ESPON
ESPON TANGO –
Territorial Approaches for
New Governance

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List of authors

Nordregio (Lead Partner)

Peter Schmitt, Lisa van Well, Stefanie Lange Scherbenske, Mitchell Reardon

Delft University of Technology / OTB Research (Partner 2)

Dominic Stead, Marjolein Spaans, Wil Zonneveld, Alexander Wandl

Politecnico di Torino / POLITO (Partner 3)

Umberto Janin Rivolin, Francesca Governa, Marco Santangelo, Giancarlo Cotella, Nadia Caruso, Alberta De Luca

University of Newcastle upon Tyne (Partner 4)

Simin Davoudi, Paul Cowie, Ali Madanipour, Geoff Vigar,

Centre for Regional Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Science (Partner 5)

Ilona Pálné Kovács, Cecília Mezei, Zoltán Grünhut

University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Civil and Geodetic Engineering (Partner 6)

Alma Zavodnik Lamovšek, Nataša Pichler-Milanović, Marko Peterlin, Maja Simoneti

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1.   The ESPON TANGO Approach

The TANGO (Territorial Approaches to New Governance) project asserts that territorial governance, as defined in this project (see section 1.1.), matters in order to achieve specific territorial development goals and, in doing so, to strive towards the EU's objective of territorial cohesion. But inevitably how, why and under which circumstances territorial governance matters for a range of different types of territories varies considerably across Europe. Even the question of 'good' territorial governance for whom' must be addressed. Such issues are clearly under-researched in the emerging body of territorial governance literature. Thus the underlying quest of the TANGO project is distinguishing generalisable and transferable lessons of "good" territorial governance. This has been a challenging task, but, as we will argue in chapter 7 supported by the empirical evidence developed within the TANGO project, one that can provide additional fuel to the Cohesion Policy debate and help provide lessons for spatial planning and other policies and practices at national, regional and local levels.

Taking this task to hand, the main objective of the TANGO project has been to draw and synthesize conclusions about territorial governance throughout Europe. Based on a theory-driven, pragmatic and consensual definition and operationalisation of territorial governance, the project seeks to understand the processes by which 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. We provide conclusions on not only how spatial planning and regulatory instruments are involved in territorial governance, but also how broader policy processes such as coordination of actors and institutions, 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 has been 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   *Main research components and a working definition of territorial governance*

The chosen approach undertaken within TANGO is crouched in the research and policy-given questions of the ESPON 2013 programme (see Figure 1.1 and Figure 1.2) and the specific targets as an 'applied research project'. In a nutshell, the transnational project group (TPG) 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 TPG was 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 TPG 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 1.1: Policy Questions to be addressed by the 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 1.2: Research Questions to be addressed by the TANGO project

The evidence-base for most of these questions was derived from a dozen case studies across Europe on territorial governance at play. 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 1.3) has been revisited throughout the research process and has served to provide guidelines for the case study research. In addition it serves as an underlying framework from which the other research parts are unfolded too (see Figure 1.4), as well as a simple heuristic for how actors and institutions can consider territorial governance.

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 1.3: TANGO Definition and Dimensions of Territorial Governance[1]

The above rendered research and policy questions have been converted into a working plan that consists of six main research tasks (see. Figure 1.4). The five dimensions of territorial governance have permeated these research tasks in various ways, which will be further explained in chapter 3.

Figure 1.4: Main Research Tasks of the TANGO project

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[1] 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 still retain the original numbering. Further definitions of these dimensions are presented in Figure 3.1.

In more detail these tasks have comprised the following activities:

- Deriving main conclusions from a literature survey in regards to the theoretical underpinnings and working definition of territorial governance
- Reviewing and comparing typologies of government and governance and examination of their relevance for territorial governance
- Carving out evidence on recent trends in organising and managing territorial development (for instance decentralisation, fusion of municipalities, etc.)
- Selecting and validating the relevance and practicality of indicators for assessing the quality of territorial governance
- Providing evidence from twelve case studies on territorial governance practices from a multi-level, multi-sectoral and multi-actor approach promoting territorial development and/or implementing Cohesion Policy and identifying the main factors of success
- Giving insights concerning promoters and inhibitors for territorial governance,
- Illustrating the possible supporting role of spatial planning instruments and other instruments in good territorial governance
- Developing a model for identifying transferable features of territorial governance
- Designing a guide with good practices for territorial governance, building on 12 in-depth case studies undertaken

