initiative) and RDA LUR with other municipalities in LUR due to the wider importance for all residents, and the territorial cohesion impacts

(distribution of costs / benefits) as perceived by many stakeholders (J, 2012; H, 2013).

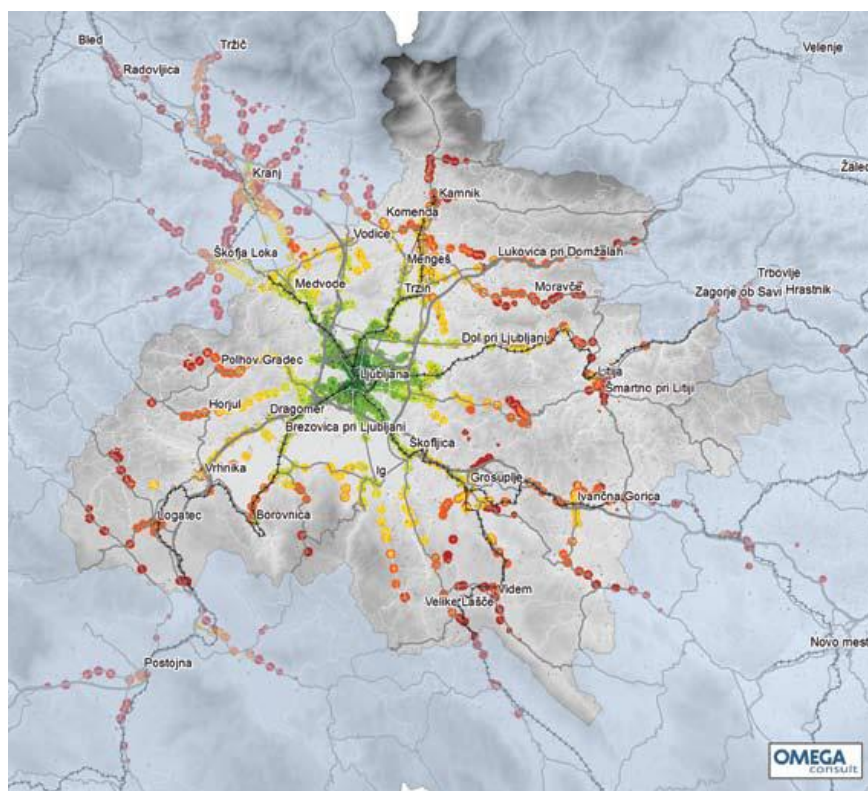
Some other territorial governance practices in LUR are based largely on experiences gained through the sectoral and municipal coordination of various (large) projects in the past 20 years (e.g. transport and other infrastructure). Institutional learning seem to be central, but is not specifically maintained - partly also dependent on leadership styles within existing public institutions. Individual learning emphasise building-up inter-personnel links and exchange of ideas helpful to understand specific interests and needs. In particular stakeholders from RDA LUR (i.e. administrative and project development staff, decision and policy makers, experts) and LUR municipalities acquired and absorbed continuously knowledge within the regional policy formulation and projects implementation process (A, B, C; 2013). This is partly evident with regards to specific policy objectives, but not concerning the insufficient participation of other actors and institutions (not invited to participate in the policy process). Perhaps the individual knowledge has not been activated in full - due also to discontinuities of some individuals working within the institutions since the coordination of projects is highly dependent on the individual (not necessarily institutional) capacity to share knowledge through informal networks (K, 2012).

5.2 Adaptability

The external change that the territorial governance system in LUR has to face concerns the consequences of financial and economic crisis in Slovenia (as in other European countries) such as unemployment, lack of investment capital, bankruptcy of large construction firms and industrial companies, uncompleted (or empty) new property, traffic congestion, environmental pollution, loss of social cohesion, etc. New territorial challenges have also to cope with the effects of climate change (i.e. storms, hail, flooding, draughts, etc.) and demands for energy efficiency and low carbon cities and regions. All these challenging demands will have to be considered in the new programming period 2014-2020 at the national, regional and local level in Slovenia.

