

ESPO N TANGO – Territorial Approaches for New Governance

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1. The ESPON TANGO Approach

During the ESPON Open Seminar in Dublin on 13-14 June 2013 the ESPON community was continually reminded that the prevailing territorial trends and the need for resilience in light of the financial crisis make the role of territorial governance more central than ever.

The ESPON TANGO (Territorial Approaches to New Governance) project asserts that governance matters and territorial governance matters in order to achieve specific territorial development goals in the spirit of striving for territorial cohesion. But how, why and under which circumstances territorial governance matters varies considerably across Europe. Thus the question of distinguishing generalisable and transferable lessons for territorial governance processes is a challenging task, but one that can provide additional fuel to the Cohesion Policy debate.

One of the main objectives of the ESPON TANGO project is to compare and synthesize conclusions from 12 in-depth qualitative case studies of territorial governance throughout Europe. Based on a theory-driven, pragmatic and consensual definition and operationalization of territorial governance, the focus of the case studies is to understand how actors and institutions at different levels formulate and implement policies, programmes and projects to achieve a certain territorial goal that is aligned to the Europe 2020 strategy. Together with input from the exercise to develop a typology of territorial governance across Europe, we provide conclusions and empirical illustrations on not only how spatial planning and regulatory instruments are involved in territorial governance, but also how broader policy processes including the coordination of stakeholders and institutions, the integration of policy sectors, as cross-sectoral integration, stakeholder mobilisation, adaptive capacity, and realising territorial specificities and impacts, have contributed to 'good' territorial governance.

In the end we stress that comparability and transferability of territorial governance in Europe is not aimed at searching for 'one-size-fits-all' solutions, but rather at building an evidence-based set of opportunities for innovation in territorial governance practices at different levels/in different contexts.

The TANGO project thus delves deeply into the conceptualisation and re-conceptualisation of territorial governance as a means to operationalise the term for empirical case studies. The goal is to provide evidence of territorial governance processes to support future territorial development policies in general and Cohesion Policy in particular which improves regional competitiveness, social inclusion and sustainable and balanced growth of the European territory.

1.1 Organisation of the Project

The project looks at territorial governance in order to understand how related practices and institutions can provide added value to achieving territorial cohesion. The following main results are presented:

- Evidence on recent trends in organising and managing territorial development (for instance decentralisation, fusion of municipalities, etc.)
- Seeds to a typology of territorial governance in Europe
- A consensual and evidence-based operational working definition of ‘territorial governance’
- A practical framework to review, check and develop practices, routines, mechanisms, and structures within territorial governance based on 5 dimensions, 12 indicators and 20 components
- Examples of good territorial governance from a multi-level, multi-sectoral and multi-actor approach promoting territorial development and/or implementing Cohesion Policy and the main factors of success’
- Insights concerning barriers for territorial governance and ways of overcoming these barriers’
- Insight into current ‘good practices’ for territorial governance in Europe and their reasons for success in achieving territorial development objectives’
- Illustrations of the possible supporting role of spatial planning instruments and other instruments in good territorial governance
- A guide for practitioners, policy and decision makers building on the 12 in-depth case studies entitled ‘Towards Better Territorial Governance’

A point of departure for the ESPON TANGO project that has influenced the chosen research approach is that our research is crouched in the policy-given questions of the ESPON 2013 programme in general and the specific targets as an ‘applied research project’. Thus the project team has been given the mandate to address specific questions regarding how territorial governance matters in producing a territorial development outcome or following-up on a larger policy goal such as territorial cohesion. In this way the project team has been asked to distinguish some generalisable and transferable lessons on territorial governance and thus to provide fuel to the policy debate. Hence from the beginning the project-team had not only to consider territorial governance from an analytical perspective, but also to integrate a normative one, namely in terms of what constitutes ‘good’ territorial governance. This tightrope walk is also displayed by the research (RQ) and policy questions (PQ) in the specification of this applied research project:

- PQ1 How is multi-level and cross-sectoral territorial governance organised throughout Europe and what are the mechanisms to ensure coordination between different public sectoral policies and cooperation between different levels of public government (including neighbouring areas)?
- PQ2 What role can instruments of national and regional spatial planning systems play in creating better territorial governance? And what other effective models exist to obtain this aim? What happens if such instruments and models are not present?
- PQ3 What are the main lessons for future Cohesion Policy, i.e. how can Cohesion Policy encourage stronger and more efficient forms of territorial governance at the different scales?

Figure 1: Policy Questions to be addressed by the ESPON TANGO project

- RQ1 What are recent trends in organising territorial development (for instance decentralisation, fusion of municipalities, etc.)?
- RQ2 What are current good practices for territorial governance in Europe and why are they successful in achieving territorial development objectives?
- RQ3 What are good examples of territorial governance to promote territorial development and and/or implement Cohesion Policy? Which are the main factors of success?
- RQ4 What are barriers for territorial governance and how are they being overcome?
- RQ5 What role do and/or might spatial planning instruments and other instruments play in establishing good territorial governance?

Figure 2: Research Questions to be addressed by the ESPON TANGO project

The evidence-base for these questions is derived from a typology survey, a survey of the indicators of territorial governance and from a dozen case studies across Europe of territorial governance at play (see Annexes 1-12 for full case studies). Studies of governance and in particular multi-level governance of various subjects abound in the research fields of political science and spatial planning. Yet the majority of these efforts take an inductive approach, using methods such as constructing narratives and storylines around particular cases and components of governance. While the inductive approaches have contributed greatly to our understanding of the role that governance plays in achieving a certain outcome and confirming that governance matters, there remains a need to revisit the feedback loop by use of grounded theory, from the theoretical starting point that *governance matters* to generating hypotheses about *how*, *why* and *under which circumstances* it matters a little, a lot or not at all. This sort of reflection has in particular helped to meet the specific objectives of this project, namely to generalise current trends, to identify those governance practices which can be considered as being 'innovative' or 'good' and, finally, to discuss the extent of their transferability into other contexts.

In addition, the body of literature on ‘territorial’ governance is rather blurred, which can be certainly explained by the various notions that can be associated with the term ‘territory’ or related ones, such as space and place. Hence clear denotations are lacking, so that many contributions to the debate what territorial governance actually is (and how we can capture it) are left to develop their own notions (cf. the endeavours undertaken by Davoudi et al. 2008 drawing on experiences from the ESPON 2.3.2 project).

Consequently these case studies were carefully prepared and embedded in a larger research framework. The project-team first developed an operational working definition of territorial governance based on available approaches, findings and debates. Indeed this definition (see figure 1) has been revisited and slightly refined throughout the research process and has served to provide guidelines for the case study research; nonetheless it sets the tone and serves as an underlying framework from which the other research parts are unfolded, as well as a simple heuristic for how actors and institutions can consider territorial governance. As such, the definition itself, based on theoretical observations and evolved through in-depth discussions with the experts in the TPG, can be seen as a major output of the ESPON TANGO project. Closely linked with the definition and the aforementioned case studies is the development of a typology of territorial governance across Europe, a framework of principles and indicators for ‘good’ territorial governance, and, finally a framework for the identification and transferability of good territorial governance practices and policy options (cf. figure 3).

Territorial governance is the formulation and implementation of public policies, programmes and projects for the development* of a place/territory by

- 1) co-ordinating actions of actors and institutions,
- 2) integrating policy sectors,
- 3) mobilising stakeholder participation,
- 4) being adaptive to changing contexts,
- 5) realising place-based/territorial specificities and impacts.

We consider 1) to 5) as “dimensions” of territorial governance which provide added value to achieving territorial cohesion.

* We define development as the improvement in the efficiency, equality and environmental quality of a place/territory (in line with the Europe 2020 strategy).

Figure 3: The ESPON TANGO dimensions of Territorial Governance

Please note that since the Interim Report, we have exchanged the order of Dimensions 1 and 2. This is reflected in the Main Report and the Scientific Report, although the case studies (see Annex 1 to 12) still retain the original numbering.

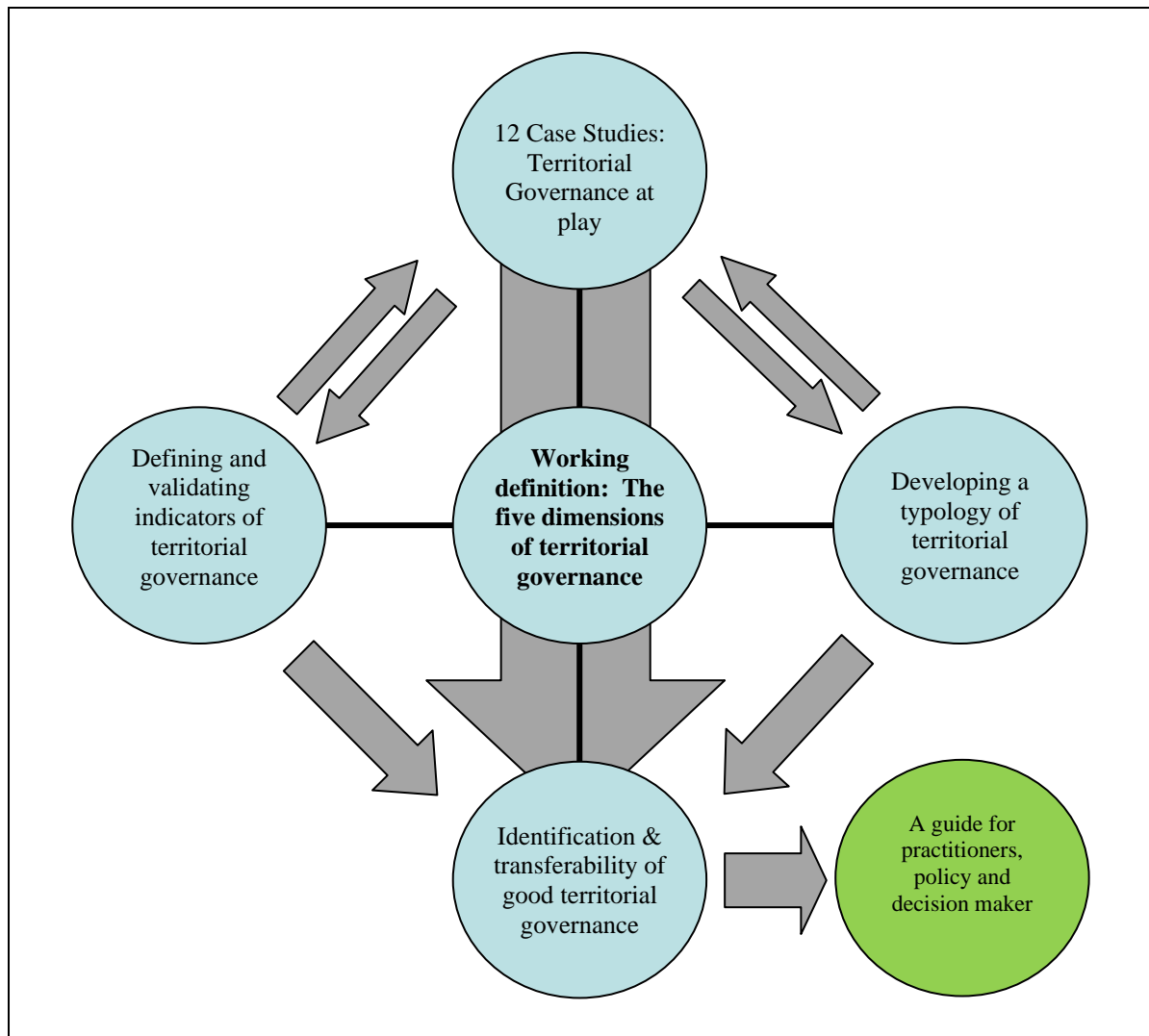


Figure 4: Main research components of the ESPON TANGO study

1.2 Theoretical underpinnings of territorial governance

The concept of territorial governance can be seen as a further elaboration of the more commonly accepted notions of ‘regular’ governance and multi-level governance (MLG) (see Scientific Report Chapter 1.2 for a literature review of governance, multi-level governance and territorial governance). Spurred on by the political debate on territorial cohesion, territorial governance can be seen as a means to achieve endogenous territorial development via the organization of new ‘constellations of actors, institutions and interests’ (Gualini 2008, 16). It can be thus understood as the policy, politics and administration of the territory – at local, regional, national and European levels. It deals with how the borders of jurisdictions are drawn, how functions are allocated, the extent of autonomy and how units are governed. It also concerns patterns of co-operation and collaboration, both between units of government and between governmental and non-governmental actors (Lidström 2007).

However there are varying ways of researching the concepts of governance, multi-level governance or 'territorial governance'. Taking stock of the scholarly efforts dealing with the governance of sustainable development, Jordan (2008) asserts that we are still in a state of 'creative disorder' about governance; while there is a wealth of research on governance, the concept is being used in very different ways - mainly as an *empirical phenomenon*, as *normative prescription* and as *theory*. With regard to sustainable development, Jordan shows how the former two ways of studying governance have been undertaken in recent years. On the one hand, empirical descriptions of governance have generally traced how various sustainability principles have been implemented. On the other hand, normative interpretations of governance have been concerned with elements of 'good' governance, in connection with the work of the OECD (2001a) or the EU White Paper. Van Kersbergen and van Waarden (2004,166) echo that a distinction can be made between empirical-analytical governance issues, that is, what is already happening, and why it is happening, and the normative evaluations of governance – namely, what should be done. Still there has been little empirically-based work that has attempted to both flesh out the concept and feedback into the theoretical debate.