These six research tasks also necessitate various methodological and epistemological approaches and perspectives. They are guided by four general research principles, which maybe common to applied research projects such as TANGO and other priority 1 projects within the ESPON 2013 programme. These research principles, namely 'conceptualisation', 'operationalisation', 'analysis and outcome' and 'application', consists of a number of research elements (e.g. indicators, features, components etc.), which all together constitute the TANGO research framework. These elements will be explained in greater detail throughout this report (in particular chapter 3). Nonetheless, in case the reader gets confused, s/he might return back to the following figure.
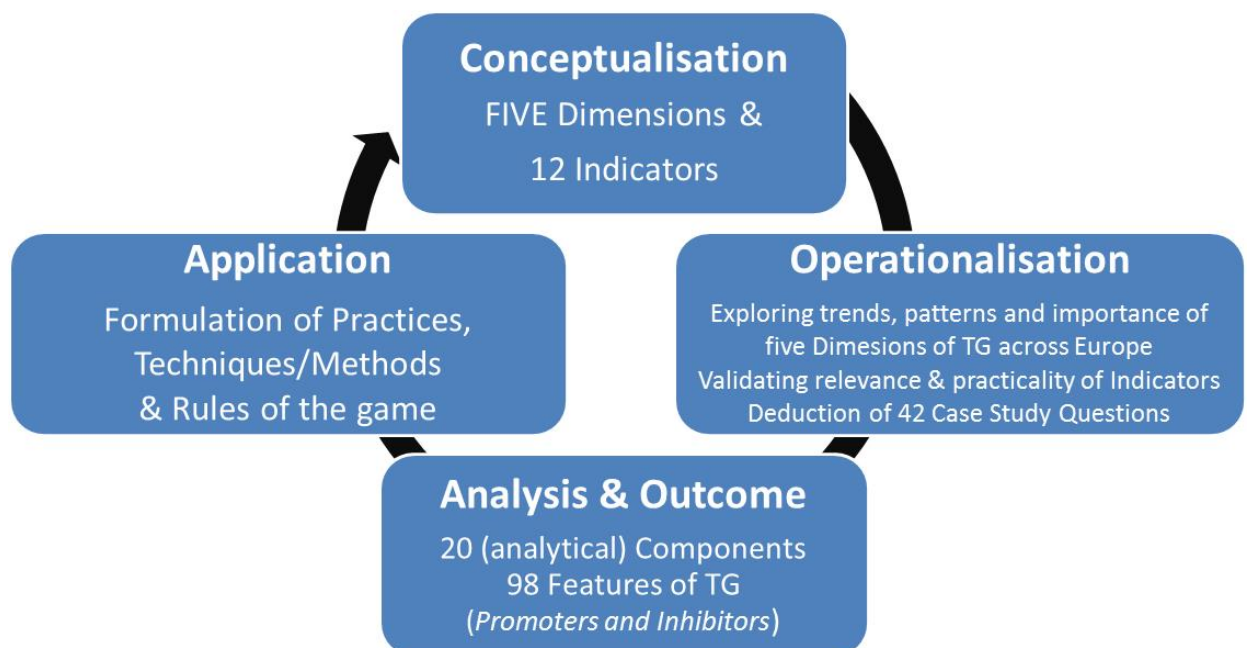
Figure 1.5: Research Principles of the TANGO project

1.2   Theoretical underpinnings of territorial governance

Studies of governance and in particular multi-level governance abound in the research fields of social science and spatial planning. 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 on 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).

Yet the majority of efforts to research on 'governance', irrespective of what kind of further characterisation we choose, 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 shall in particular help 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. However theories on governance, multi-level governance and territorial governance have played a specific role in TANGO in helping the team distil elements for a working definition of territorial governance (see Figure 1.3 above).[2]

Distilling elements for a working definition of "territorial" governance

Spurred on by the political debate on territorial cohesion, territorial governance has been conceptualised 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).

Various shifts in territorial governance across Europe (and in many other parts of the world as well) bring with them some far-reaching implications for the ways in which territorial development is managed and understood. These shifts include changes in the objectives, processes, scales, responsibilities and scope of territorial governance. Lidström (2007) distinguishes four major recent shifts in territorial governance:

- redefining of the role of the nation-state;
- increasing the responsibilities of lower levels of government;
- accepting increasing diversity, variation and even asymmetry between how territories within the nation state are governed; and

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[2] For a more thorough literature review of governance, multi-level governance and territorial governance, please see chapter 1.2 in the Scientific Report.

- increasing marketisation of the public domain (which also includes the privatisation of services of general interest in various fields such as transport, health care, education etc.).

Similar observations are identified in the OECD's report on trends in territorial governance frameworks (OECD 2001a). The past decade has seen considerable change in systems of territorial governance in OECD countries, resulting largely from widespread decentralisation of government functions. In many countries, policy responsibilities and, in some cases, revenue-raising capacities have shifted away from the central government to regional and local governments and this decentralisation has had a dramatic effect on the way nations are governed. Not only have specific tasks been re-allocated to different agencies and the repartition of revenues, but in addition, more flexible institutional relationships have evolved.

Territorial governance is thus a more encompassing way of understanding relationships and linkages among actors within a specific territory or "nested territories", that either of the types of multi-level governance as characterized by Hooghe and Marks (2010). Territorial governance might be said to encompass both the Type I (formal governance/government) arrangements of multi-issues within a specific territory, as well as Type II (informal governance) processes among territories and with regard to issue-specific as well as more cross-sectoral issues.

Davoudi et al characterizes territorial governance as "… the process of territorial organisation of the multiplicity of relations that characterize interactions among actors and different, but non-conflictual, interests" (Davoudi et al 2008:352). According to Davoudi et al (2008:352-353) territorial governance implies both horizontal and vertical coordination and can be described, analysed and evaluated by looking at three broad types of factors: the structural context, the policies of the institutional realm, and the results and processes of actions, programmes and projects for territorial cohesion.

In addition to those observations as well as a number of explanatory notes given above in regards to multi-level and regular governance that touch upon dimension one and two of our definition of territorial governance (see Figure 1.3), another key aspect of territorial governance has been identified based on the claim that is expressed in particular in the spatial planning literature since the late 1980s (cf. exemplarily Healey (1997 for this body of literature). This is that of participation, partnership and inclusion of relevant stakeholders (and in particular here the civic society, cf. dimension no. 3 in Figure 1.3). Namely to mobilise stakeholder participation and thus activate 'their' specific knowledge and, finally, incorporate 'their' claims and concerns in the formulation and implementation of public policies, programmes and projects for the development of a place or territory is often been considered as an approach to attenuate democratic deficits that are somewhat (pre-) defined due to the given institutional environment. That's said it shall be added that the TPG decided to define 'development' as the improvement in the efficiency, equality and environmental quality of a place/territory in line with the Europe 2020 strategy. This has ensured that our empirical 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.