Institutional learning has occurred through production of knowledge by the actors and institutions involved in the policy making process and also secured by a number of professional studies and assessments followed by discussions with municipalities and other stakeholders (H, J, 2012). Rather problematic now is the utilisation of knowledge and implementation of proposed solutions due to economic and financial crisis and budget constraints at all territorial levels. At the moment better adaptability is needed taking in consideration these new trends / problems and insufficient municipal budget resources since year 2010 as well as decline of private investments secured by bank loans. The experience of using the EU funds for regional development purposes is important by adapting focus and using available instruments (and demonstration funds) for implementation of some public transport projects in LUR in the future, in cooperation with the City Municipality of Ljubljana, as the most important stakeholder in LUR (J, H, 2012; A, B, 2013).

Figure 5: Accessibility from Ljubljana with high quality public transport in year 2027 (< 60 min) by roads and rail networks



Source: Public Transport in Ljubljana Urban Region (LUR), Regional Development Agency (RDA LUR), 2010 (www.rdalur.si).

Implementation of regional development programme with public transport strategy and spatial planning strategy, with incorporation of some new solutions in municipal spatial development plans have been utilised at the local level due to changing contexts as mentioned above, and as a ‘correction option’ to the failures at the national level (H, 2013). The policy-making process in LUR seems to be rather rigid sometimes as regards meeting of some pre-defined goals and objectives (J, 2012). But to some extent the current economic crises could allow experimentation in search for different solutions and ‘soft leadership’ approach since the crisis has significant influence on policy implementation, due to shortage of available financial resources. The access to additional EU funds can also be obtained through RDA LUR participation in different applied research projects with the focus on cooperation, networking and demonstration such as 6th and 7th Framework Programmes (not only ERDF or Cohesion Funds) necessary for implementation of some strategies, programmes and projects in LUR (see the list of EU projects at www.rdalur.si).

Cooperation between the City Municipality of Ljubljana with other municipalities in LUR is based on (in)formal meetings and discussions, which are mainly facilitated by the RDA LUR. However the need for a more formal platform to increase the intensity of cooperation has been emphasised by many interviewees. Employment of educated (administrative) staff – both

practitioners and researchers RDA LUR who are well trained and proficient in English (and other languages) is also important for participation in international meetings, EU projects, etc. who are able to integrate the new and demanding EU directives and request in regional and local policy documents and prepare new innovative projects (C, E, 2013).

Inter-municipal cooperation is a novel approach in LUR – that is considered by most of interviewees as providing a valuable opportunity to adopt to the current challenges and working dynamics. Inter-municipal cooperation is based on (in)formal meetings and discussions which are mainly facilitated by the RDA LUR – but there is need for more formal platform to increase the intensity of this cooperation (K, 2012). The regional spatial development concept and public transport strategy (2010) have strengthened an understanding of the LUR through cooperation activities while deepening of the municipal planners's (and other decision and policy makers) knowledge and “mental maps” of LUR. There is also an inter-play between professional planners (private sector practitioners) and other policy-makers, and local politicians as they are not used to think 20 years ahead. One main obstacle which has been mentioned several times by many interviewees is the lack of financial resources for implementation of regional development projects. The construction of large projects has been delayed due to the withdrawal of capital investors and latest economic crisis, despite the fact that planning permissions were issued - as in the case of the upgrading of main central bus and rail station in Ljubljana (H, N, 2013).

6. Realising place-based / territorial specificities and impacts

The independence of Slovenia (1991) and fully-fledged EU membership (2004) was an important »trigger« for the capital city formation of Ljubljana – strengthening administrative, financial and business functions, city internationalisation, - strengthening of cross-border and transnational links, and regionalisation – establishment of NUTS 3 (i.e. statistical / developing) LUR region - instead of administrative regions with political representation (Pichler-Milanović, 2005a, 2005b). Ljubljana, the historical cultural capital of Slovenia was exposed in the 1990s to the international challenges of globalization, Europeanisation (or rather “EU-isation”), political, economic and institutional reforms that have shaped inter and intra-city transformation, increased city competitiveness in the (inter)national context with different impacts on economic and social cohesion (Giffinger et al., 2007; Pichler-Milanović, 2005b). Ljubljana is the capital city and the largest urban municipality (272.000 inhabitants), as well as the Ljubljana urban region (approx. 500.000 inhabitants), strategically located at the cross-roads of Central Europe, the Mediterranean, and South-East Europe as a transport node on European corridors V and X, near the international airport (15km from the city centre) and the near-by ports of Koper (Slovenia), Trieste (Italy) and Rijeka (Croatia) at the Adriatic coast.