There have nevertheless been a number of recent efforts to take the governance concept ahead by suggesting frameworks for concrete insights into a governance-related area. In pondering how the governance discourse can contribute with insights into spatial planning, Nuijss and Heinrichs (2011) propose four general governance-inspired categories for investigating spatial planning actions – actors, their relationships, institutions frameworks and decision-making processes. Harrison (2013) moves towards understanding territory and networks by looking at spatial strategies and sociological interactions. This is done using the case of North West England and asking if the 'fit between academic conceptualization and on-the-ground developments' is really so neat (Harrison 2013, 71)? We consider these as research efforts that are moving into the direction of grounded theory, or to put it plainly, into the nuts and bolts of how and why governance really matters.

If we then assert that governance matters and territorial governance matters in order to achieve specific territorial development goals and work towards territorial cohesion, we have to bear in mind that the issue is still under-researched in the emerging body of territorial governance literature. This applies in particular regarding in-depth analyses of *how*, *why* and *under which circumstances* territorial governance matters for a range of different types of territories. Hopefully the results of the ESPON TANGO project are a step in this direction.

2. Trends and Typologies of Territorial Governance

While various typologies of government and governance have been proposed in academic literature, few attempts have been made to develop typologies of territorial governance. Indeed, there is still much debate about what the concept of territorial governance implies. This is at least partly due to the fact that the concept of territorial governance is still relatively new and malleable: the concept is 'still undergoing maturation both of in terms of conceptualisation and active implementation' (CEMAT, 2006: p.8). Some commentators have even questioned whether the concept is distinct from the concept of multi-level governance or whether it is merely a synonym for spatial planning (Faludi, 2012). Other authors have argued that territorial governance can be seen as distinct from 'regular' forms of governance and multi-level governance (e.g. Stead, 2013; Davoudi et al, 2008) although there is of course substantial overlap between these concepts.

The differences in interpretations of what territorial governance means is not just related to the disciplinary standpoints of different authors. Varying interpretations may also be related to cultural differences and/or the level of decision-making under scrutiny. For example, Davoudi et al (2008) state that 'the meaning, approaches and effects of territorial governance are different at different territorial levels, even if there are consistant [sic] issues that define territorial governance actions (vertical and horizontal relations, involvement and participation, territorialisation)' (p.50). So, as in the case of 'regular' governance, notions and interpretations of territorial governance may vary between nations, and even within nations.

2.1 Comparing Governance Styles across Europe

As with the lack of specific interpretation of territorial governance, there currently exists no defining typology of territorial governance practices across Europe, although many 'government' and 'governance' typologies have been depicted. The vast majority of these typologies, according to Kickert (2007), are constructed around one of three criteria: (i) 'politics and society' (e.g. types of parliament, election systems, political parties, cultures, social movements, interest groups, etc.); (ii) 'state and government' (e.g. types of constitutions, governments, cabinets, parliaments, judiciary, etc.); or (iii) 'administration' (types of bureaucracies, politics-bureaucracy relations, organisation, recruitment, culture, etc.). Various authors speak of 'state traditions' or 'families' of states to distinguish between groups of countries (Loughlin, 2004). In their studies of welfare regimes, Castles (1998) and Esping-Anderson (1988) for example employed the notion of 'families' of countries. More closely related to the issue of territorial governance, the European Compendium of Spatial Planning Systems and Policies refers to traditions (or ideal types) of spatial planning (CEC, 1997). No attempt is made here to summarise these different typologies (reviews can be found elsewhere, such as Farinós Dasí et al, 2006; Lalenis et al, 2002; Tosics et al, 2010). Suffice it to say that, despite the existence of a range of different typologies of government and governance, none have been developed

specifically related to the key dimensions territorial governance that are considered in the TANGO project: 1) co-ordinating the actions of relevant actors and institutions, 2) integrating relevant policy sectors, 3) mobilising stakeholder participation, 4) being adaptive to changing contexts, and 5) addressing place-based/territorial specificities.

Comparison of various typologies of government and governance suggests some common patterns and state clusters (i.e. there are some similarities within each of the typology comparison tables) as well as differences between them. For example, the Nordic and Anglo-Saxon traditions often emerge as separate and distinct. Germanic states sometimes form part of a Napoleonic cluster but sometimes do not. Meanwhile, some countries occupy quite different places across different typologies (e.g. the Netherlands). Some state clusters are evident across the typologies of administrative traditions, welfare regimes and spatial planning (i.e. there are some similarities across all the typology comparison tables). Nadin and Stead (2008) have for example noted a close relation between typologies of welfare regimes and spatial planning systems, while Sellers and Lidström (2007) have identified a close relation between welfare regimes and local government typologies. Since many of the typologies were constructed before 2000, few of them include many (or any) central and eastern European countries. There is thus a knowledge gap about where these countries fit within many of the existing typologies. In addition, most of the typologies of government and governance are based on formal governmental arrangements, rather than governance arrangements where the power and influence of non-governmental actors are also considered.

Data from the World Bank's Worldwide Governance Indicators project¹ have been used here to determine governance profiles of all states in ESPON space (as well as all Balkan states). With the aid of hierarchical cluster analysis, six groupings or clusters of countries have then been identified in which governance indicators are most similar (see chapter 2.3 in Scientific Report).

- cluster I: Denmark, Finland, Luxembourg, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, The Netherlands
- cluster II: Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Iceland, Ireland, United Kingdom
- cluster III: Czech Republic, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia
- cluster IV: Cyprus, Estonia, Malta, Portugal, Slovenia, Spain
- cluster V: Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece, Italy, Montenegro, Romania
- cluster VI: Albania, Bosnia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Serbia

These six clusters clearly have various similarities with macro-regional groupings of countries found in comparative politics and public administration literature (e.g. Hendriks et al, 2010) but there are also some important differences. Cluster I for example contains all Nordic states, with the exception of Iceland, as well as a number of Rhinelandic states (i.e. Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Switzerland). Cluster II contains the other Rhinelandic states (Austria, Belgium, France and Germany) together with the two countries from the British Isles (Ireland and the United Kingdom) and also Iceland. Cluster III contains all four Visegrád states (Czech

¹ The Worldwide Governance Indicators are publicly available from www.govindicators.org.

Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia) and two of the three Baltic states (Latvia and Lithuania). In cluster IV, a number of southern European countries can be found (Cyprus, Malta, Portugal, Slovenia and Spain) as well as one of the Baltic states (Estonia). Cluster V contains two southern European states (Italy and Greece) together with four Balkan states (Bulgaria, Croatia, Montenegro and Romania). The other Balkan states can be found in cluster VI (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia and Serbia). At the two extremes, cluster I scores very highly according to most indicators whereas cluster VI scores only moderately across all indicators (Table 1).

With the exception of cluster VI, the ESPON TANGO case studies, as described in section 3.4, cover each of the other clusters to ensure that the project has an optimal spread of types of (territorial) governance styles.

Table 1: Profile of the six statistical clusters of countries according to average WGI scores (2010)

	Voice and accountability	Political stability & absence of violence	Government effectiveness	Regulatory quality	Rule of law	Control of corruption
Cluster I (CH, DK, FI, LU, NL, NO, SE)	<i>Very strong</i>	<i>Strong</i>	<i>Very strong</i>	<i>Very strong</i>	<i>Very strong</i>	<i>Very strong</i>
Cluster II (AT, BE, DE, FR, IE, IS, UK)	<i>Strong</i>	<i>Strong</i>	<i>Very strong</i>	<i>Strong</i>	<i>Very strong</i>	<i>Very strong</i>
Cluster III (CZ, HU, LT, LV, PL, SK)	<i>Strong</i>	<i>Strong</i>	<i>Strong</i>	<i>Strong</i>	<i>Very strong</i>	<i>Moderate</i>
Cluster IV (CY, EE, ES, MT, PT, SI)	<i>Strong</i>	<i>Strong</i>	<i>Strong</i>	<i>Strong</i>	<i>Strong</i>	<i>Strong</i>
Cluster V (BG, EL, HR, IT, ME, RO)	<i>Strong</i>	<i>Moderate</i>	<i>Moderate</i>	<i>Strong</i>	<i>Moderate</i>	<i>Moderate</i>
Cluster VI (AL, BA, KV, MK, RS)	<i>Moderate</i>	<i>Weak</i>	<i>Moderate</i>	<i>Moderate</i>	<i>Moderate</i>	<i>Moderate</i>

2.2 Depicting Key Patterns and Trends of National (Territorial) Governance Trends

In order to give evidence on the recent trends in organising and managing territorial governance, data from an online survey developed specifically for the TANGO project (see chapter 2.7 of the Scientific Report) have been used to trace some of the key trends in territorial governance across these clusters of countries, and to test

whether different approaches to tackling territorial policy issues can be identified in these clusters.

The survey questions were formulated to gather professional opinions from respondents concerning national trends (in time periods 1990-1999 and 2000-present) in territorial governance with particular focus on three specific policy areas – water management, urban and regional planning and public transport provision – and with emphasis on the issues examined in the OECD's territorial reviews². The survey questions were also formulated to collect information about national approaches to territorial governance according to the five key dimensions identified for analysis in the ESPON TANGO project (see above). The survey was aimed at policy officials, professional bodies and academics with an interest in territorial development and/or governance issues in Europe.

From the ESPON TANGO Survey a number of observations on national governance trends can be discerned. Many European countries have experienced noticeable shifts in government powers in relation to water management, urban and regional planning and/or public transport provision. Trends toward greater centralisation are apparent for some countries while trends in decentralisation are evident for others. Some policy sectors have experienced a complete 'pendulum shift' in certain countries: centralisation of government powers in the 1990s followed by decentralisation after 2000 (e.g. public transport provision in France and Latvia; water management in Hungary). More countries appear to have experienced centralisation of government powers than decentralisation. In general, urban and regional planning has experienced less decentralisation of powers when compared to policy sectors such as water management or public transport provision. The direction of these shifts in power does not seem to be related to the clusters of countries defined above.

As might be expected, *shifts in financial resources and fiscal responsibilities* in policy-making processes generally mirror the shifts in government powers described above. However, the two do not always follow each other. In some cases, there is a time lag between shifts in government powers and the reallocation of financial resources or fiscal responsibilities. In other cases, however, shifts have taken place in one but not in the other (e.g. a decentralisation of government powers but little or no decentralisation of financial resources or fiscal responsibilities, which is reported to have occurred in the case of water management in Denmark and public transport provision in Belgium). More countries have experienced shifts towards greater centralisation of financial resources and fiscal responsibilities than decentralisation.

² The OECD's territorial reviews examine governance frameworks in different countries on the basis of a series of key questions related to: (i) the distribution of responsibilities and powers among different tiers of government; (ii) the distribution of resources among different tiers of government; (iii) the negotiating process between central government and other government agencies and between public and private sector bodies; (iv) the use of partnerships with non-governmental organisations; (v) the effectiveness of programme management, implementation procedures and monitoring mechanisms; and (vi) the relations with community groups and the general public (OECD, 2001b :p.143-4).

Almost all countries in Europe experienced similar trends in terms of the *relations between national and sub-national governments* and between the public and private sectors. In the vast majority of cases, collaboration between different levels of government in policy-making processes increased in importance during the 1990s and/or the decade thereafter (2000-present). In all three policy sectors examined in the survey (water management, urban and regional planning and public transport provision), collaboration appears to have increased in importance.

Trends in the *contracting out (outsourcing) of 'traditional' government functions* in policy-making processes also seem to have been shifting in the same general direction: towards more contracting out, especially in the period 2000-present. Again, the nature of these shifts and the countries in which these shifts have taken place do not seem to be related to the clusters of countries defined above: the shifts are ubiquitous. The same is also true for trends in the use of public-private partnerships in policy-making. Across practically all European member states, public-private partnerships are increasingly used in water management, urban and regional planning and/or public transport provision. There appears to have been a strong increase in these partnerships in the period 2000-present in most countries.

The survey indicates a number of key trends in terms of how *community groups and the general public engage in policy-making*. First, the survey results highlight that citizens have generally become more concerned and involved in policy-making processes related to water management, urban and regional planning and/or public transport provision. Not only was there a noticeable trend where citizens became more concerned and involved in policy-making processes during the 1990s, further shifts in the same direction took place in many countries from 2000-present. These trends were very widespread and not confined to specific clusters of countries.

Similar trends are apparent when looking at the formal *inclusion of citizens in the design and implementation of policy* and at the influence of citizens on policy decisions. The survey responses indicate that citizens have generally been included more often in formal policy-making processes in the 1990s and the decade thereafter (from 2000 onwards), and that citizens have had more influence over policy decisions, especially since 2000. However, a few exceptions are reported. Respondents indicate that the influence of citizens (and citizens' groups) may have actually declined since 2000 in a small number of cases (e.g. urban and regional planning in Hungary and The Netherlands; water management and public transport provision in Poland).

2.3 Examining the Importance of 'Territory' and other Dimensions of Governance

As discussed above the second task set to the ESPON TANGO survey was to test whether different approaches to tackling territorial policy issues can be identified in these clusters. Considering the responses firstly as a whole, the levels of importance attached to the five key dimensions of territorial governance do not widely differ

according to the clusters of countries identified above. Nevertheless, a few differences are apparent. Overall, Dimension 5 (addressing place-based/territorial specificities) is generally considered more important than the other dimensions while Dimension 4 (being adaptive to changing contexts) is often considered to be the least important. The rank order of these dimensions varies to some degree in different policy situations and scales of intervention (see chapter 2.5 in Scientific Report). The overall rankings of dimensions are generally similar across different clusters of countries although the scores given to each dimension do show some variation across clusters. In general, higher scores are given by respondents in country clusters I and II, while lower scores are given in country clusters III and V.³ Expressing this in terms of socio-political macro-regions, higher scores on each of the dimensions are often given by respondents in the Nordic and Rhinelandic states and the British Isles, while lower scores are generally given by respondents in the Southern European, Visegrád and Balkan states (and scores in the Baltic states were close to the overall average). It is also noticeable that dimensions 1 and 2 (coordinating the actions of relevant actors and institutions; integrating relevant policy sectors) are given especially high scores in Cluster I.