Building upon the recent debate around the concept of resilience of social systems and their adaptability to changing contexts (e.g. economic crisis, natural disasters), the TPG felt that that this can offer some interesting insights into the flexibility and adaptability of governance structures that is driven by social learning processes (cf. dimension no. 4 in Figure 1.3). That is to say the level of adaptability is inevitably

dependent on the ability to self-organise, reflect 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 while the capacity to self-organise and adapt are shared properties of social (and ecological) systems, 'learning' is an essential human (and thus individual) capability.

By incorporating the latter two perspectives (adaptability to changing contexts and to mobilise 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. However, we feel that these two dimensions (here no. 3 and 4 in our working definition) are important to include in understanding territorial governance as a "process", which deals inevitably with the inclusion of actors and institutions and their inherent knowledge and leaning capabilities. Unsurprisingly, we can trace these two also in particular in programmatic policy documents such as the EU White Paper on Governance from 2001 (CEC, 2001), the White Paper on multi-level governance by the Committee of the Region (CoR, 2009) or various reports issued by the UN Habitat, e.g. in 2002 or 2009.

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 the thereby caused equivocalties need to be in particular tackled, since as indicated elsewhere within, but also increasingly outside the ESPON community, place and territory matters. Therefore our research approach is sensitive about the extent to which place-based/territorial specificities and characteristics are addressed within territorial governance practices, which is expresses through dimension no. 5 in our working definition (cf. Figure 1.3). Additionally, it shall be emphasised that we consider territory and/or place as social constructs that are not necessarily limited by jurisdictional boundaries.

Taking stock of the above distilled elements of the emerging body of territorial governance research, we understand the concept of territorial governance as a further elaboration, if not expansion, of the more commonly accepted notions of 'regular' governance and multi-level governance. In this light, the five dimensions (cf. Figure 1.3) reflect and emphasise this by accentuating more explicitly notions such as territory, process, change, inclusion and context. The rationale for this, as we would call it, 'holistic approach towards understanding territorial governance' is summarised in the following four conclusions that are taken from the existing literature that have been seminal to our research within the TANGO project:

- Territorial governance is a *process* that is influenced by structural contexts and institutions. Nevertheless the study of territorial governance must be linked to how the process contributes to the achievement of a specific territorial goal.
- Territorial governance is a way of helping to define or reify new types of "softer" or "functional" territories. Thus it can potentially help to analytically "unravel the territory" much in the same way that the multi-level governance has helped to re-conceptualise and "unravel" the state.

- Territorial governance (i.e. employing a territorial approach in the development of strategies and in decision-making) should be carefully distinguished from the governance of territories. The latter is inevitably always there, in particular in regards to multi-level governance. However, the former offers, according to our initial hypotheses (that have been confirmed later on in our empirical research, see chapter 6), a high degree of sensitivity in regards to 'how' territorial dynamics and challenges as well as prevailing perceptions and knowledge may feed into various processes within (multi-level) governance for achieving a certain territorial goal.
- Hence, territorial governance as a concept and a way of framing research is enriched by the additions of dimensions concerning adaptability and territorial specificities (see dimension 4 and 5 in Figure 1.3). Contrary to Faludi's observation (2012), our research indicates that while the idea of territory may be implicit in studies of multi-level governance, it should be made very explicit and a central part of the policy making process.

If we then assert that 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. Hopefully the results of the TANGO project, as presented in the following chapters, are a step in this direction.

2. Trends and Typologies of Territorial Governance

The research of typologies of government, governance and spatial planning within the TANGO project seeks to understand two key issues. First, it helps to understand the extent to which trends in territorial governance are common (or dissimilar) across the European Union's member states (or clusters of member states). Second, the typology research helps to identify the relative importance attached to the five dimensions of territorial governance (Figure 1.3) in different member states of the EU (and clusters of member states), which in turn helps to understand the extent to which conceptions of territorial governance are similar or different across Europe.

There is no existing typology of territorial governance and the TANGO project has not been able to develop such a typology, among other things, due to a low rate of response to an online survey. That said, we present the work done to understand how typologies of government, governance and spatial planning have been used to inform our work. The typology overview and the related empirical work is presented in full in the Scientific Report in chapter 2. It should be noted that no attempt is made to be comprehensive (since more extensive reviews can be found elsewhere, such as Farinós Dasí et al, 2006; Lalenis et al, 2002; Tosics et al, 2010). Instead, a number of different starting points for these typologies (administrative traditions, welfare regimes and spatial planning systems) were the basis of our work. These typologies are then contrasted against quality of governance indicators (from World Bank data) and a new grouping of countries is developed from these indicators (in section 2.2). These distinct clusters of countries from the 'new' typology are then used to test whether different approaches to tackling territorial policy issues are evident in these clusters, and to examine whether different trends in territorial governance are apparent in these country clusters (see section 2.3).

2.1 Governance styles and typologies across Europe

The literature on comparative politics and government contains many different typologies of government and governance (Kickert, 2007). 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 (European Commission, 1997). According to Kickert (2007), the vast majority of government and governance typologies 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.).