The overall development goal of LUR is the following: *“Ljubljana Urban Region is a conurbation, intertwined with nature. The region will achieve high level of global competitiveness and high-quality living through encouraging creativity and co-operation. The entire region will benefit from Ljubljana being “a European capital”.* To achieve this goal the main activities of RDA LUR are development of relationships between the public and private sector at the local, regional, national and international levels in order to promote development initiatives and enhance coherent regional development. The acceleration of integrated regional development, planning and implementation of regional (and other) development programmes and acquisition of domestic and foreign financial support – are equally important activities of RDA LUR. The most important goals of the RDP LUR are: accessibility for quality of life, preserved heritage, efficient high-quality spatial planning, efficient municipal utility services, equal opportunities – contribution to the region's competitiveness, culture – competitive advantage of the region, e-administration, supportive entrepreneurial environment (www.rdalur.si).

6.1 Territorial relationality

In some way due to lack of administrative regions in Slovenia, the cooperation between the City Municipality of Ljubljana and 25 other smaller municipalities in LUR in the past was not sufficient – according to most interviewees - for effective implementation of different horizontal and vertical strategies, programmes and projects being formulated at the (inter)national, regional or municipal levels. Lack of coherent spatial and regional strategies and land use planning policies at the national, regional and local levels in the past decade, and the »investment-led response of public leadership in a planning vacuum« in the City Municipality of Ljubljana, and surrounding municipalities in LUR, coupled with day-to-day development problems and side-effects of transition reforms (e.g. privatisation, restitution, de-centralisation, etc.) have transformed the spatial pattern in LUR (i.e. suburbanisation and urban sprawl, de-industrialisation, tertialisation, deferred maintenance of some buildings in the city centre and of housing estates, loss of urban identity, traffic congestion, etc.). Many projects were not developed according to the official spatial development strategies and municipal land use plans, but according to the needs and demands of the market economy and new public and private investors (Pichler-Milanović, et al. 2007; Pichler-Milanović, 2010).

Representation of multi-level governance at the regional level makes it possible to match the purpose and objective of public transport strategies in LUR (H, 2013). Accessibility of public transport to all residents in suburban and rural municipalities in LUR - is actually now one of the “flagship” projects of the City Municipality of Ljubljana and LUR - taking in consideration the overall consensus of all stakeholders – after completion of the motorways project (J, 2012). The status of non-administrative (soft) region and the representation of different territorial interests in LUR can be "modified" by decision-making knowledge (not only power) of individual municipal mayors as well as the establishment of the new regional management body in LUR with institutional responsibilities for public transport services in future (B, H, J,

2012, 2013). Territorial scope depends on delineation of municipal (LAU 2) borders and regional (NUTS 3) borders, but also - as in the case of integrated public transport strategies - based on functional aspects (i.e. daily commuters) of a wider metropolitan area of Ljubljana, with necessary cooperation between the City Municipality of Ljubljana, RDA LUR and other neighbouring NUTS 3 regions in Slovenia (H, 2012, 2013).

Hence the preparation of the regional development programmes are based on a “soft” territorial approach but with regards to concrete projects in municipalities – even though “hard” spaces matter - as implementation of projects occurred within municipal jurisdictions and formal structures (B, D, M, 2012, 2013). The territorial logic of leading public actors and institutions still matters. Inter-municipal cooperation in LUR until now is to some extent compensated by the regional coordination activities of the RDA LUR (N, 2012). Wide and common projects in LUR - as implementation of public transport strategy with spatial planning concept - have been important to foster a coherent perception across municipal boundaries. Strong territorial relationality across both public (and private) institutions allows individual authority or a stakeholder (municipality, public transport company, etc.) to adopt a less defensive approach to negotiations at the regional level (F, 2012).

6.2 Territorial knowledgeability & impacts

In order to achieve the overall regional development goal of LUR - a coherent horizontal and vertical actions are needed not only supporting “smart growth” but also other territorial capital specificities of LUR in the (inter)national context. LUR has a strategic (central) position in Slovenia at the cross-roads of important European transport corridors that have deeply influenced the economic and human activities in the city region. LUR is therefore a complex and diverse territory that up to now has hampered shared projects that have to be the key point towards a new territorial development. These different realities which characterise the LUR and that are picked up by new territorial knowledge seem to be well considered in the current regional development programme 2007-2013 and the (draft) of the new RDP LUR for 2014-2020 programming period.