The typical levels of importance attached to five key dimensions of territorial governance obtained from the survey have been compared against the findings of ESPON project 2.3.2 (Governance of Territorial and Urban Policies), particularly the assessment of the importance of different governance objectives (openness, transparency, participation, effectiveness, horizontal coordination, accountability, vertical coordination, decentralization, and coherence) across Europe's member states. This provides a useful means of triangulating the data since various governance objectives examined in ESPON project 2.3.2 have clear links with the key dimensions of territorial governance identified in the ESPON TANGO project. Our analysis suggests that the importance of the governance objectives identified in ESPON project 2.3.2 does not closely correspond to the survey results presented above.

As a relatively new concept, territorial governance is notoriously difficult to 'measure' empirically in a European-wide survey, especially at sub-national levels. Thus to address the gap between the national trends and governance styles and territorial governance processes at multi-levels we develop the 12 ESPON TANGO case studies designed to provide an understanding of how actors and institutions at different levels formulate and implement policies, programmes and projects to achieve a certain territorial goal, as discussed in the next chapter.

³ Very little can be reported about the scores for Cluster VI due to low levels of response from the countries contained in this grouping.

3. The ESPON TANGO framework for exploring territorial governance

The working definition of territorial governance has served as the central theoretical framework from which we have studied territorial governance processes at work, as well as a major contribution of the ESPON TANGO report. Hence the point of departure has been to bring together various notions and keystones from the literature with regard to what is perceived as being (most) essential and inherent in the concept of territorial governance. As a starting point we took inspiration from Davoudi et al (2008, 352-353), who claim that territorial governance implies both horizontal and vertical coordination and can be described, analysed and evaluated by looking at three broad types of factors: (i) the structural context, (ii) the policies of the institutional realm, and (iii) the results and processes of actions, programmes and projects for territorial cohesion.

We then considered territorial governance as the organization of new 'constellations of actors, institutions and interests' (Gualini 2008, 16) and the emerging patterns of co-operation and collaboration, both between units of government and between governmental and non-governmental actors (Lidström 2007). In view of governance practices, the question arises as to how the entire policy chain will be influenced (from the formulation to the implementation of public policies, programmes and projects for the development of a place/territory). Here the question of integration of relevant policy sectors and the coordination of such actors, in particular in a multi-level perspective becomes evident.

A key dimension of territorial governance has been identified based on the claim that has been particularly expressed in the spatial planning literature since the late 1980s (cf. Healey 1997 for this body of literature) - namely that of participation, partnership and inclusion of relevant stakeholders (including civil society). Hence to mobilise stakeholder participation and thus activate 'their' specific knowledge interests in the formulation and implementation of public policies, programmes and projects for the development of a place or territory has often been considered as an approach to attenuate democratic deficits that may be inherent due to the given institutional environment.

In addition, we then addressed the recent debate around the concept of resilience of social systems and their adaptability to changing contexts (e.g. economic crisis, natural disasters). The level of adaptability is inevitably dependent on the ability to self-organise and learn. In this sense, according to Gupta et al. (2010), 'adaptive institutions' can encourage learning among the actors by questioning the socially embedded ideologies, frames, assumptions, roles, rules and procedures that dominate problem-solving efforts. Maru (2010) notes in this context that the capacity to self-organise and adapt are shared properties of social (and ecological) systems, but 'learning' is an essential human (and thus individual) capability. We thus integrate both institutional and individual learning into our framework,

By incorporating the latter two perspectives (adaptability to changing contexts and mobilising stakeholder participation) in our working definition, we are fully aware of the fact that we are entering a kind of grey zone between a pure analytical understanding of governance and a more prescriptive-normative one as these also constitute criteria of what one could define as good (territorial) governance. Unsurprisingly, we can trace these two in particular in programmatic policy documents such as the EU White Paper on Governance from 2001 (CEC, 2001) or various reports issued by the UN Habitat, e.g. in 2002 or 2009 (UN Habitat, 2002; 2009).

Finally, as discussed earlier, the lack of further specification of the notion of territory is often absent in the literature. Jordan (2008, 21) pronounces in his critical account of contemporary conceptualisations of 'governance' that "in fact, its lack of geographical specificity has allowed scholars operating at totally different spatial scales - international, national, and/or subnational - or even across many scales [...], to use it. This ability to 'bridge' disciplines and distinct areas of study has undoubtedly boosted the popularity of governance (van Kersbergen and van Waarden, 2004), but has also contributed to the lack of precision noted above." These deficits and their effects in particular need to be tackled, since the policy debate has shown us that place and territory matter. Therefore our research approach is sensitive about the extent to which place-based/territorial specificities and components are addressed within territorial governance practices. It should be emphasised that we consider territory and/or place as social constructs that are not necessarily limited by jurisdictional boundaries.

It should also be reiterated that that we define 'development' as the improvement in the efficiency, equality and environmental quality of a place/territory in line with the Europe 2020 strategy. This is to ensure that our research is topical, aligned to future EU Cohesion Policies and, finally, that we share a somewhat similar idea about the 'what' in territorial development and related territorial governance practices.

3.1 Defining and refining indicators of territorial governance

In the Interim Report a set of 10 indicators were suggested based on an extensive review of the relevant literature (see also chapter 3.1 in Scientific Report). Following a further literature review and work on the typologies (see chapter 2), the TPG agreed to add two additional indicators (cross-sector synergy and territorial knowledge and impacts) and revised a number of the other indicators. As such they are, at least theoretically, to a high degree related to the various dimensions as table 2 and the text boxes below suggest. In section 4 we will discuss to what extent the indicators do link together the five dimensions based on the empirical evidence from our 12 case studies.

Following table 2, the text boxes (labelled as figure 5) provide a short definition of both the dimensions and the respective indicators of territorial governance.

Table 2: Overview of the five dimensions and 12 indicators of territorial governance

Dimensions of territorial governance	Indicators for assessing performance of territorial governance
Co-ordinating actions of actors and institutions	Governing Capacity
	Leadership
Integrating policy sectors	Subsidiarity
	Public Policy Packaging
	Cross-Sector Synergy
Mobilising stakeholder participation	Democratic Legitimacy
	Public Accountability
	Transparency
Being adaptive to changing contexts	Reflexivity
	Adaptability
Realising place-based/ territorial specificities and impacts	Territorial relationality
	Territorial knowledgeability

Dimension 1: Coordinating actions of actors and institutions

This dimension reflects how coordination of actions is managed and how competencies are distributed at various territorial levels.

Indicator 1.1: Governing Capacity

Governing capacity is a key pre-requisite for effective coordination of the actions of multiple and diverse actors in particular places/territories. It is about the ability to: a) organise, deliver and accomplish; b) review, audit, check and balance; and c) integrate additional platforms/forums. It therefore requires access to human, financial and intellectual resources.

Indicator 1.2: Leadership

Leadership is about oversight, vision and the ability to secure stakeholders' participation and ownership of the place-specific goals. It is about the ability to drive change, show direction and motivate others to follow. Leadership may be performed by individual actors or institutions. It can be concentrated or diffused among the actors collectively.

Indicator 1.3: Subsidiarity

Subsidiarity is about ensuring decisions are made at the territorial level which is as close to citizens as strategically and practically possible, while taking into account the multi-level nature of territorial governance.

Dimension 2: Integrating policy sectors

Integrating policy sectors means how linkages are made among different policy sectors (such as land use and transport) and how potential synergies are developed among public, private and civil society sectors.

Indicator 2.1: Public Policy Packaging

Policy packaging is about bringing together public policies that are generated at different government levels (international, national, regional and local) and that benefit places/territories. It is about collaboration to avoid conflicting and competing public policies where for example planning policies are promoting compact city while taxation policies are promoting sprawl and transport policies are focusing on road building.

Indicator 2.2: Cross-Sector Synergy

Cross-Sector Synergy is about seeking horizontal cross-fertilisation between public, private and civil society sectors, so that they work in favour of a particular place/territory.

Dimension 3: Mobilising Stakeholder participation

Mobilising stakeholder participation includes how stakeholders are given insight into the design of territorial governance processes and/or opportunity for shaping them.

Indicator 3.1: Democratic Legitimacy

Democratic legitimacy is about ensuring that relevant interests are represented and given voice in place-based / territorial governance processes. Legitimacy can be secured through representative democracy (as in government) and through participative democracy (as in governance). The latter is not replacing the former but is complementing it.

Indicator 3.2: Public Accountability

Public accountability is about ensuring that those being responsible are accountable to the public for making place-based decisions that affect their lives.

Indicator 3.3: Transparency

Transparency is about ensuring that the composition, procedures, and tasks of territorial governance are open and visible to the public. It is about opening the “black box” of territorial governance to make its substance and procedures informative, accessible and comprehensive to the public.

Dimension 4: Being adaptive to changing contexts

This dimension takes into account how the responsiveness of territorial governance to changing contexts is implemented by various learning and feedback mechanisms.

Indicator 4.1: Reflexivity

Reflexivity is about social learning. It is about the ability to reflect on, review and revise the territorially specific ideas, routines, instruments, inputs, outcomes and processes in the face of new information, opportunities, and threats arising from both endogenous and exogenous factors. It refers both to individuals acting as reflective practitioners and to territorial governance as a whole.

Indicator 4.2: Adaptability

Adaptability is about flexibility and resilience in the face of territorial change / crisis and seeking opportunities for transformation through the use of feedback and reviews in territorial governance routines.

Dimension 5: Realising place-based/territorial specificities and impacts

Place/territory is a social construct and is not necessarily limited by jurisdictional boundaries, thus this dimension considers the various overlapping notions of place/territory and the management of knowledge about place-related/territorial characteristics and impacts.

Indicator 5.1: Territorial Relationality

Territorial relationality is about acknowledging that place/territory is a social construct. Actors should be able to address the territorial scale of governance in relation to the issues at hand. An example is using a network approach to governance for matching the purpose and objective of the intervention and the interests of those who have a stake in the decision(s).

Indicator 5.2: Territorial Knowledgeability

Place-related/territorial knowledge and impacts is about utilizing multiple sources of knowledge, including local knowledge about the place/territory. It is about dealing with the territorial impacts of policies, programmes and projects on place/territory.

Figure 5: Short description of the five dimensions and the 12 indicators of territorial governance

3.2 Validation of the indicators of territorial governance

These 12 indicators then formed the basis of a Delphi Survey (see chapter 3.5 and 3.7 of the Scientific Report) which tested their validity as to relevance and practicality with an expert panel from policy and academic communities during the autumn of 2012.

Results from Round 1 (September 2012)

The first round of the Delphi survey involved the development of the 12 indicators of territorial governance. This was carried out as a workshop exercise during the TANGO Partners meeting in Ljubljana. This revised the initial 10 indicators, which were outlined in the Interim Report, and agreed that two additional indicators being added. The Delphi Survey was then piloted with the ESPON Coordination Unit to test the legibility of the questionnaire and to check how long it took to complete.

Results from Round 2 (October 2012)

As outlined above, the round two questionnaires contained the 12 indicators of territorial governance developed by the TANGO partners during Round 1 of the Delphi Method. This was sent to a panel of approximately 80 experts. Once the results of the first round were analysed it was clear that overall there was strong agreement that the indicators were relevant for “measuring” territorial governance. The picture was a little less clear as to whether they offered a practical method of assessing territorial governance.

For the relevance of the indicators, as can be seen from the figure 3, in all but one case the mean value was above 7 and the median value higher than 8 showing that more than half the experts strongly agreed that the indicator was relevant in assessing territorial governance. This shows a high level of agreement with the proposition that each indicator is a relevant indicator of the performance of territorial governance in relation to its relevant dimension.

There was less support for the proposition that the indicators are practical means of assessing territorial governance. Three indicators: Public Policy Packaging, Governing Capacity and Leadership, had very low scores indicating a high level of disagreement with the proposition that they were practical indicators of the performance of territorial governance. Two indicators: Democratic Legitimacy and Transparency, showed the strongest agreement for the proposition. For the remaining indicators there was no strong feeling either way.

The comments made by the expert panel suggested the reason for the low scores in relation to the indicator’s practicality related to the problem of measurement. The indicators had been taken to be quantitative indicators and the experts struggled to imagine ways each indicator could be measured by a quantitative indicator.

Summary results from Round 3 (November 2012)

The third round questionnaire contained both the statistical information about the relevance and practicality of each of the indicators. The third round survey also

included a synthesis of the comments and a note about the meaning of practicality. As outlined above, it was clear from the comments given in round two that many of the experts had equated practicality with quantifiability. In the notes for the second round survey it was made clear that practicality could include, and more often would involve, a qualitative assessment of a particular indicator.

As can be seen in table 3 the scores for practicality either increased or stayed the same in Round 3. Overall it was only 'governing capacity' and 'leadership' that had median scores below 5 indicating that more than half of the participants disagree or strongly disagree that these are practical indicators of good territorial governance. Looking at the comments, the main concerns are with the ability of the indicators to be practical indicators of territorial governance given the subjectivity of the indicators and any methods of evaluation. Leadership and governing capacity in particular were felt to be very context specific and culturally based.

In terms of the scores for relevance, only three of the median scores changed with only Leadership having a lower score than round two. In terms of the mean scores, these only changed by less than 1 whole point in all cases. For all indicators there was still very strong support for the proposition that the 12 indicators are relevant indicators of territorial governance.