While different typologies of administrative traditions, welfare regimes and spatial planning systems place some states in different positions, a number of common patterns and state clusters emerge. In other words, there are some similarities within each of the typology comparisons. A few countries occupy quite different places across different typologies. Partly due to the time when many of the typologies were constructed. Also it should be noted that only a 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.

2.2 Quality of Governance according to World Bank

Indicators from the World Bank's Worldwide Governance Indicators database[3] are used below to examine the quality of governance of all states in ESPON space (as well as all Balkan states) and to identify country clusters based on these data. Information from an online survey (developed specifically for this project) is then 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 can be identified in these clusters. This exercise helps to understand whether it is possible to speak of distinct practices or approaches to territorial governance across different parts of Europe.

Using aggregate indicators of governance from the Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) project, six distinct clusters of countries in Europe have been identified by means of hierarchical cluster analysis. These statistically-derived clusters have been used as a framework for assessing trends in territorial governance and typical approaches to territorial governance at the national level. While these statistical clusters have some similarities with macro-regional groupings of countries found in comparative politics and public administration literature (e.g. Hendriks et al, 2010) there are also some important differences (see Figure 2.1).

Hierarchical cluster analysis (using Ward's minimum variance method) of the 2010 Worldwide Governance Indicators for all countries in ESPON space was used to reveal clusters of countries which have similar indicator scores on six indicators: 1) Voice and accountability, 2) Political stability and absence of violence, 3) Government effectiveness, 4) Regulatory quality, 5) Rule of law, and 6) Control of corruption. Initial analysis suggested four clusters of countries, where two of the four groupings contained a large number of countries.[4] Subsequent analysis of the two larger clusters using the same analysis techniques suggested that each of the larger clusters might be sub-divided into two smaller clusters.

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[3] The Worldwide Governance Indicators are publicly available from www.govindicators.org.
[4] Initial analysis suggests that clusters I and II belong to one cluster, and that clusters V and VI form another single cluster. Further statistical analysis of these two clusters separately suggests that both of these can be further subdivided.

Cluster I
Nordic states
DK   FI
NO   SE
IS

Rhinelandic states
CH   LU   NL
AT   BE   DE
FR*

Cluster II
British Isles
IE   UK

Cluster III
Visegrád states
CZ   HU
PL   SK

Baltic states
LT   LV
EE

Cluster IV
Southern states
CY   ES   MT
PT   SI**
EL*** IT

Cluster V
Balkan states
BG   HR
ME   RO****

Cluster VI
AL   BA
KV   MK   RS
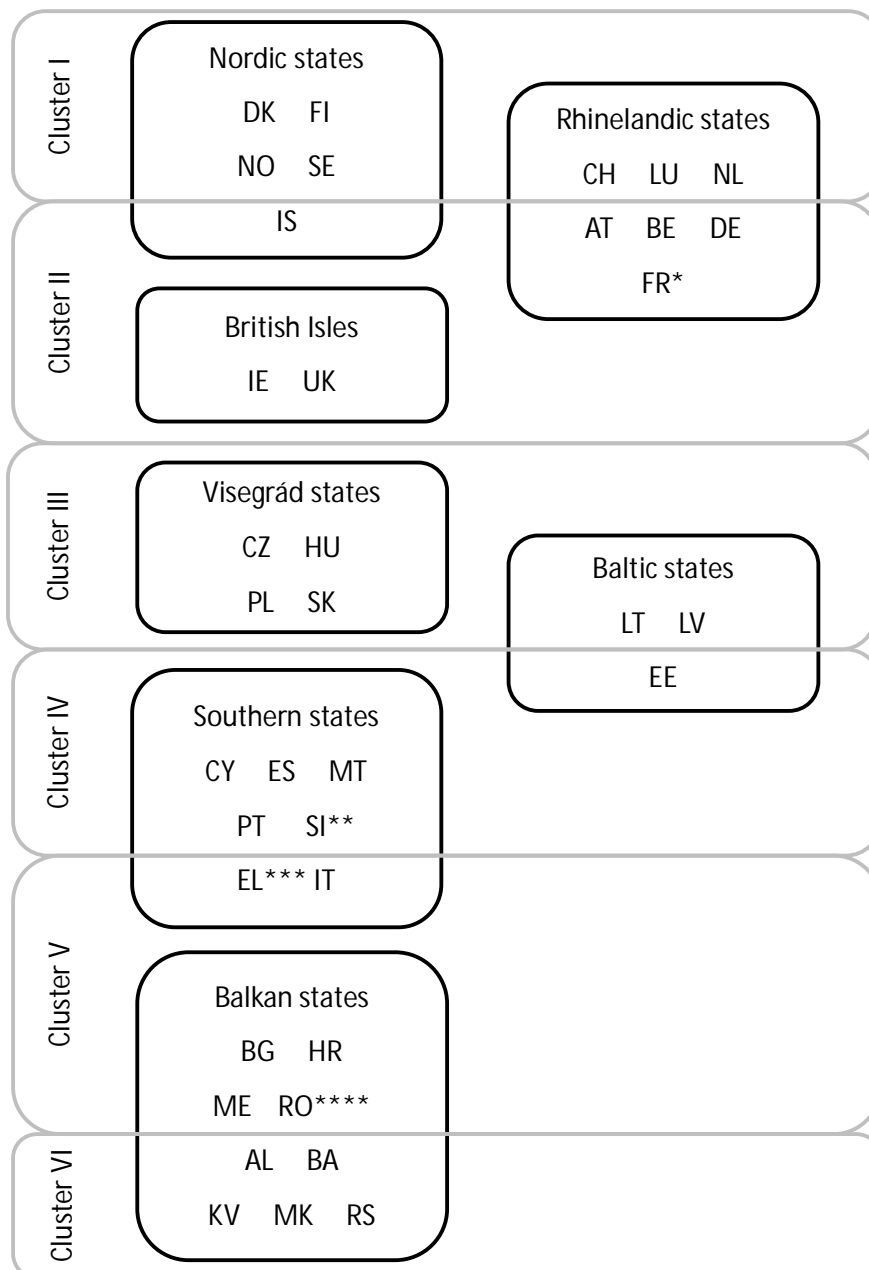
Notes:
* Some of the comparative politics literature categorises France as a Southern (or Mediterranean) state (e.g. Hendriks et al, 2010), rather than a Rhinelandic state (as indicated in the diagram)
** Part of Slovenia belongs to the Balkan region although the country is not generally classified as a Balkan state
*** Although Greece is also located in the Balkan region it is often categorised as a member of the Southern (or Mediterranean) states in comparative politics literature
**** Only a small part of Romania belongs to the Balkan region but the country is categorised above as a member of the Balkan states since it does not belong to the other country groups