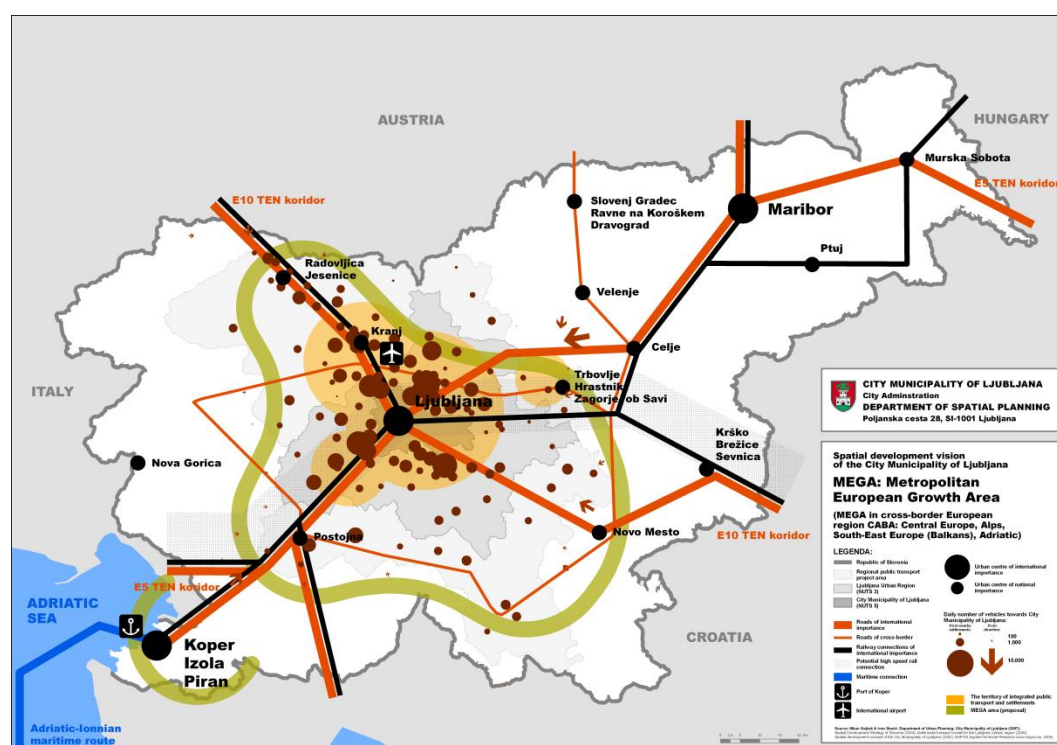
Therefore the early involvement of different stakeholders with territorial knowledge is important for cooperation, capacity building and knowledge transfer. Early consultations, meetings and workshops sharing information, knowledge and development decisions are very important, as well as access to different funding schemes, mixing EU, national, local and private funds for the benefit of the whole LUR territory, and not only individual municipalities. Thanks to this experience there has been some more cooperation between the City Municipality of Ljubljana and surrounding municipalities in LUR in formulation of the first regional spatial development concept and public transport strategy (2010) (Pichler-Milanovič, Zavodnik Lamovšek, 2010; Pichler-Milanovič, Zavodnik Lamovšek, Drobne, 2011). This has resulted in the implementation of some public transport projects especially in Ljubljana agglomeration – extension of existing public transport lines by Ljubljana public

transport company (owned by the City Municipality of Ljubljana), purchasing of new and comfortable buses, new electronic ticketing and pricing system, P + R schemes, city bikes, traffic calming schemes, new parking spaces, etc. (H, 2012).

Utilisation of territorial knowledge is considered as being positive, since many studies have been incorporated to develop knowledge base platform with regards to the relation between public transport needs and spatial and settlement structure in LUR for their better connectivity and accessibility potentials. Many of these elements are secured through RDA LUR activities with support of the City Municipality of Ljubljana, such as professional assessments with regards to polycentric development in LUR, lively debates, media coverage, and number of participating research and consultancy organisations as well as individual professionals involved. Substantial body of scientific and practical knowledge has been developed over the years as well as various inter-municipal (regional) institutional arrangements and networks. Functional approach also captured the particular needs and knowledge of the wider territory - such as the functional urban region (metropolitan area) of Ljubljana (see Figures 6 and 7). Integration of territorial analysis are important for developing of the new RDP LUR 2014-2020, and other spatial planning and regional development documents at the national, regional and local (municipal) level.