Table 3: Scores for each indicator from the two expert rounds

Indicator	Relevance score				Practical Score			
	R1	R2	R1	R2	R1	R2	R1	R2
1) Governing Capacity	8.1	8.0	8.5	9	4.7	5.0	3.5	4
2) Leadership	7.9	8.0	8.5	8	4.7	4.7	4	4
3) Subsidiarity	7.1	7.1	8	8	5.8	6.4	6	7
4) Public Policy Packaging	7.8	7.7	8	8	5	5.1	4	5
5) Cross-Sector Synergy	7.6	8.0	8	8	5.8	6.0	6	6
6) Democratic Legitimacy	7.5	7.4	8	8	6.1	6.6	7	7
7) Public Accountability	8.4	8.0	8	8	6.1	6.1	5	6
8) Transparency	7.9	8.3	9	9	7.2	7.6	8	8
9) Reflexivity	7.8	7.6	8	8	5.6	5.7	4	6
10) Adaptability	6.8	7.7	8	8	5.2	6.3	5	6
11) Territorial Relationality	7.3	7.0	7	7	5.7	6.1	5.5	6
12) Territorial Knowledgeability	8.5	8.3	8.5	9	6.6	6.9	6.5	7

Measure increased	
Measure stayed the same	
Measure decreased	

Sample size round 1: n= 22

Sample size round 2: n= 9

Conclusions

Overall the results of the Delphi questionnaire have given support for both the relevance of the 12 indicators of territorial governance developed by the ESPON TANGO project. In the final round of the expert survey all 12 indicators had mean and median scores above 7 indicating strong agreement. The results for the proposal that the 12 indicators were practical indicators of territorial governance were less conclusive. A number of the indicators had mean and median scores at around the mid-point indicating there was some uncertainty on the part of the expert panel as to whether the indicators offered a practical solution to the issue of 'measuring' territorial governance.

The concern was also expressed in the comments made by the expert panel. The main source of the concern in relation to both the relevance and practicality of the indicators was their perceived subjectivity. A number of times the experts expressed doubts as to whether the indicators could offer a comprehensive and universal measure of territorial governance which could be used in a range of social, cultural and administrative situations. This concern was partly rooted in a general misapprehension of the nature of the indicators. Most of the expert panel seemed to equate practical with quantitative. It was not the intention of the ESPON TANGO project partners to create a set of quantitative indicators as would normally be associated with a post-hoc evaluation of territorial governance. As part of the feedback from the first round, the expert panel was given more details as to the nature of the indicators. In particular they were given further information about the need for both quantitative and qualitative measures to be used. This did have an effect in the second round with the scores for practicality either increasing or staying the same. However for a number of indicators: Public Policy Packaging, Governing Capacity and Leadership the mean and median scores were still at or below 5 indicating more than half of the expert panel did not agree with the proposal that these indicators were practical indicators for assessing territorial governance.

The indicators were intended to feed into the development of both qualitative and quantitative methods for assessing good (and bad) territorial governance. The indicators themselves are a conceptual framework upon which such assessments can be developed. This in part could be done through the adaptation of current methods for assessing the success of governance in other situations. Tools such as the Territorial Impact Assessment developed by the ESPON EATIA (ESPON EATIA 2012) project and the 'Scorecard for monitoring Multi-level Governance' as developed by EIPA and the Committee of the Regions (EIPA/Committee of the Regions 2011) could form part of a comprehensive system of indicators for analysing territorial governance.

The second finding from the Delphi survey was the interrelatedness of the indicators. In many of the comments from the expert panel mention was made of other indicators. This again highlights the difference of the approach taken in the ESPON TANGO project. Each of the indicators is not intended, and indeed will not work, as a standalone indicator. The development of the indicators stands alongside the other elements of the ESPON TANGO project to produce a holistic approach to develop and assess new approaches to territorial governance. Whilst the indicators were developed to fit within the five dimensions of territorial governance, as was pointed out by a number of experts, the indicators could be taken as cross-cutting indicators relating to all five dimensions. Taking an indicator as a cross-cutting indicator and removing its relationship from the five dimensions of territorial governance risks overlooking the source of that element of governance. As the aim of the indicators is to focus on the process of governance rather than its outcomes, the source of territorial governance is important. This may be the situation of all indicators are disconnected from the aspect of territorial governance which generated them. It may be the case that some of the indicators have a relationship to a second dimension. This may need to be reflected in future iterations of the indicators. It was already the

case that the indicator subsidiarity shifted from being an indicator for Dimension 5: 'Realising place-based/territorial specificities and impacts' to Dimension 2: 'Coordinating actions of multiple actors', during the course of the project. The results of the case studies also reiterated the practical inter-relatedness of the indicators.

3.3 Case study methodology

The 12 case studies in the ESPON TANGO project (see Annexes 1-12) have been designed to provide an understanding how actors and institutions at different levels formulate and implement policies, programmes and projects to achieve a certain territorial goal. They have been conducted by the all six partners of the project (two cases each). The main intention has been to identify some of the barriers to 'good' territorial governance processes, routines, structures or mechanisms and to determine how these barriers might be overcome. Hence the case studies were expected to provide empirical insights into how territorial governance 'works' in a number of different contexts.

The case studies were built on a two-stage approach. The first can be called a more explorative 'process tracing phase' which was basically based on desk research (between January and May 2012). The central goal of the first stage was to not only build up an initial narrative of the processes, but more importantly, to 'trace' our initial hypotheses about the five dimensions of territorial governance. To what extent do they work as a reasonable framework to capture territorial governance? How distinctive are the pre-defined dimensions in each case? To what extent are they intertwined with each other? As a result each of the 12 cases has provided a preliminary description/analysis of the five dimensions of territorial governance that was grounded in the specific background and context of the cases.

The second and more in-depth stage took place between November 2012 and April 2013 and included 8 to 12 interviews with key informants (via telephone as well as face-to-face interviews and/or focus groups) for each case study. Here the five dimensions as well as the twelve indicators of territorial governance were further explored to 'trace' our initial hypotheses by carving out in particular the various practices, routines or even critical views within each case study's specific territorial and institutional context. To guide this stage the five dimensions and twelve indicators were de-constructed into a total of 42 core questions in a systematic 'Case Study Guidelines' document (see chapter 4.3 of the Scientific Report). The questions were also partly designed to investigate the extent to which the various dimensions and indicators are intertwined. Based on the results of the case studies, a number of 'features' of territorial governance were then extracted from each case study in order to consider to what extent they are either *promoters* or *inhibitors* with regard to achieving a certain territorial development goal (as defined in the policy, programme or project at hand). These include innovative practices of achieving novel results, as well as how certain barriers have (or have not) been overcome. The features identified in each case study have been further compared and explored regarding their transferability in chapter 6 (see also chapter 7 in Scientific Report) and in the Guide for practitioners, policy and decision makers.

Whereas the ‘features’ have a more ‘normative’ function indicating some lessons for designing territorial governance, the ‘components of territorial governance’ (see below) that have been also distilled from the case studies are more of objective character, since they are derived from our theoretical and conceptual framework. They link together most of the central components of the five dimensions and the 12 indicators. As such, they are related in particular to the observed practices, routines, but also mechanisms and partly structures of territorial governance. In total 20 components were thus expected to help us to analyse and synthesise the outcomes of the case study research and to critically re-visit the five dimensions of territorial governance.



Figure 6: The 20 components of territorial governance as a framework for synthesising the 12 case studies

The 20 components (see figure 7 above) are inevitably intertwined in our five dimensions in general and the 12 indicators of territorial governance in particular. They have helped us to focus on the *who*, *what* and *how* aspects of territorial governance. In other words, the final reports from the 12 case studies have been carefully analysed for extracting the essence in regard to the below listed 20 components. After that the results for each component have been synthesized in order to provide a concise, but evidence-informed summary of the 12 case studies.

This ESPON TANGO research framework, as summarised below (see Figure 8), is based on a number of steps of analysis, reflection, discussion, de-construction and reconstruction. It aims to guarantee both high scientific quality as well as a high degree of comparability. Nonetheless, the ESPON TANGO project suggests that the five dimensions and the 12 indicators, and particularly (some) of the 42 core questions and 20 components can also be helpful for practitioners, policy and decision makers at various levels (see also chapter 8). They could be used as control questions or check points in particular for those who review, organise, manage or want to initiate territorial governance processes.

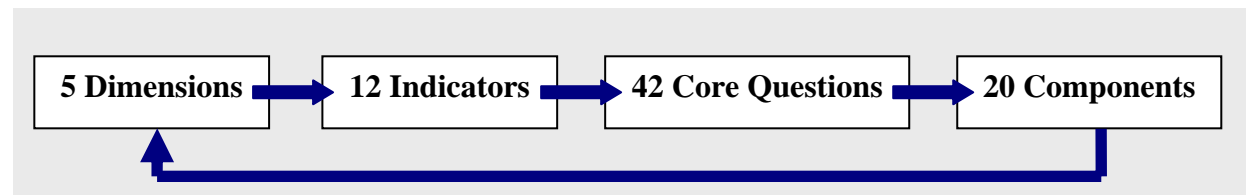


Figure 7: The ESPON TANGO research framework in a nutshell: De-constructing and reconstructing territorial governance

3.4 Introduction to the case studies

The policies, programmes and projects analysed by the 12 case studies are all relatively recent in (from around 2000 until the present). This is to ensure the topicality of studying the territorial governance processes at play within the cases. On the other hand, all cases were chosen on the grounds that territorial governance processes had progressed sufficiently far that it was possible to discern some interesting components and to inform the various indicators and dimensions of territorial governance.

A number of territorial policy areas are addressed in the case studies. These include transportation and mobility infrastructure, climate change, economic development, water management, land use planning, cultural development and the environment. Furthermore the topics covered by the case studies ensure a good balance of territorial governance aspects in regards to the Europe 2020 goals for smart, inclusive and sustainable growth.

Nearly all of the cases address some aspect of 'bottom-up' territorial governance, where the impetus of territorial development has taken place and been evaluated at local and/or regional level. This is particularly evident in the case studies such as those looking at resource efficiency in urban planning in Stockholm, the coordination of land-use and transport planning in the Randstad, as well as city-regional and neighbourhood governance in the UK. Finally, the analysed territorial governance challenges included developing territorial strategies involving multiple governance levels and involving multiple sectors; the challenges of horizontal governance, with a focus on competing sectoral interests; promoting engagement among a range of

actors, particularly in promoting bottom-up initiatives; coordinating activities between multiple jurisdictions on issues such as transportation and water management; and vertical and horizontal policy integration.

The case studies include several cases from Southern Europe that have a focus on the Western Mediterranean and the Southern Alps. From Central and Eastern Europe, case studies have focused on Pecs (Hungary) and Ljubljana (Slovenia) in addition to a wider study on the Management of Structural Funds in Central-Eastern Europe involving Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and Romania. Further, the Baltic Sea Region (BSR) case dealing with climate change adaptation as part of a macro-region covers parts of Eastern, Central and Northern Europe. Another case study from Northern Europe features resource efficiency in Stockholm, while others cover parts of Northwestern Europe, such as two cases from England and two involving the Netherlands, whereas one of them also integrates parts of Germany. The case studies represent all of the established statistical clusters (with the exception of cluster VI) based on average WGI scores and shown in chapter 2 of the typology exercise, as referred to earlier in table 1.

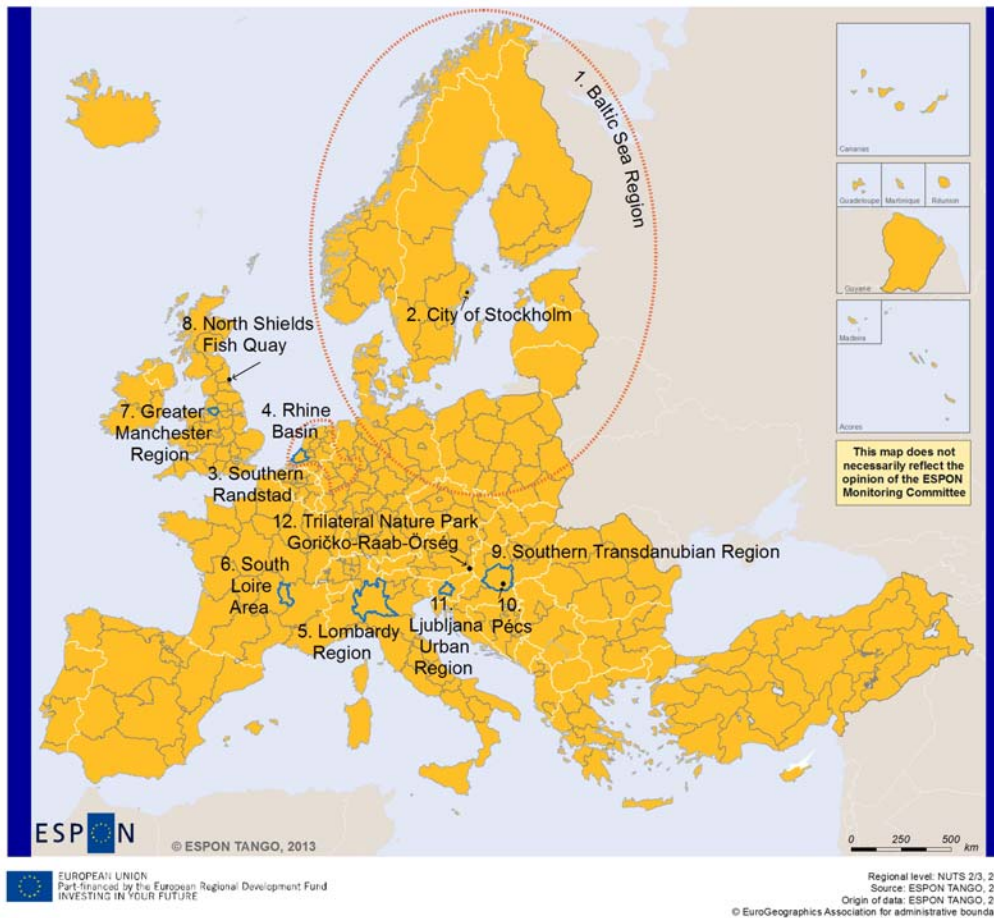
Table 4: ESPON TANGO case studies (see Annexes 1-12)

1	A Climate Change Adaptation Strategy for the Baltic Sea Region
2	Territorial Governance to achieve resource efficient urban development in Stockholm: good practices without consistency?
3	Integration between public transport and urban development in the metropolitan region of Rotterdam-The Hague
4	Cross-border Cooperation in the River Rhine Basin
5	Target-based Tripartite Agreement among European Commission, Italian government and Lombardy Region
6	The territorial governance process within the South Loire Schéma de Cohérence Territoriale (SCOT)
7	Reinventing regional territorial governance - Greater Manchester Combined Authority
8	Is small really beautiful? Neighbourhood Planning in the UK, North Shields Fish Quay
9	Building Structural Fund Management systems. Learning by doing or imitating?
10	The ECC Pécs Project and the challenges of territorial governance
11	Public transport strategies in Ljubljana Urban Region (LUR)
12	Governance of natural areas in the Alpine Adriatic area: Trilateral Nature Park Goričko-Raab-Őrség

The territorial scope of the case studies has ranged from the sub-municipal level, in North Shields, England through the municipal, intra-municipal and metropolitan levels, including Pecs, Hungary and Saint Etienne, France, in addition to those territories mentioned above. Cross border processes are also explored through the case on Cross-border river management: Rhine River Basin and the case dealing with the Governance of Natural Spaces in the Alpine-Adriatic Area. National level policies and regulations coloured at least some aspects of nearly all cases. Finally, the Baltic Sea Region case offers an example of macro-regional efforts of territorial governance in Europe.