Figure 2.1: Six clusters of countries obtained from the statistical analysis of WGI data compared with typical socio-political macroregional divisions

2.3   National Trends in Territorial Governance

One of the objectives of TANGO was to test if territorial governance differs among the six country clusters countries in Europe identified in the analysis presented above (based on quality of governance indicators). Information about trends in territorial governance was collected via an online survey that was developed specifically for TANGO. The survey questions were formulated to gather professional opinions from respondents concerning national trends in territorial governance (with particular focus on three specific policy areas – water management, urban and regional planning and public transport provision[5] – and with emphasis on the issues examined in the OECD's territorial reviews). 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 TANGO project (see Figure 1.3). The survey was aimed at policy officials, professional bodies and academics with an interest in territorial development and/or governance issues in Europe.

The first part of the online survey developed for the TANGO project focussed on national trends in territorial governance in three specific policy areas: water management, urban and regional planning and public transport provision. These policy areas were chosen in order to cover a broad field of policy intervention with assumedly high territorial impacts and knowledge capacities that are to be mobilised on the one hand and which demand the inclusion and coordination of a number of actors and institutions as well as policy sectors and levels on the other.

Questions on trends in territorial governance were therefore formulated under three main topics: (i) the distribution of powers, responsibilities and resources between government tiers; (ii) the relations between national and sub-national governments and between public and private sector bodies; and (iii) the relations with community groups and the general public.

Results of TANGO Survey
The survey found that both centralisation and decentralisation of government powers have occurred across Europe. 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 (or macroregions). Shifts in financial resources and fiscal responsibilities in policy-making processes generally mirror the shifts in government powers, as might be expected. In most countries, irrespective of country cluster, collaboration between different levels of government in policy-making processes increased in importance during the 1990s and/or the decade thereafter (2000-present). Collaboration has increased in importance in all three policy sectors examined in the survey (water management, urban and regional planning and public transport provision). Trends in the contracting out (outsourcing) of 'traditional' government functions in policy-making processes have shifted in the same general direction: towards more contracting out, especially in the period 2000-present. The same is also true for trends in the use of public-private partnerships in policy-making. Citizens have generally become more concerned and involved in policy-making processes related

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[5] Reference to specific policy areas in the questionnaire was made in order to find out whether there were general trends across a range of policy areas, or whether trends were specific to a single area of policy.

to water management, urban and regional planning and/or public transport provision. Some shifts took place during the 1990s but more occurred after 2000. These trends were very widespread and not confined to specific clusters of countries or macro-regions. 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.

In terms of national approaches to territorial governance, the levels of importance attached to the five key dimensions of territorial governance do not widely differ from each other. 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. In general, higher scores are given by respondents in country clusters I and II, while lower scores are given in clusters III and V.

The analysis suggests that trends in territorial governance and the level of importance attached to different dimensions of territorial governance are neither strongly related to the quality of governance of nation states nor to the clusters of countries identified using quality of governance indicators (or existing typologies of government and governance). In other words, differential approaches and ideas associated with territorial governance cannot easily be linked to typologies of government and governance. However, it should be noted that the basis for this conclusion is a relatively limited number of responses to a questionnaire survey. A more extensive study (in terms of respondents and level of analysis) would be necessary to provide more conclusive evidence.

Nonetheless, the results of the typology exercise seem to give some strength to the argument that that "territorial governance" is indeed a different animal than trends in "regular" governance or government.

3. The TANGO framework for exploring territorial governance

The working definition of territorial governance (see chapter 1) has served as the central theoretical framework from which we have studied territorial governance processes. 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. In a second step of the extensive literature review, we have further explored principles and indicators of territorial governance. To that end, we have dived into the question what constitutes 'good' territorial governance and how can it be distinguished from 'bad' governance. Hence, not only purely academic literature, but also a number of policy documents and further relevant studies (including ESPON projects) have been consulted to distil a list of indicators, which allows to assess a number of specific characteristics of territorial governance that are related to the five dimensions as defined in our working definition (cf. Figure 1.3).

Hence our aim has not been to suggest that one definition of 'good' territorial governance would be suitable for different contexts and circumstances. Rather, it is to provide a set of principles which can provide guidelines for analysing the quality of territorial governance in different contexts.