Cooperation and coordination seem to be the key issues – between LUR municipalities and with the City Municipality of Ljubljana, as well as with the RDA LUR and the responsible ministries. The process to develop regional spatial development concept and integrated transport strategy as part of the RDP LUR 2007-2013 was according to most interviewed planners felt to be more interactive approach. These spatial analyses were focused upon the understandings, challenges and disconnections of the strategic transport policy approach from investments in transport infrastructure (especially in motorways) towards promotion and creation of a more flexible public transport system in LUR. The RDP LUR with spatial development concept and transport strategy (as well as with environmental and economic development concepts and projects) is somehow a tool to gain the attention (and consensus of politicians) by advocating the idea of developing the LUR in line with the national concepts and strategies. This on-going work for the past 10 years in RDA LUR has raised awareness among politicians, planners, administration, of the benefits and potentials of cooperating at the regional (inter-municipal) level – and the ability to learn and adapt accordingly. Further development of the regional spatial development concept into regional spatial plan in terms of land use is however a longer process and depends on previous preparation and adoption of municipal spatial plans in LUR as well as changes of national spatial and regional development legislation (D, N, 2012; M, O, 2013) .

Figure 6: Ljubljana: “Metropolitan European Growth Area” (MEGA)



Source: Spatial Plan of the City Municipality of Ljubljana, City Municipality of Ljubljana, Department of Urban Planning (2010) (www.ljubljana.si).

7. Conclusion: Toward institutionalised regional management?

The case study's focus is on the territorial policies and governance practices in the process of formulation and (to some extent) implementation of integrated public transport strategies (e.g. “sustainable mobility”) in Central Slovenian (i.e. statistical / developing) NUTS 3 region, known as Ljubljana Urban Region (LUR) following the establishment of Regional Development Agency of Ljubljana Urban Region - RDA LUR (2001). The main task of RDA LUR is the preparation of the Regional Development Programme of Ljubljana Urban Region (RDP LUR) for the programming periods 2002-2006, 2007-2013 and 2014-2020 in cooperation with municipalities, the state, policy sectors and other public and private stakeholders. RDA LUR also works on the formulation and implementation of operational programmes with key development projects of regional or (inter)national importance eligible for EU funds. One of these projects of regional interest was the preparation of the public transport strategy and spatial planning concept (2010) and implementation of projects in cooperation with the City Municipality of Ljubljana.

From the territorial governance point of view, LUR is somehow considered as a »soft« (functional urban) region of Ljubljana that is run in the multi-lateral

way by combination of cooperation and competition between different municipalities, public and private sectors and actors through the coordination process by RDA LUR. Specific focus of the study is on the formulation (and implementation) of integrative public transport strategies at the inter-municipal level together with regional spatial planning concept as part of the RDP LUR.

At the moment there are only soft instruments available based on coordination and cooperation between municipalities and other stakeholders coordinated by the RDA LUR through strategic policy platform(s), and “top-down” (national) requirements for making RDPs with the support of the cross-sectoral coordination body at the national level - (former) Government Office for Local Self-government and Regional Policy (now Directorate for EU Cohesion Policy and Directorate for Regional Policy and European Territorial Cooperation at the Ministry of Economic Development and Technology of RS). Many institutional and regional policy innovations that have been introduced since 2001 in Slovenia have resulted in a number of new policy documents, and with Slovenia’s fully fledged membership of EU (2004), also implementation of concrete projects and other initiatives (co)funded from the EU financial mechanisms. But the role of the City Municipality of Ljubljana, the most important stakeholder in LUR, with 100% legal ownership of RDA LUR is becoming more important in decision and policy making process in the regional context.