Each case study report (Annexes 1-12) has been contextualised as a ‘stand alone’ report. Hence each case as such and the empirically-informed findings have been edited in a way that they are (hopefully) understandable for the reader without reading other parts of the Final or Scientific Reports.

ESPON TANGO CASE STUDY AREAS MAIN TERRITORIAL FOCUS



- 1. Case study area number
- Case study area, small
- Soft territories defined by functional or other criteria
- Hard territories defined by jurisdictional boundaries
- NUTS 2 region boundaries

Map 1: ESPON Tango case study areas main territorial focus

4. Evidence-based synthesis from the case studies

As the case studies were finalized, it was possible to draw some generalisations in the analysis of the results. Although a goal of the ESPON TANGO project is to illuminate particular 'good practices' of territorial governance, has been primarily done in the 'Guide for practitioners, policy and decision makers' (see also chapter 6). In the analysis here we conversely try to find the commonalities in an evidence-informed synthesis of the dimensions of territorial governance. To do this we briefly stepped away from the chosen indicators and, as mentioned in section 3.3, focused rather on the more integrated set of 20 components that are representative of the structural and process-oriented facets of territorial governance.

Dimension 1: Coordinating actions of actors and institutions

1) *Distributing power across levels*

Power relationships are seldom symmetrical in any territorial governance situation, particularly those involving several administrative levels of government or governance. Within the case studies we see a distinction between **distribution of formal power** (governmental rights and responsibilities) and **informal power** (structures and processes for influencing the decision-making process outside of statutory mandates). In the cases involving transnational or cross-border actors much of the power exercised was of a **normative** character, rather than **regulatory**. But also in the local and intra-regional cases, a distinction could be made between normative and regulatory power, with most cases of territorial governance involving a mixture of both. The territorial components of the case may also dictate power relations; for instance in questions of water or river governance, an 'upstream' territory may have more muscle to influence governance processes than a 'downstream' territory. In an intra-regional or intra-municipal setting, the largest city or region generally has a greater chance of dictating the agenda than does a smaller settlement in the area.

2) *Distinguishing modes of leadership*

The modes of leadership varied across case study areas. **Clear leadership** was a characteristic of the more successful cases of territorial governance, regardless of whether the leadership was formal, informal or even shifting. In the same vein, clear leadership appeared to be a contributing factor to the success of other dimensions of territorial governance, in particular cross-sectoral integration. In the 'softer' spaces, **consensus among actors** characterised the main mode of decision-making, facilitated by transparent leadership. Several of the 'unsuccessful' cases were marked by leadership which was unclear, opaque or contested. In a few cases, especially those in more centralised countries, national authorities claimed more top-down power in the issue at the cost to the formal leaders at local or regional level.

3) *Structures of coordination*

All of the cases involved a wide array of actors and institutions on various levels, which indeed justifies the need for some type of territorial governance. The main way of coordinating actors and institutions, at the local, regional, national or supra-national levels, was by **organising forums, conferences and workshops** where actors on all levels and sectors could meet and discuss the actions that they are currently taking for the territorial goal at hand. These workshops could be institutionalised as part of a project or administrative structure or organised on an ad hoc basis. However the various forums were not organised solely to coordinate actors and institutions, but generally had the goal to scope out the current knowledge base, identify technical solutions or explore various courses of action. In fact, we see that in the less successful cases, while the structures for coordinating actors and institutions were put in place, they had no real 'bite' in the end as the **territorial goal or outcome** was not sufficiently specified. In a few cases, the coordination of actors and institutions occurred behind closed doors and was not an explicit process. Most cases showed that there is always a risk in forums organised to gather all relevant actors and interests that important stakeholders are neglected or forgotten, or that it is only those with sufficient financial and capacity resources to attend such a forum.

4) *Dealing with constraints to coordination*

The constraints to coordination among administrative levels tend to be both built into certain governance systems and/or unintentional. These constraints largely centre on the lack of tools and methods to achieve governance on multi-levels. While many actors have the will to **work up and down tiers or levels**, they may not have any idea about how to do this. There are several different types of constraints to coordination, but the policies, programmes and projects that comprise the case studies tend to be the structural solutions proposed to deal with coordinating actors and institutions. The case studies illuminated few real tools for coordination, an exception being, for instance, one case where a professional facilitator was brought in to deal with coordination. However the cases pointed out several characteristics as enabling factors in the coordination of actors. These include previous cooperation among actors, specific inter-municipal arrangements, but also the existence of various **principles such as solidarity with neighbours or subsidiarity** or the desire to create and maintain a certain 'image' to be presented to the outside world, and which demanded coordination. Several case studies also noted that **unified political landscape**, whereby the same political party dominated multiple governance levels, was an important facilitation factor.

Dimension 2: Integrating policy sectors

5) *Structural context for sectoral integration*

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. The policies, programmes and projects as objects of study themselves largely set the main informal structural framework for a

type of 'policy packaging'. That is the policy, programme or project was designed, at least partly, to enable integration of different policy sectors. This is especially evident with regard to those case studies that cover 'softer' more functional territories whereby a transnational or cross-border strategy or agreement forms the basis for cooperation among sectors. In cases at the national or sub-national level, cross-sectoral integration is generally nested within the governmental/administrative level that is responsible for planning processes. In general, the **softer functional territories address cross-sectoral integration more explicitly than do the administrative spaces**, since the softer spaces have an often non-binding character which allows them to be more experimental in their approaches to integrate policy sectors (cf. component 16).

6) *Achieving synergies across sectors*

While all of the case studies had specific structures set up to promote cross-sectoral integration, the procedures for doing this were much less obvious. Thus the processes for achieving synergies across sectors are more difficult to draw conclusions from than are the structures for integration. These processes varied, but were mainly conducted through established channels and regulations, such as statutory planning processes. That said, working 'concretely' for synergies often occurred through **dialogue among networks or partnerships** associated with the drafting of programmes or strategies among trans-regional, transnational or cross-border actors. In the cases featuring municipal or local governance, synergies were often facilitated by formal or informal structures to promote public-private partnerships. In some of the cases, especially the transnational or cross-border cases, initial attempts to address synergies across sectors occurred within various units or secretariats, which gave the impetus for further exploration of issue areas and sectoral interaction.

7) *Acknowledging sectoral conflicts*

Acknowledging the conflicts among sectors and the actors representing them is the first step in potentially dealing with the conflicts. The nature of the sectoral conflicts was obviously related to the case at hand. However as all the cases had a prominent territorial dimension, implicit or explicit conflicts among economic, social and environment sectors coloured each of the cases. The types of conflicts within the cases spanned economic-environmental, transport and spatial planning, water management and spatial planning, planning and culture, as well as mobility and housing. In general the dominating sectors were often those with a **harder economic profile**, such as construction development or tourism at the expense of 'softer' goals such as culture or environment. But the cases also reflected the tensions between **short-term political goals and longer-term territorial or sectoral goals**. Tensions also became apparent with regard to the sectors that appeared to be 'sidelined' by other more dominant sectors.

8) *Dealing with sectoral conflicts*

There were several ways that cases dealt with sectoral conflicts, even if some of the conflicts were not necessarily 'solvable'. One way was in **gathering information or**

knowledge about the sectors at hand, particularly those sectors that were not the dominating ones within the case. This was addressed through forums where actors with sectoral interests could participate and in requests for reporting of interests and positions. A second way was in the **established traditions of cooperation and relational dialogue** to overcome differences, especially among transnational or cross-border actors and in informal discussions among local actors to create a win-win situation. Actors from various sectors often come from disparate professional cultures and sometimes speak very different 'languages', which can give rise to misunderstandings or conflicts. Engaging in structured discussion was a method used to understand one another. Thirdly, **boosting institutional capacity** of administrative units was seen as a way to deal more effectively and equitably with conflicting sectoral interests. In those cases dealing primarily at the local/municipal level, greater decentralization of powers to lower levels was seen as a way to increase the capacity of the localities to mobilise resources for addressing sectoral conflicts.

Dimension 3: Mobilising stakeholder participation

9) Identification of stakeholders

The practices of identifying who is relevant and who should be integrated and thus be allowed to actively participate in territorial governance processes vary enormously among the twelve case studies. In some case we can observe that 'routines' have been established which also show some degree of transparency. Others have reported that there is hardly any consistency in how this identification process is performed. Very often public institutions and actors are designated to select these stakeholders or specific institutional arrangements (e.g. 'platforms') have been formed that already represent the intended range of stakeholders, so that it is felt that no further selection process is required. This can lead to somewhat **nested networks**, since the selection process is based on personal relations or unknown criteria for 'appropriateness' (e.g. being supportive for the specific territorial development goal at hand). Another issue that has been brought up in the cases is that due to **limited resources** not all stakeholders that were identified as being relevant are able to participate in the end.

10) Securing of democratic legitimacy and accountability

This component includes in particular the issue of to what extent the specific territorial governance arrangement at hand reflects democratic principles. Also it integrates the clarification of ownership in the event that public or civic institutions and actors want to appeal the project, policy or programme under consideration. Since almost all cases show some evidence of multi-level governance, some specific **structures and mechanisms are in place at the municipal level** (e.g. the planning and building code). Nonetheless it was felt that these structures and mechanisms are indeed appreciated, but beyond the prevailing routines within local authorities there are hardly any additional forms of representative and/or participative democracy integrated (e.g. at the regional level), which could further strengthen and secure democratic legitimacy and accountability. This is in particular being addressed in

those cases where territorial governance arrangements have been created that are not congruent with jurisdictional boundaries and/or are not (yet) represented by any governmental layer.

11) *Integration of interests/viewpoints*

How and to what extent interests and viewpoints are integrated into territorial governance work differs a lot in the cases. Certainly this is dependent on the degree of formality of the institutional 'level' at hand (e.g. transnational multi-level cooperation structure or urban planning at the neighbourhood level). What is more noteworthy is the fact that even within those institutions leading territorial governance processes, there is little consistency in how this component is being dealt with. Here the question is to what extent the intervention at hand is considered to be **strategic or of high or low political importance** (or contested) rather determines how various interests and viewpoints are taken into account. Also it appears that in many cases the practices are not set in stone, meaning that we can observe some dynamics in terms of widening the range of viewpoints or trying out **social media** as a rather untraditional tool.

12) *Insights into territorial governance processes*

According to the findings from the case studies, the key issue here seems not only to be the question of transparency, but **how the articulated viewpoints are being dealt with**. It has also been noted that it is important to understand the whole territorial governance process as such in order to assess where and when viewpoints might feed into it and what is their relative power to re-shape the policy, programme or project at hand. A number of deficits have been reported, as the design of such processes can be undefined or unclear, which hamper any further mobilisation of stakeholders. It was also reported that such processes might be very transparent for those who actively take part (or are allowed to do so) from the beginning, but as 'outsiders' or as 'stakeholders' joining such processes at a later stage it is rather difficult. Various **media channels (online, radio, newspaper)** seem to be powerful tools to make territorial governance more visible, but not necessarily more transparent, due to the prevailing high level of complexity.

Dimension 4: Being adaptive to changing contexts

13) *Institutional learning*

Here the basic question has been to what extent structures and routines have been installed to maintain institutional learning. This is important, since all cases not only deal with an increasingly complex territorial governance structure, but also the territorial development goal demands that various sorts of knowledge be addressed. How this knowledge is managed within institutions is certainly a question of **resources, scope for (individual) capacity-building and mechanisms** to secure this for future purposes. What is apparently required is stability of institutional arrangements, various means to store and develop knowledge (monitoring system, annual reports) and mechanisms to safeguard personalised knowledge due to the fluctuation of individual actors. However, besides such rather structural aspects,

leadership styles and the level of collaborative culture can either promote or inhibit the opportunity for institutional learning.