3.1 Refining the initial set of indicators of territorial governance

In the Interim Report a set of 10 indicators was suggested based on an extensive review of the relevant literature. Following a further literature review, work on the typologies (see chapter 2) the TPG finally agreed to add two additional indicators and revised a number of the other indicators (see below). In defining the indicators, the aim was not to produce a rigid framework to evaluate territorial governance processes against a normative 'ideal type' but to develop a flexible toolkit to allow policy practitioner and other actors engaged in territorial governance to better understand the process of territorial governance and how it could move towards good practice. The indicators of territorial governance are therefore designed to sit alongside other elements of the TANGO project. As such they are, at least theoretically, to a high degree related to the various dimensions as table 3.1 suggests. In chapter 5 it is discussed to what extent the all-in-all 12 indicators do link together the five dimensions based on the empirical evidence from our 12 case studies.

The main changes to the indicators between the publication of the TANGO Interim Report and the fieldwork which sought to validate the indicators using the Delphi Method (see chapter 3.3) was the addition of two new indicators. The first one was included in the second dimension (integrating policy sectors). The new indicator 'cross-sector synergy', helped distinguish between the vertical and horizontal integration of policies. The original single indicator was meant to capture implicitly both of these elements but the replacement indictors which separated these two elements were felt to be more robust.

The second change was to switch subsidiarity from dimension 5 (realising place-based/territorial specificities and impacts) to dimension 1 (coordinating the actions of actors and institutions). In its place a new indicator was added to dimension 5, namely 'territorial knowledgeability and impacts'.

Furthermore, we have also considered the set of six criteria which have been developed for the 'Scoreboard for monitoring Multi-level Governance at the EU level' (EIPA 2011). The EIPA report confirms our approach and suggests that indicators that help to assess the quality of governance in terms of 'how' outcomes are achieved are of a qualitative nature (p.19). The report uses the six practices that were developed in the First Edition of the report (2011) of which three are related to procedures and three are related to content of EU policies. It is the former that is of relevance to the indicators of territorial governance. The EIPA report suggests three criteria for procedure including: information & consultation; stakeholders involvement; and responsiveness. These closely correspond with our suggested dimension 3 (mobilising stakeholder participation), which incorporates the following indicators: legitimacy, accountability and transparency. Thus, we did not find it necessary to make further adjustments in this respect.

The final set of 12 indicators then formed the basis of a Delphi Survey which tested their validity with an expert panel from policy and academic communities (see chapter 3.2).

Table 3.1: 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
	Subsidiarity
Integrating policy sectors	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

The following text boxes (here labelled as Figure 3.1) provide a short definition of both the dimensions and the respective indicators of territorial governance.

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.

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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.

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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 11: 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 12: 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.

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Figure 3.1: 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 3.3 and 3.4 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. As with a traditional Delphi Method, the TANGO Delphi survey was structured over three rounds of development. However there was a slight change to the normal procedure in that the first round of the Delphi method involved the TANGO Partners only with rounds two and three being undertaken by the panel of experts. The questionnaires were conducted using publically available online survey software, Survey Monkey.

As can be seen from table 3.2 the scores for practicality either increased or stayed the same. 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 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 were felt to be very context specific and culturally based.

In terms of the scores for relevance, only 3 of the median scores changed with only Leadership having a lower score than round 2. 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 they are relevant indicators of territorial governance.

Table 3.2: Scores for each indicator from the final two rounds

Indicator	Relevance score				Practical Score			
	Mean		Median		Mean		Median	
	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

Overall the results of the Delphi questionnaire have given support for both the relevance of the 12 indicators for assessing territorial governance developed by the TANGO project and perhaps to a lesser extent, their practicality. In the final round of the expert survey all 12 indicators had mean and median scores above 7 indicating strong agreement with the proposal that the indicators were relevant indicators of territorial governance. 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.

This 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 routed 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 TANGO project partners to create a set of quantitative indicators as would normally be associated with an ex-post 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 (here 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 encompass both a qualitative and quantitative methods in the way they seek to understand good or bad territorial governance. The indicators themselves are a conceptual framework which will need to be developed and adapted to suit a particular context and culture. This in part could be done through the adaptation of current methods for assessing the success of territorial governance in other situations. As outlined in the previous section tools such as the Territorial Impact Assessment developed by the ESPON ARTS project and the "Scorecard for monitoring Multi-level Governance" as developed by EIPA and the Committee of the Regions could form part of a comprehensive system of indicators for analysing territorial governance.

The second significant 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 TANGO project. Each of the indicators is not intended, and indeed will not work, as a stand-alone indicator. The development of the indicators stands alongside the other elements of the TANGO project to produce a holistic approach to developing and assessing 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.

3.3   The TANGO case studies

The all-in-all 12 case studies in the TANGO project 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 insights into how territorial governance 'works' in a number of different contexts.

In table 3.3 below the short titles of the case studies are listed, which give some indications about the various territorial policy areas that have been addressed. These included transportation infrastructure and mobility, climate change, economic and urban development, water management, land use and strategic planning, cultural

development and nature conversation. The findings from all 12 case studies are to be found as separated reports (cf. case study report 1 to 12).