However, the most important issues in the context of this rather complex territorial (or still rather multi-lateral) governance system that has been established at the regional level in Slovenia, are the new ‘rules of the game’ in regional development which were introduced to enhance the multi-level participation and cooperation between different stakeholders. Preparation of integrated transport and spatial development strategies in LUR are one of the most important territorial policy innovations mobilizing stakeholders participation with territorial knowledge with a consensus building and institutional learning – taking in consideration rather good provision of transport infrastructure (especially the construction of motorways since 1970s) and consequently good accessibility of the city of Ljubljana and LUR. This has led to increased motorisation rate and consequently traffic congestion, urban sprawl, and deferred public transport facilities. Integrated planning of public transport and spatial development are part of current RDP LUR 2007 – 2013 (and the new 2014-2020) programming period through a strong commitment by stakeholders to prepare the strategies at the LUR level. The strategic policy framework includes all relevant stakeholders and policy goals with horizontal participation / cooperation of different municipalities in LUR and sectors in a "soft" platform at the regional level. Inter-sectoral coordination body at the RDA LUR level with inclusion of public and private sector, professional bodies and consultants have been set up for policy formulation. Partnership-making experiences are important with the awareness of power balance between the City Municipality of Ljubljana with public transport bus company (own by the city of Ljubljana), national railway company, and at the other side between the mayors governing other LUR municipalities and other (private) transport providers in LUR - with a common view over the problems, and a consensus and capacity-building between stakeholders. RDA LUR has

provided access to information of public interest, information flow, use of traditional as well as online media, meetings and workshops sharing information, knowledge and development decisions to inform stakeholders and the general public.

One of the main territorial governance features in LUR is the coordination of different levels of decision-making through strategic policy platform at the RDA LUR as a partnership arrangement between various sectors, actors and existing policy instruments from different levels of government involved in the process - to reach agreements between the actors involved. It is concerned with both vertical and horizontal coordination: linking City Municipality of Ljubljana with other LUR municipalities through the RDA LUR (as a coordination body) and with central government (vertically) bringing together different sectoral interests concerned with spatial development and provision of public transport services (horizontally). Such multi-lateral initiatives are particularly useful in territories with complex but soft governance structures such as the LUR. These initiatives also require resources for implementation as well as bottom-up initiatives by LUR municipalities involving partners from private sector and civil society actors. While most of these initiatives do not have a lot of powers (i.e. small scale projects) they are able to influence decision-making processes and policy implementation by making recommendations to relevant bodies. The experience of using the EU funds for regional development purposes are equally important as well as involvement of stakeholders with territorial knowledge, and a knowledge transfer through participation of RDA LUR in different European applied research projects focusing on transport issues and polycentric spatial development.

Despite the efforts being made up to now, the national and sectoral strategies and policies in Slovenia are not very well linked to a "place-based approach" in the context of NUTS 3 regions – as yet – also due to the lack of complex regional spatial plans and the lack of institutionalised regional management authorities. Better adaptability is also needed, taking in consideration new trends / problems such as flooding or inadequate financial resources for implementation of projects due to budget constraints and economic and financial crisis in Slovenia since year 2008. There is also a significant difference between the tradition of strategic spatial and land use planning and the new regional programming and management activities in Slovenia. Nevertheless the coordination and cooperation aspects seem to be crucial for the successful implementation of regional development programmes and agreed projects through implementation of new municipal spatial plans in LUR despite the fact that until now only the City Municipality of Ljubljana and few other small municipalities in LUR have recently adopted the new municipal spatial plans. New regional programming activities are also producing the urgency of horizontal and vertical collaboration, created by an external pressure – availability of EU (and other) funds for implementation of projects at the local level.

The concept of institutional regional management incorporates few integrative ambitions concerning spatial and land use planning and regional

programming:

- to connect and combine different aspects of regional development, such as strategic, financial and land use planning (i.e. economic, social, environmental, etc...);
- to stress the need for external relationships between spatial planning, regional programming and other policy domains, such as transport, agriculture, housing, nature conservation and tourism, etc.
- the lack of administrative regions - as a starting point for stakeholders cooperation in crossing administrative (municipal) borders aiming at inter-municipal cooperation, inter-sectoral cooperation with new forms of regional management activities by regional development agencies.

The formulation and implementation of RDPs LUR has been possible due to a well-established procedure set up at the EU and national level. Previous experiences in particular those related to the spatial planning procedure in Slovenia play an important and positive role in terms of collaborative capacity building. Clear objectives on which it is possible to build – firstly, a shared consensus and, then a shared strategy represent another important good feature of the territorial governance process. In future the obstacles for the inter-municipal and sectoral cooperation in the daily operational work in regions together with monitoring will need to be implemented to evaluate whether the applied strategies, programmes and projects are really the successful solutions for regional development and “good territorial governance” in LUR.