14) *Individual learning and reflection*

This component is to a high degree linked to component no. 13, if not being to a large extent the prerequisite for it. As a general note it has been voiced in almost all cases that individual learning and reflection was felt as being important, in particular in those territorial governance arrangements, which can be called as being very informal or soft. **Inter-personnel networking and trust** as well as the degree of motivation and also passion of individual actors seem to be central drivers. Otherwise it was noted in many cases that individual learning was given too little room in daily work or that a high amount of information is constantly absorbed, but hardly transformed into knowledge, since routines and time for reflection are sometimes missing. Also specific examples have been reported in which other forms of knowledge acquisition have been used (e.g. the installation of 'arenas for discussion', 'household surveys'), which have contributed to understand specific sectoral interests.

15) *Evidence of forward-looking actions*

To anticipate future developments and thus changing contexts and include this knowledge into territorial governance work is another component within this dimension. However, indicative practices or even routines to consider future actions have been only noted sporadically in the case studies. To some extent, future developments are **intrinsically built-in in the policy, programme or project** under consideration (e.g. in the case of climate change, flood risks) or are part of scenario and/or monitoring work. Others noted that at least opportunities for forward-looking actions are given or possibly being considered in the future. In one case it has been reported that the strong belief in continuous urban growth seems to make the consideration of other alternatives meaningless.

16) *Scope of flexibility/experimentation*

As a general rule one can say the less the territorial governance arrangement at hand is formalised, the more is the scope of flexibility or even experimentation (cf. component 5). Other factors promoting this scope are the possibility to **integrate ad hoc debates, to create new partnerships, soft leadership** that allows corrective actions or to search for new solutions in light of overwhelming economic crisis. Limiting factors are scarce resources (budget) and business-as-usual attitudes. Another item that has been observed in this respect is the positive effect of robust institutional structures that are at the same time flexible enough to absorb the impacts of political changes or crisis.

Dimension 5: Realising place-based/territorial specificities and impacts

17) Criteria/logic of defining intervention area

Unsurprisingly the studied cases represent two different types of intervention logics: a) the territorial scope being pre-defined by the **jurisdictional boundaries** of the lead institution (e.g. municipality) and b), the territorial scope based on **functional/issue-based criteria** (e.g. catchment area of river, nature conservation, labour market region). Also in some cases both options are integrated, which enormously complicates a number of previously discussed components of territorial governance (in particular under dimensions 1 and 3). As regards functional/issue-based criteria one needs to add that they are often contested or unclear depending on the issue area or sector that is being covered.

18) Coping with hard and soft/functional spaces

As touched upon in the synthesis for component no. 17, we can construe a clear tension between the approach to integrate soft or functionally defined spaces to view the issue at hand in more issue-based (and often wider) context, and, as is often the case in the end, concrete interventions are dealt with within hard spaces (i.e. often municipal boundaries). Nonetheless, it seems that a soft or functional approach can challenge prevailing perceptions and routines of actors and institutions being locked in 'hard' spaces, which can contribute to a more relational territorial understanding. The key question is then to what extent a more relational understanding gets integrated into policies programmes or projects or even formally institutionalised in the long run. As regards the latter, in one case a slight 'hardening' of an initial soft space has been reported at the neighbourhood level. In at least half of the case studies, it seems that a **soft or functional-based understanding** in particular at the regional level is (at least) influencing the design of policies, programmes and projects.

19) Utilisation of territorial (expert) knowledge

Regarding this component we can see strong coherence among the case studies, since the utilisation of territorial (expert) knowledge has been largely characterised as being sufficient or even high. In other words, it appears that today's territorial governance practices are provided by an enormous body of territorial expert knowledge. An issue which has been mentioned in many cases is the question who collects and owns this knowledge (and becomes knowledgeable) and to what extent the various actors and institutions involved in the territorial governance work at hand are able (and willing) to share it.

20) Integration of territorial analysis

Although the utilisation of territorial (expert) knowledge is high across the case studies, we see rather strong variations when investigating to what extent this knowledge is being integrated in the policy design. These differences apply to issues such as that the integration is varying within cases. Examples are that territorial analysis is being considered at the local, but not at the macro-regional level or that a

number of ex-ante studies have shaped the policy, programme or project at hand, but not necessarily the lessons taken from ex-post analysis. Also it has been reported in two case studies that although comprehensive analysis has been undertaken, the decision-making process was rather shaped by other rationales. Other issues that can be carved out from the cases is the question of **continuity** (since during the plan-making phase the integration of territorial analysis can be high, but rather low once the plan is adopted) or of **setting priorities due to limited resources**. Examples for the latter are the selection of certain areas for territorial monitoring or the integration of territorial impact assessments for only strategic' projects (those who get high political attention).

5. Re-conceptualising territorial governance

Based on the synthesised results from our 12 case studies across Europe presented in chapter 4 as well as the results of the typology exercise in chapter 2 in the following we will revisit our initial working definition of territorial governance as presented in chapter 1.

Unsurprisingly dimensions 1 (Coordinating actions of actors and institutions) and 2 (Integrating policy sectors) can be considered as being at the heart of (regular) governance or even multi-level governance. As most of the case studies have indicated, they are also (more or less) entangled within the actions of *government*. Both dimensions include different ways to integrate various actors and institutions and their interests. For this, horizontal as well as vertical structures and mechanisms have been developed (or are about to be developed) for coordination and 'delivery'. Hence, central for the strong interplay between dimensions 1 and 2 is the distribution of various sorts of power (formal/informal as well as regulatory/normative) and ways to overcome the barriers, constraints or even gaps within the prevailing institutional structures. Dimension 2 accentuates in particular the integration of various interests within governance, which demand different forms of negotiation, moderation or even mediation. It appears important to acknowledge what is called 'sectoral conflicts' and the active engagement of stakeholders to deal with and overcome those.

Dimension 3 (Mobilising stakeholders) expands on the two aforementioned dimensions, as it accentuates to a greater extent the integration of various kinds of stakeholders. The cases argue that certain types of stakeholders have to be mobilized in order to make them aware or at least interested in the issue at hand. Our empirical research was very much directed towards questioning the degree of democratic legitimacy in the various cases, but the case studies show that this was not entirely secured within Dimensions 1 and 2. Thus, the thorny question is how to mobilize in particular civil society and smaller private actors and how this can (or will) feed into Dimensions 1 and 2. As a result, we can argue that Dimensions 1, 2 and 3 can be considered as forming a triangle that is characterised by **coordination as the**

overarching mechanism as well as strong or at least moderate relations between them (see figure 9).

What is also striking is that 'territorial elements' are only implicitly integrated in Dimensions 1 and 2. They might play a strong role if the composition of actors and institutions at hand as well as the represented policy sectors show a high sensitivity for a 'territorial' perspective. This might be expressed by discussing various territorial impacts for instance. This potential lack of territorial sensitivity or 'grounding' can be compensated to some extent within those practices and routines for integrating the interests and ideas of stakeholders that have been identified and discussed within Dimension 3. In this vein, mobilising stakeholders can be also understood as investigating the responsiveness for a place-based approach.

The analysis of the 12 cases also shows that Dimension 3 (Mobilising Stakeholder Participation) is a lynchpin for achieving both coordination among actors and sectoral integration. However the linkage between dimension 3 and dimensions 4 (Being adaptive to changing contexts) and 5 (Realising place-based /territorial specificities and impacts) are somewhat disconnected. This is perhaps because there is a different overarching mechanism at play. Dimensions 1 and 2 set the structural pre-conditions of multi-level governance, which demands coordinative capacities, while dimensions 4 and 5, as argued below have **knowledge as the overarching mechanism**.

Dimension 4 (Being adaptive to changing contexts) and Dimension 5 (Realising place-based /territorial specificities and impacts) are also closely related. The uniting feature is that both dimensions have knowledge aspects at the core of their conceptualisation. The case studies show that in order to be adaptive to changing contexts (dimension 4) it is necessary to have certain institutional structures in place in order to safeguard knowledge and ensure that individual learning is eventually transposed into institutional learning. In addition, taking an experimental or forward-looking approach in governance procedures demands that the knowledge produced within both hierarchical administrative relations and looser network relations has a way of being dispersed within the groupings.

Knowledge obviously underpins the components of Dimension 5 as well. Territorial knowledge sets the framework for the logic of defining an area of intervention and for further 'coping' with 'softer' or more functional boundaries. Particularly the cross-border and transnational cases, but also even softer 'local' cases indicate that the process of choosing which sectors are represented in an intervention is important in defining the territorial scope of the intervention.

Hence, the analysis of Dimensions 4 and 5 reveals that different formations of territory-related 'knowledge' are central components for the design of policies, programmes and projects. In other words, the inclusion of Dimensions 4 and 5 sheds light on the question whether 'relevant' knowledge is created, maintained and applied to understand, assess or even envision the impacts and consequences that (optional) interventions (may) have.

The cases also show that utilization of territorial knowledge was widespread, but how the knowledge is collected and 'stored' in the long-term can be more problematic, especially when dealing with knowledge accrued through short-term projects and programmes. Thus the question of 'ownership' and 'stewardship' of knowledge comes into play. The production and use of particularly territorial knowledge also has a temporal dimension. The cases report that often very comprehensive territorial knowledge is produced in the initial stages of a programme or project and evaluated through ex-ante procedures. But perhaps due to the prevalence of working towards territorial goals in project or programme form, it is not unusual that ex-post analyses receive less focus and thus territorial knowledge is also fed back into the policy process to a lesser extent.

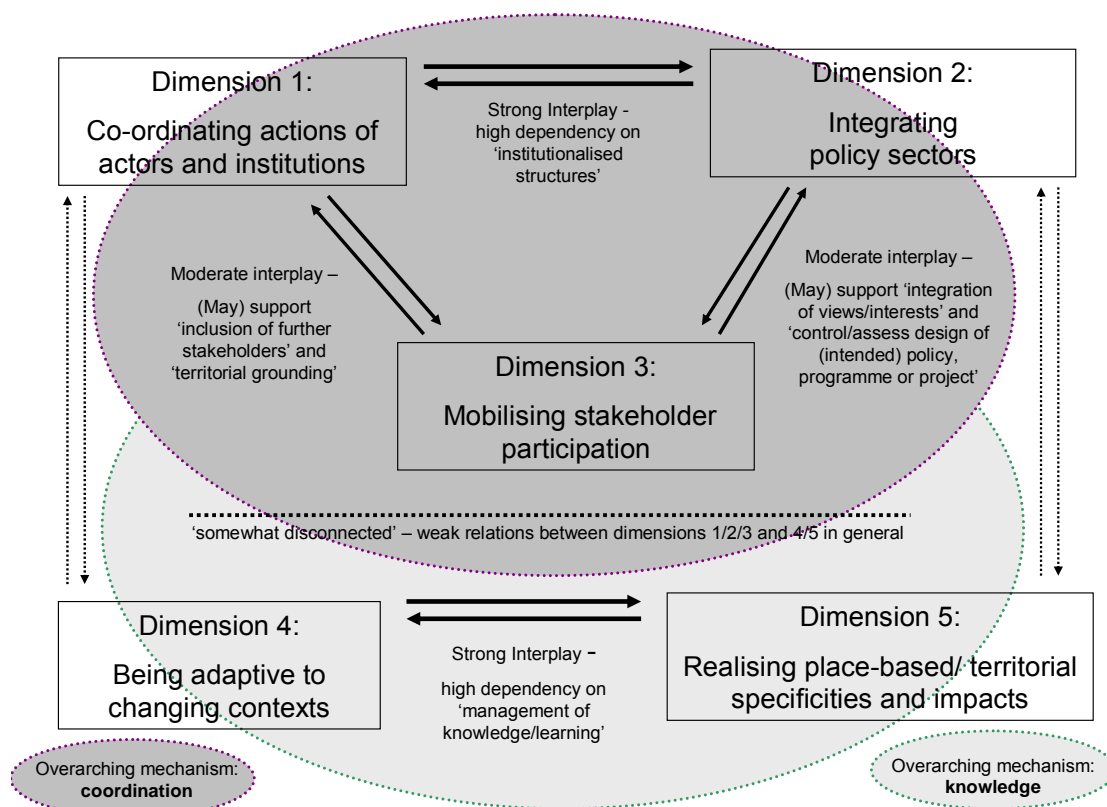


Figure 8: Inter-relationships between the five dimensions of territorial governance

In general we can argue that the interplay within the triangle composed of dimension 1, 2 and 3 has been (largely) captured, although using a different starting point, by other authors using the concept of multi-level governance (e.g. Hooghe and Marks, 2003, 2010). Following Faludi's (2012) discussion of multi-level governance one can certainly (also) assign the various cases to either the 'Type I' or 'Type II' of multi-level governance as suggested by Hooghe and Marks (2003), when looking at how place and territory are dealt with based on the various indicators and components that are being integrated here within dimension 1, 2 and 3. Nonetheless, we argue that the territorial elements and the shift from 'multi-level-governance' as discussed by Faludi (2012) to what we define as 'territorial governance' (see chapter 1 of Scientific Report) become most explicit when incorporating dimension 4 and 5. Here the focus on the knowledge-related components within the case studies give evidence that

helped us to move the analysis from 'Multi-level governance' to 'Territorial governance', echoing as Harrison (2013) postulates towards understanding territory and networks via processes of interaction that are specifically about the ways in which a territory develops. Only in this way, (relational) space as a social construct, as well as categories such as 'place' and 'territory' factor into multi-level governance (see figure 10).