Table 3.3: Short titles of TANGO case studies

1	Climate change adaptation strategy for the Baltic Sea Region
2	Resource efficient urban development in Stockholm
3	Public transport and urban development in Rotterdam-The Hague
4	Cross-border Cooperation in the River Rhine Basin
5	Target-based Tripartite Agreement in Lombardy
6	The South Loire plan for territorial cohesion
7	Greater Manchester Combined Authority
8	Neighbourhood Planning in North Shields Fish Quay
9	Building Structural Fund Management systems in Central and Eastern Europe
10	The European Capital of Cultural Pécs
11	Public transport strategies in the Ljubljana Urban Region
12	Trilateral Nature Park Goričko-Raab-Örség

Thus 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- Étienne, 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. The national level has been explored in almost all cases, at least to some extent. Finally, the Baltic Sea Region offers an example of macro-regional efforts at territorial governance in Europe. The case studies thus represent all of the established statistical clusters (with the exception of cluster VI) based on the average WGI scores as shown in figure 2.1.

The case studies are based on desk research, as well as in-depth interviews with key stakeholders and policymakers (via telephone as well as face-to-face interviews and/or focus groups). The first stage has been a preliminary analysis of the five dimensions of territorial governance (the results of this phase have been presented in the Interim report). The second and more in-depth stage involved testing the hypotheses about 'good' territorial governance that were generated in the first phase. Both of these stages were aided by the development of a set of Case Study Guidelines of 42 questions to guide the research team in the types of questions to be dealt with in the interviews (see Annex D in the Scientific Report).
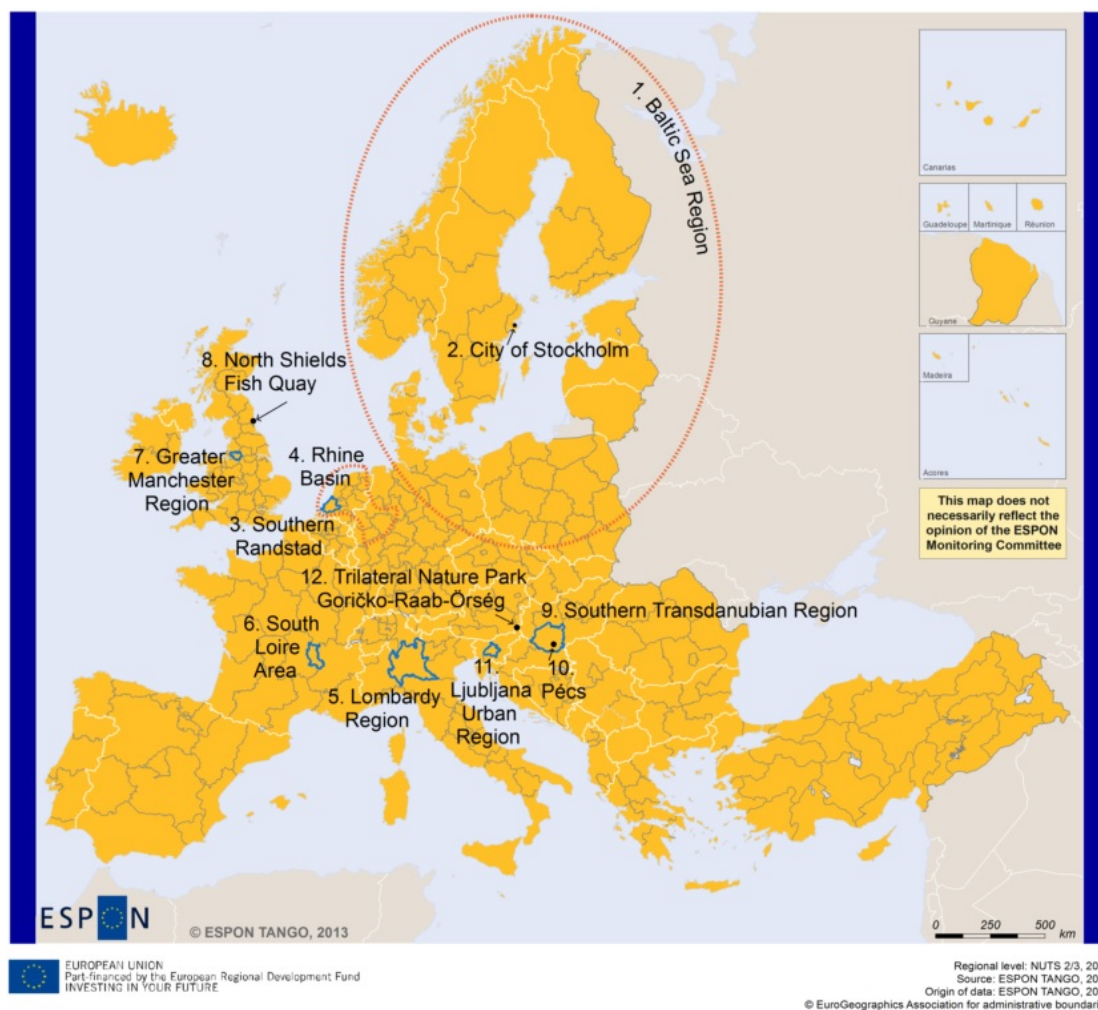
Map 1: TANGO case study areas' main territorial focus

Most of the cases address as well the tension between hard and soft territories. The former relates to jurisdictional boundaries, which is normally represented by some sort of government. Soft territories are often loosely defined. In some cases functional criteria (river catchment area, extension of nature park) or the inherent territorial logic of a specific project, policy or programme that address some specific territorial goal or challenge to be overcome such as developing a climate change adaptation strategy for the Baltic Sea Region. In Map 1 above the (more or less) dominating territorial logic is highlighted for each case study. In most of the cases, due to the interplay between different levels of government as well as other actors and institutions that follow not necessarily the logic of jurisdictional boundaries only more loosely defined (or a territorial goal) both types of territories (soft and hard) are represented. This causes often lots of tensions as regards the question of democratic legitimacy or accountability for instance, which have been further discussed in the case studies (see case study reports 1 to 12).