In relation to the five dimensions of TANGO territorial governance approach – the concept of the non-administrative NUTS 3 (“soft”) regions in Slovenia helps to integrate relevant policy sectors and to co-ordinate the actions and actors in the multi-level interplay. This somehow addresses the place-based characteristics – but this is not enough in the long-term, without institutionalised regional management with territorial governance responsibilities at the “regional” and not only “inter-municipal” level.

8. Promoters and Inhibitors of Territorial Governance

Formulation and implementation of public transport policies in Ljubljana Urban Region (LUR)

Promoters:

- Awareness of the territory and acknowledgement of territorial potentials of LUR – as a European capital city region located in central Slovenia
- Political support to policy integration at the regional level for the benefits of the whole territory and implementation of inter-municipal projects
- Leadership skills and capacity of negotiation of (some) local (municipal) decision and policy-makers vis-à-vis the national level - especially at the City Municipality of Ljubljana

- Institutional capacity (qualified and experienced) staff at the City Municipality of Ljubljana and RDA LUR level
- Motivation and involvement of relevant public and private stakeholders in LUR and organizational routines of RDA LUR favouring cross-sector synergies at the regional level
- RDA LUR experience in complex and multi-annual regional programming activities
- Effective means of communication and information
- Co-production of knowledge, knowledge transfer to different LUR municipalities and stakeholders

Inhibitors:

- Involvement of different levels of government (EU /national / municipal) – but not regional
- Lack of structured institutional framework in LUR
- Limited use of existing territorial knowledge with sectoral rationale dominating among decision and policy makers in LUR
- Complexity of regional programming tools and a lack of financial autonomy of LUR
- Power struggles between stakeholders at different territorial levels (national / regional / local)
- Centralisation tendencies of stakeholders at the national level
- Ineffectiveness of existing spatial instruments
- Limited communication among stakeholders
- Weak civic actors involvement

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- Ministry of Agriculture and Environment of RS (www.mko.gov.si);
- Regional Development Agency of Ljubljana Urban Region (www.rralur.si);
- Surveying and Mapping Authority of the Republic of Slovenia (www.gu.gov.si);
- Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia (www.stat.si);

List of Interviewees:

Random list of Interviewees (To guarantee anonymity, the order of interviewees does not correspond with the alphabetical references in the text)

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- Ms Polona Demšar, *Directorate for Transport*, 15 January 2013;

Directorate for Spatial Planning:

- Mr Luka Ivanič and Mrs Barbara Radovan, Head / Deputy head, 31 January 2013;

- Mrs Lenča Helena Šolar, 18 December 2012;
- Mrs Margarita Jančič, 20 December 2012;
- Mr Damijan Uranker and Mr Mojmir Prelog, 19 December 2012;

Ministry of Economic Development and Technology of RS (www.mgrt.gov.si):

- dr Peter Wostner, Directorate for EU Cohesion Policy, 29 January, 2013;
- Mr Igor Strmšnik and Mrs Duška Radovan, Directorate for Regional Policy and European Territorial Cooperation, 30 January, 2013;

Regional level:

Regional Development Agency of Ljubljana Urban Region, RDA LUR
(www.rralur.si):

- Mrs Liliana Madjar, Director, 10 February 2013;
- Mr Matej Gojčič, Deputy director, 10 December 2012;
- *Regional Development Council of LUR* (unanimous decision - maker), 20 December 2012;
- Mr Bogdan Štepec, *Chambers of Commerce and Industry* (www.gzs.si):
Central Slovenian Chamber, Governing board, 8 February 2013;

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- Mr Miran Gajšek, Head, 13 December 2012; Mr Ivan Stanič, Deputy head, 13 December and 16 January 2013;

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- Mr Jože Dekleva (retired architect / spatial planner), NGO Ljubljana Biking Network, 1 February 2013;
- Prof. Emeritus Vladimir Braco Mušič, (retired architect / spatial planner), Urban Planning Institute of RS / University of Ljubljana, Biotechnical Faculty, Department of Landscape Architecture), 16 December 2012;
- Prof. dr. Andrej Pogačnik, (retired architect / spatial planner), University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Civil and Geodetic Engineering, Spatial Planning Chair, 21 January 2013.

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