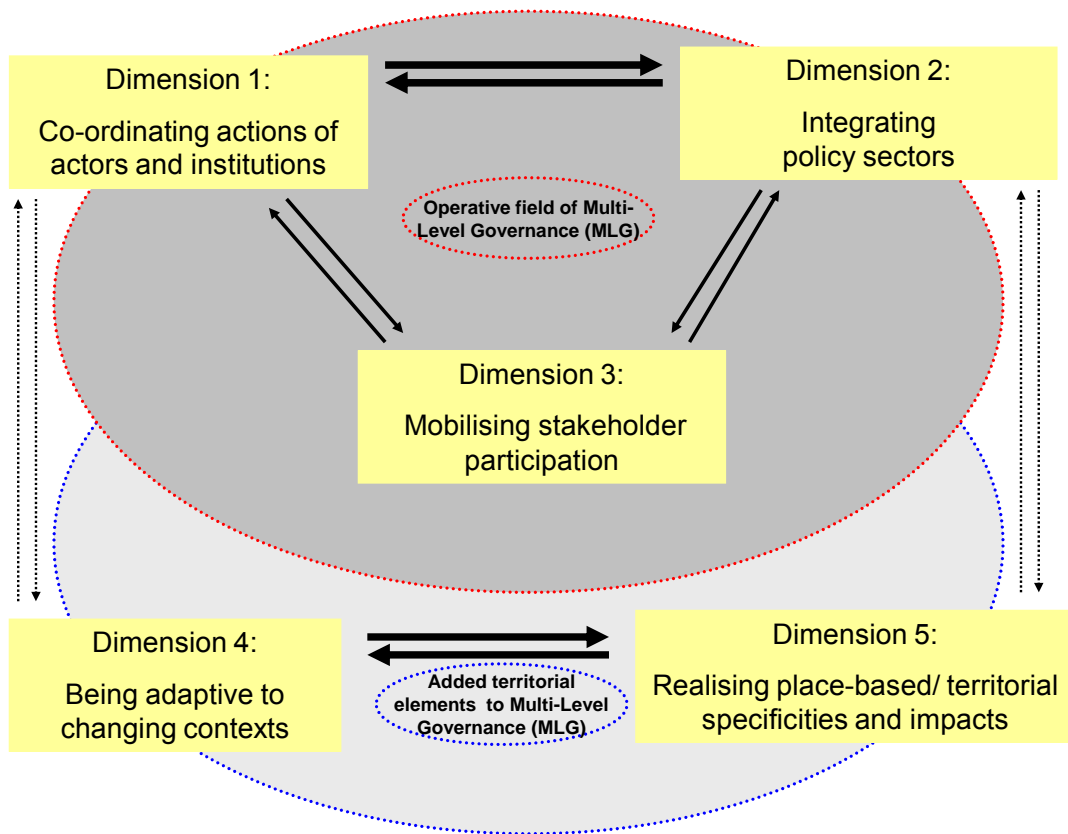


Figure 9: The operative field of Multi-level Governance and the 'Added territorial elements to Multi-Level Governance'

We would argue that the five dimensions as such constitute a robust framework to analyse territorial governance. The 12 indicators, the 42 core questions and 20 components have been helpful to trace even further our study of territorial governance at play, instead of solely focussing on describing the institutional structures. Certainly, one can adapt them depending on the specific focus of any follow-up investigations. Overall, they offer a solid ground to make distinctions within the complex and nested field of territorial governance. In particular they offer room to assess the extent to which the territorial dimension matters within regular (multi-level) governance and thus offers a holistic approach towards territorial governance.

6. Transferring territorial governance

An important aim of the ESPON TANGO research project is to develop practical advice for territorial governance based on evidence from current practices, this being of particular concern for the preparation of the 'Guide for practitioners, policy and decision makers'. To do so requires a preliminary understanding of both the factors that lead to successful policy outcomes and of the possible modes for their transferability.

As territorial governance processes are intrinsically complex and made up of a lot of key features (e.g. the multi-level or multi-actor dimensions; the participatory processes or the enhancement of the specific territorial matters), it is highly questionable that any territorial governance practice can be assumed as entirely 'good' or 'bad'. Rather, each territorial governance practice is assumed to be a mix of successful (from which something can be learned) and unsuccessful (in which the lesson comes from the recognition of the causes of failure) features. In this light, there appears to be a need to focus on the possibility to transfer the specific features of territorial governance that, under certain conditions, have shown 'good' effects, rather than a whole experience of supposed 'good' territorial governance.

In this light, the main research questions that are addressed in this section are (i) which are the main features of territorial governance emerging from the case studies and (ii) under which conditions each single feature may constitute a trigger for learning in other contexts and (iii) how could the feature possibly be transferred. In addressing these questions, this section of the ESPON TANGO project forms the analytical bridge between the case study results and the policy relevant dissemination output, the 'Guide for practitioners, policy and decision makers: Towards Better Territorial Governance'.

6.1 *Promoters and inhibitors of 'good' territorial governance*

On the basis of the promoters and inhibitors of 'good' territorial governance gathered for each of the five dimensions in the twelve case studies, a list of more 'general' promoters and inhibitors that may be considered to either favour or constrain good territorial governance in a specific context is illuminated. The list of promoters was then discussed in an ESPON TANGO Stakeholders' Workshop ('Towards Better Territorial Governance') that took place in Brussels on the 20 March 2013 and saw the participation of a heterogeneous group of stakeholders composed of decision makers, policy makers and practitioners. This resulted in a further revision of the list, through aggregation as well as through the inclusion of elements that had not explicitly emerged from the cases (see tables 5 and 6).⁴

⁴ For a detailed overview of the methodology that led to the identification and classification of the presented promoters and inhibitors of good territorial governance, please refer to the ESPON TANGO chapter 7.3 of the Scientific Report.

Table 5: List of territorial governance promoters, as emerging from the case study analysis and from the Stakeholders' workshop

Dimension	TG Promoters	Case Studies⁵
1. Coordination actions of actors and institutions	• Stability of cooperative experiences	2, 4, 7, 12
	• Pro-active public organisation	3; 4, 10
	• Motivation	4, 5
	• Capacity of negotiation	8, 11
	• Clear and uncontested leadership	2, 3, 6, 7, 11,12
	• Self-committed leadership	1, 4
	• Effective strategic framework	4
	• Political commitment	9, 11,12
	• Common goals, common history	Stakeholders workshop
	• Code of conduct – guidelines	Stakeholders workshop
	• Institutional capacity – qualified staff	Stakeholders workshop
	• Follow-up – monitoring	Stakeholders workshop
	• Leadership at the right level	Stakeholders workshop
• Quality of motivation	Stakeholders workshop	
2. Integrating policy sectors	• Acknowledgement of, and integration with, a multi-level policy framework	3, 4, 5, 12
	• Political support to policy integration at the appropriate territorial scale	4, 7, 11
	• Spatial tool favouring sectoral integration	9, 10, 11
	• Rationale catalysing integration	2
	• Involvement of relevant public and private stakeholders	2, 3, 4, 7
	• Organizational routines favouring cross-sector fertilisation	6, 9, 11, 12
	• Strong political commitment towards a shared territorial vision	1, 2, 6, 8
	• Balance between flexibility and legal certainty	4
	• Monitoring process	Stakeholders workshop
	• Win-win situation – interest	Stakeholders workshop
	• Effective strategic framework – strategies	Stakeholders workshop
	• Leadership – vision	Stakeholders workshop
• Compatible policy sectors	Stakeholders workshop	

⁵ Each of the numbers below refers to one of the 12 case studies, as indicated in Table 4 presenting and overview of the cases in chapter 3.4. Those features that emerged during the “Stakeholders workshop” are marked accordingly.

Dimension	TG Promoters	Case Studies
3. Mobilising stakeholder participation	• Political commitment	2, 4
	• Usage of various mechanisms of participation	8, 12
	• Mix of indirect and direct democratic legitimacy	3, 11
	• Mechanisms allowing for broad stakeholders' involvement	1, 2, 11
	• Information flow ensured	7, 9
	• Effective means of communication/dissemination of information	2, 3, 4, 6, 10, 11
	• High level of accountability	2
	• Clear stakeholder process of involvement (choice, mechanisms, expectation)	Stakeholders workshop
	• How to motivate stakeholder (vision, benchmarking, learning)	Stakeholders workshop
	• Feedbacks to stakeholders	Stakeholders workshop
• Ownership of questions	Stakeholders workshop	
4. Being adaptive to changing contexts	• Co-production of knowledge, knowledge transfer	4, 9, 10, 11, 12
	• Institutional mechanisms that favour learning	2, 7, 10
	• Feedback procedures	1, 2, 3
	• Institutional mechanisms supporting adaptivity	6, 7
	• Role of people in charge of responsibility	2
	• Flexibility of governance structure	3
	• Experience in complex programming	11
	• Multi-annual programming	Stakeholders workshop
	• Involvement, participation, commitment	Stakeholders workshop
	• Adaptive management (small-steps, flexibility, room to change direction)	Stakeholders workshop
• Exchanging best practices to understand the right amount of adaptation	Stakeholders workshop	
• Methods for attracting change	Stakeholders workshop	
• Power to decide change at the right level	Stakeholders workshop	
• Integrative holistic approach	Stakeholders workshop	
• Being conscious and being inspired	Stakeholders workshop	
5. Realising place-based/territorial specificities and impacts	• Awareness of territory	2, 7, 8, 10
	• Involvement of different levels of government	3, 12
	• Spatial tool for coordination	2, 4
	• Acknowledgement and use of territorial potentials	2, 3
	• Co-production of knowledge, knowledge transfer	4, 11
	• Existing shared territorial knowledge	7, 12
	• Evidence of larger territorial context	Stakeholders workshop
	• Spatially differentiated policies	Stakeholders workshop
	• Territorial Impact Assessment	Stakeholders workshop
	• Functional regions	Stakeholders workshop
• Territorial oriented evaluation	Stakeholders workshop	
• Territorial challenges	Stakeholders workshop	
• Building trust – permanent cooperation	Stakeholders workshop	
• Eliminate barriers to cooperate	Stakeholders workshop	

Table 6: List of territorial governance inhibitors, as emerging from the case study analysis and from the Stakeholders' workshop

Dimension	TG Inhibitors	Case studies
1. Co-ordinating actions of actors and institutions	• Lack of institutional capacity / stability	2, 4, 6, 8, 9, 12
	• Scarce cooperation between public authorities	6, 11
	• Lack of financial autonomy	9
	• Power struggles	4,10,11
	• Unclear assignation of responsibilities	2,3,5,6,8
	• Lacking or inappropriate mechanisms for coordination	5, 9, 10, 11
2. Integrating policy sectors	• Sectoral rationale dominating	1, 2, 4, 12
	• Lack of institutional capacity / stability	9
	• Scarce cohesion among actors	3, 7, 8, 10
	• Lack /ineffectiveness of integrating spatial tools	4,9,11
3. Mobilising stakeholder participation	• Late or no involvement of stakeholders	2, 10
	• Involvement of non-cooperative stakeholders	6, 8
	• Exclusion / limited involvement of certain stakeholders	6,
	• Hegemony of politicians over the process	2, 10, 11
	• Limited communication among stakeholders	6, 10, 11
	• Limited communication towards the outside world	2
	• Weak civic actors involvement	9
4. Being adaptive to changing contexts	• Absence of feedback procedures	2
	• Lack of institutional capacity / stability	9, 10
	• Prejudice or limited strategic thinking	2, 8
	• Uncertain/blurred strategy	1
	• Rigidity of governance structure	8, 9
	• Negative influence by people in charge of responsibilities	9
5. Realising place-based/territorial specificities and impacts	• territorial scope disputed	1, 2, 5, 6, 10
	• lack of structured institutional framework	9, 12
	• time constrains	11
	• limited use of existing territorial knowledge	1, 2, 6, 10
	• excessive complexity of programming tools	12

The territorial governance inhibitors can constitute a set of 'warnings' for the different stakeholders active in various ways in the field of territorial development and territorial cohesion. They act as a sort of 'to-be-avoided' list of those elements that may undermine good territorial governance. The promoters, on the other hand, represent a number of 'good' territorial governance features that may contribute to generating good territorial governance processes.

6.2 Transferability of territorial governance features

The transferability of good territorial governance practices is a field characterised by a high degree of complexity and a significant risk of failure. To partially unravel this complexity, a conceptual framework has been developed, aiming at framing the institutional context for policy transfer for territorial governance in the EU. Based on the assumption that territorial governance can be interpreted as an institutional phenomenon (Moroni, 2010; Janin Rivolin, 2012; Cotella & Janin Rivolin, 2010; 2012), four analytical dimensions – practices, discourse, structure and tools – are

variously distinguished as well as embedded into the broader framework of EU territorial governance activities⁶.

The proposed framework helps in conceptualising possible paths that policy transfer can be expected to take from a 'good practice' in a certain domestic context to other contexts. In so doing it also indicates which modes of policy transfer should be addressed in principle for operational purposes⁷. This view is coherent with one critique often raised in relation to the transferability of good territorial governance (cf. Wolman and Page, 2002), i.e. that it is not possible to transfer good territorial governance as a whole, rather it may be more successful to address the transfer of peculiar elements of territorial governance (the promoters individuated above) to specific categories of stakeholders, to be reached through various 'components of exchange':

- A **discursive mode** to transfer good territorial governance addresses various discourses for the diffusion of certain concepts and ideas in a given context. This concerns the opportunity to transfer features of good territorial governance through more general components (e.g. ideas, principles, philosophy) that are potentially suitable to match the interest of actors operating in diverse institutional contexts in the field of territorial development. This is addressed to all stakeholders.
- A **practical mode** of transferring good territorial governance from one context to another relates to the dimension of practices and is mainly addressed to practitioners directly involved in territorial development activities. It concerns the possibility to transfer features of good territorial governance, through specific exchange components (e.g. practices, joint projects, interaction) that may stimulate the potential interest of practitioners operating in diverse institutional contexts.
- A **technical mode** of transferring good territorial governance is addressed mostly to policymakers, and concerns the opportunity to translate good territorial governance features through specific kinds of components (e.g. methods, techniques and know-how), that may be borrowed by stakeholders operating in other contexts.
- Finally, an **institutional mode** to transfer good territorial governance is addressed primarily to decision makers and concerns the opportunity to translate features of good territorial governance as specific kinds of components (e.g. rules, codes and laws) that could be institutionally codified within the various contexts.

⁶ For a detailed presentation of the theoretical foundations of the conceptual framework for transferability adopted by the project, please refer to the Scientific Report.

⁷ The identification of these modes is based on the assumption that the ESPON TANGO project plays an active role in the discourse about the formation of EU Territorial Governance, namely engaging in a 'policy assessment' of the practices emerging from the case studies, to identify their 'good' features and profitable ways to transfer them to different domestic contexts.

In order to consider how what has been learnt from the case studies may be relevant to different groups of stakeholders within the various territorial contexts, an additional step was made, namely focussing on the *components of exchange* that may better contribute to the transfer of the identified features. Each case study analyst assessed the promoters of good territorial governance against those components, in other words to the different modes of transfer. More specifically, they were asked to identify which component(s) might potentially be helpful to transfer each of the promoters from one context to another.

The collected information was aggregated under the same logic as the one adopted in above for the abstraction of the territorial governance promoters. Furthermore, during the Stakeholders' Workshop, the participants were asked to relate each of the promoters in the list to the component(s) of exchange they assessed as more relevant for their transfer. In this way, it was possible to link each promoter to a specific set of components of exchange and, therefore, to a specific mode of transfer (see table 7 on the next page).

As previous descriptions indicate, each of the identified modes of transfer may be directly related, albeit not exclusively, to a main target audience. More in detail, the discursive mode is particularly concerned with the identification of preliminary ideas to be taken on board by the territorial knowledge communities active in a specific context, but can be borrowed by any stakeholder active in territorial development. Conversely, the practical mode of transfer requires the consolidation of practices, joint projects and interaction through which practitioners involved in multiple domestic contexts may learn from each other. On the other hand, the technical mode of transfer implies the opportunity to translate features of good territorial governance in terms of methods and techniques and know-how primarily addressed to policy-makers. Finally, the institutional mode of transfer implies the capacity to combine features of good territorial governance into rules, codes and law that can be addressed to decision makers.

6.3 Concluding remarks

This section presented, on the basis of the materials collected through the case study analysis, a list of general promoters and inhibitors of good territorial governance that may potentially provide fuel to the policy debate as some generalisable lessons on 'what to do' and 'what not to do' in relation to territorial governance.

However, when it comes to policy relevant implications, it is important to stress that the various case studies constituting the evidence-base of the project address policies, programmes and projects on various governance levels and located within different institutional and geographical contexts. Therefore, particular attention must be paid to identify '*for whom*' the identified territorial governance promoters and inhibitors are considered to be 'good' or 'bad'. The following chapter put the questions of *why, how, under which circumstances*, as well as *for whom* questions about territorial governance into a general discussion of policy options.

Table 7: Territorial governance promoters organized by transfer modes

Discursive mode	Practical mode	Technical mode	Institutional mode
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strong political commitment towards a shared territorial vision • Win-win situation – interest 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organizational routines favouring cross-sector fertilisation • Involvement of relevant public and private stakeholders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Effective strategic framework – strategies • Institutional capacity – qualified staff 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political support to policy integration at the appropriate territorial scale • Spatial tool favouring sectoral integration
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Compatible policy sectors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Common goals, common history 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Follow-up – monitoring 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Balance between flexibility and legal certainty
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rationale catalysing integration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Motivation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stability of cooperative experiences 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Code of conduct – guidelines
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Acknowledgement of, and integration with, a multi-level policy framework 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Capacity of negotiation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pro-active public organisation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leadership at the right level
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quality of motivation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Effective means of communication/diss emination of information 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mechanisms allowing for broad stakeholders’ involvement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High level of accountability
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clear and uncontested leadership 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How to motivate stakeholder (vision, benchmarking, learning) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Information flow ensured 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multi-annual programming
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Self-committed leadership 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Usage of various mechanisms of participation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Feedback procedures 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Power to decide change at the right level
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ownership of questions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exchanging best practices to understand the right amount of adaptation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Methods for attracting change 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Role of people in charge of responsibility
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adaptive management (small-steps, flexibility, room to change direction) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Involvement, participation, commitment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Territorial Impact Assessment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Institutional mechanisms that favour learning
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Integrative holistic 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Co-production of knowledge and knowledge transfer 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Institutional mechanisms supporting adaptivity
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Being conscious and being inspired 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Experience in complex programming 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Involvement of different levels of government
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Evidence of larger territorial context 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Existing shared territorial knowledge 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Functional regions
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Territorial challenges 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Acknowledgement and use of territorial potentials 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eliminate barriers to cooperate
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Awareness of territory 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Building trust – permanent cooperation 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Spatially differentiated policies

7. Policy options for future EU Cohesion Policy

Returning to one of the main questions posed in the first chapter “Why is territorial governance important?” we illuminate some policy options which may be important for the future of EU Cohesion Policy. In short we assert that by focusing on territorial governance policy makers can more fruitfully engage in territorial development in a more place-based manner.

Europe is still in recovery from a deep financial crisis and struggling with unemployment and social exclusion. At the same time the territories are expected to make the switch to a low-carbon economy while adapting to the climate changes that are already underway. Responding to these daunting tasks requires effective and urgent policy initiatives and actions at European, national, regional and local levels as well as across different policy sectors. For the EU territories to be able to anticipate and rapidly respond to the challenges set out by the Europe 2020 Strategy and Cohesion Policy they need to have appropriate institutions capable of supporting social actors and enabling them to respond proactively. The so-called ‘place-based approach’ as delineated in the Barca Report (Barca 2009) and the existence of ‘good’ governance with a strong adaptive capacity is recognised as a critical factor in addressing the agenda set by the EU 2020 Strategy. This is further reflected in the NTCCP (Network of Territorial Cohesion Contact Points) report calling for a place-based, territorially sensitive and integrated approach to policies, so as to improve the performance of policies on all levels and create synergies between different types of policy interventions (NTCCP 2013, 4).

A place-based, territorially sensitive approach is also assumed to help realise the closer coordination of European Funds⁸, as proposed in the Common Strategic Framework 2013-2020 (CSF), as objectives can be more efficiently pursued if the funds attempt to avoid overlap and maximize the potentially synergies at national, regional and local levels (CEC 2012). In addition the new programmes must be streamlined in terms of thematic objectives and investment priorities. Therefore calls for horizontal actions and multi-level governance become more important for policy coherence. Thus the territorial governance perspective provides an inroad into how synergies might be realised and overlaps reduced.

To this end, the results of the ESPON TANGO analyses can point out several options for how Cohesion Policy strategies and instruments could facilitate “better” territorial governance. Many of these options are not novel or innovative, but as the case studies and the Handbook “Towards Better Territorial Governance” show, they would address important gaps still remaining in territorial governance processes.

Our results show that dealing **effectively and equitably with conflicting (sectoral) interests** is still an area where policy makers, decision makers and practitioners need practical tools about how to actually do this. In order to make the necessary

⁸ The European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), the European Social Fund (ESF), the Cohesion fund (CF), the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD) and the European Maritime and Fisheries Fund (EMFF).

linkages between sections in light of a reduction of priority areas and avoid potential problems with absorption of funds, programmes should not steer away from **institutional capacity building investments** as complementary priorities. This will also help to increase the level of preparedness for the “next” crisis.

Place-based schemes cannot be managed by central government alone. Thus in order to make Partnership Contracts for the coordination of Funds, **mobilisation of stakeholders** needs to be taken seriously to **establish truly collaborative forums**. This includes financial measures for ensuring broad participation and involving local authorities, private (including smaller businesses) and civil actors and to a greater extent. It also includes measures to boost the capacity of actors to formulate Partnership Contracts

Territorial knowledge can be utilized in the new programmes to a much greater extent. This knowledge extends not only to analysing socio-economic trends and data, but also to the **assessment of territorial governance processes**. To this end a better balance and **more timely utilization of ex ante or on-going evaluations** and their inclusion in the policy design for the drafting of new programmes should be considered.

Finally, programmes could be more **adaptable in terms of finding ways of transcending the “project” form** to ensure that the territorial capital (material and immaterial) produced in projects can be utilised in the longer term. This includes questions of the ownership of immaterial results and the possible “institutionalisation” of sustainable strategies.

8. Policy options for national, regional and local authorities

Perhaps the most important task of the ESPON TANGO project has been to determine *how* and under *which circumstances* territorial governance matters to policy and decision makers on all levels.

With respect to policy options for national, regional and local authorities we would specifically refer to the “Guide for practitioners, policy and decision makers” where both policy options and policy warnings are distinguished authorities on several levels, with the goal of striving towards better territorial governance in Europe. However since the territorial governance context differs quite dramatically across Europe, it is impossible to give ‘one-size-fits-all’ recommendations as shown in chapter 6. Thus decision makers, policy makers and practitioners of the guide can pick and choose various options with relevance for their own territorial circumstances.

As a more general recommendation we also underline the potential usefulness of our research framework (cf. chapter 3.3 and figure 9).

We have argued that the five dimensions as such constitute a robust framework to *analyse* territorial governance. The 12 indicators and 20 components have been helpful to trace even further our study of territorial governance at play, rather than solely focussing on describing the institutional structures. Certainly, one can adapt them depending on the specific focus of any follow-up investigations. Overall, they offer a solid ground to make distinctions within the complex and nested field of territorial governance. In particular they offer room to assess the extent to which the territorial dimension matters within regular (multi-level) governance and thus offers a holistic approach towards territorial governance.

At the same time the framework, (especially as shown in figures 9 and 10) offers a simple heuristic or guideline for *considering*, *reviewing* and eventually *doing* territorial governance processes. In this respect we draw attention particularly to Dimensions 4 (being adaptive to changing contexts) and 5 (Realising place-based/territorial specificities and impacts).

A territorial governance approach that is *adaptable* can enable national, regional and local authorities to respond to crises, such as the current economic crisis, by “**thinking outside the box**” in the search for quick (and long-term) solutions. The results of the case studies show that more flexible governance or “softer” structures may have greater scope for flexibility and some of these lessons could be transferred to more bounded administrative structures; i.e. the **opportunities of building more forward-looking developments** into projects. However remaining territorial governance challenges to be overcome include finding methods to transform individual learning and reflection into institutional learning and the search for ways to incorporate time for reflection and innovation into existing administrative routines.

A territorial governance approach that *realises place-based /territorial specificities and impacts* will acknowledge that a soft or functional territorial approach can challenge prevailing perceptions and routines of actors and institutions being locked in ‘hard’ spaces. Acknowledging the co-existence of hard and soft spaces and their institutional limitations and opportunities is a first step which can then be integrated into policies, programmes or projects. The results of the case studies point out several ways that this can be facilitated, including, 1) the creation and work towards a **common territorial goal** or **developing a specific territorial rationale**, 2) utilising a **high degree of flexibility** in policy design and implementation and 3) developing a **culture of collaboration** to link the policy, planning, civil society and scientific communities to coordinate territorial knowledge.

9. Outlook: Future need for policy relevant research on territorial governance

While there is a strong consensus on the need for greater evidence-based policy for territorial development on all levels in Europe, the great territorial diversity of the ESPON-space makes generalisations on how to do this unwieldy.

The main focus on the ESPON Programmes has been on providing a detailed description of the rich fabric of potentials and challenges, disparities and continuities in Europe, mainly based on existing administrative units (NUTS 2 and NUTS 3). The ESPON TANGO project is one of the few ESPON 2013 projects which has had the opportunity to engage in the *how* and *why* questions with regard to territorial governance. We feel that this is a logical and desirable step on behalf of the ESPON programme and would applaud future research projects directed towards underlining the contexts and processes under which territorial cohesion is achieved in all types of territories – ‘hard’ administrative territories or ‘softer’ functional territories. The ESPON TANGO project has been an initial step in this direction. Likewise the study of territorial governance has underlined the importance (and complexity) of transferability of experiences.

Much of the policy analysis today focuses on governance or multi-level governance in the sense of tracing vertical and horizontal linkages (ESPON TANGO Dimensions 1 and 2 respectively and partly even Dimension 3) and integration of relevant stakeholders (particularly from the bottom-up) into decision making and policy making processes. Thus far, little attention has been paid to the ‘territorial’ dimensions of governance; or adaptability and use of place-based / territorial specificities and impacts (Dimensions 4 and 5 respectively in TANGO terms). These dimensions are projected to become even more important in light of the proliferation of “softer” territorial spaces, in Europe that transcend national administrative boundaries such as macro-regions.

When it comes to policy relevant implications, it is important to stress that the various case studies constituting the evidence-base of the project address policies, programmes and projects insisting on various governance levels as well as located within different institutional and geographical context. Therefore, particular attention must be paid to identify ‘for whom’ the identified territorial governance promoters and inhibitors are considered to be ‘good’ or ‘bad’. Due to this reason, whereas the territorial governance promoters derived from the case studies may be referred to the potential target audience to which they are mainly addressed to, such a distinction is by no mean exhaustive and requires further empirical research on the matter. More in detail, the ‘filtering out’ process of translating and combining various features of good territorial governance from one context is a complex process that implies different degrees of adaptation. In a similar way, the ‘filtering in’ process through which specific territorial governance features may be taken on board in a different domestic context appears to be related to two intertwined dimensions, namely a process of adaptation, that gives origin to policies/actions according to new

contextual forms or shapes, and a degree of territorialisation, i.e. the relationship between these possible policies/actions and specific place-based issues at stake.

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