The 12 case studies throughout Europe are the main empirical output of TANGO, since the project goal has been to draw some generalisations across the set of cases, and construct some cautious comparisons, based on theory. Our working definition of Territorial Governance, the five dimensions, as well as the selected 12 indicators of Territorial Governance have defined the main framework of our investigations. In the case studies we have identified in a sense both 'good' and 'bad' practices in order to stimulate both positive and negative lessons in the form of features (see below). In addition, the idea has been to leave some room to explore characteristics of territorial governance, which go beyond our framework. The case studies thus helped us to peer closely into the 'black box' of territorial governance practices and thereby understand some of the main mechanisms at play.

3.4 Conceptualising components of Territorial Governance

Based on our analysis a number of '**features**' of territorial governance were extracted from each case study to consider to what extent they are either **promoters** or **inhibitors** to achieving a certain territorial development goal (as defined in the policy, programme or project at hand). These might include innovative practices of achieving novel results, or how certain barriers have (or have not) been overcome and are listed at the end of each case study (see cases study report 1 to 12). The features identified in each case study have been further compared and explored regarding their transferability (cf. chapter 6).

Whereas the '**features' have a more 'normative' function** indicating some lessons for designing territorial governance, the '**components** of territorial governance' (see Figure 3.2 below) that have been also distilled from the case studies **are more of objective character**, since they are analytically derived from our theoretical and conceptual framework. They link together most of the central elements of the five dimensions and the 12 indicators. As such, the **components** are related in particular to the observed practices, routines, but also mechanisms and partly structures of territorial governance. In this way 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 and to critically re-visit the five dimensions of territorial governance (cf. chapter 5).

Dimension 1: Coordinating actions of actors and institutions
1) Distributing power across levels
2) Distinguishing modes of leadership
3) Structures of coordination
4) Dealing with constraints to coordination

Dimension 2: Integrating policy sectors
5) Structural context for sectoral integration
6) Achieving synergies across sectors
7) Acknowledging sectoral conflicts
8) Dealing with sectoral conflicts

Dimension 3: Mobilising Stakeholder participation
9) Identification of stakeholders
10) Securing of democratic legitimacy and accountability
11) Integration of interests/viewpoints
12) Insights into territorial governance processes

Dimension 4: Being adaptive to changing contexts
13) Institutional learning.
14) Individual learning and reflection
15) Evidence of forward-looking actions
16) Scope of flexibility/experimentation

Dimension 5: Realising place-based/territorial specificities and impacts
17) Criteria/logic of defining intervention area
18) Coping with hard and soft/functional spaces
19) Utilisation of territorial (expert) knowledge
20) Integration of territorial analysis

Figure 3.2: The 20 components of territorial governance as a framework for synthesising the 12 case studies

The research framework, as summarised below (see Figure 3.3), is thus the result of in-depth analysis, reflection and discussion within the TPG. It aims to guarantee high scientific quality as well as a high degree of comparability. Nonetheless, the TANGO TPG suggests that the five dimensions and the 12 indicators, and particularly (some) of the 42 core questions and 20 components can be helpful for practitioners, policy- and decision makers at various levels too. They can be used as control questions or check points in particular for those who organise, manage or want to initiate territorial governance processes or basically to review current territorial governance situations.

5 Dimensions → **12 Indicators** → **42 Core Questions** → **20 Components**
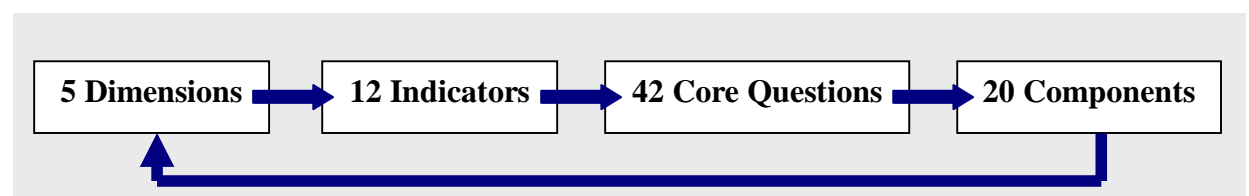
Figure 3.3: The TANGO research framework in a nutshell

4. Evidence-based synthesis from the case studies

As the case studies were finalised, it was possible to draw some generalisations in the analysis of the results. Although a goal of the TANGO project is to illuminate particular 'good practices' of territorial governance (ie as 'promoters', see also chapter 6.1), this have been be primarily done in the 'Guide for practitioners, policy and decision makers'. 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 chapter 3.4, focused rather on the more integrated set of 20 components that are representative of the structural and process-oriented facets of territorial governance. As such, we address in an integrated way the Research Questions pinpointed in section 1.1.

4.1 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 (e.g. case 'Climate change adaptation strategy for the Baltic Sea Region' or 'Trilateral Nature Park Goričko-Raab-Örség'). But also in the local and intra-regional cases, a distinction could be made between **normative** (e.g. case 'Neighbourhood Planning in North Shields Fish Quay') and **regulatory** power (e.g. case 'Public transport strategies in the Ljubljana Urban Region'), with most cases of territorial governance involving a mixture of both (e.g. case 'Public transport and urban development in Rotterdam-The Hague'). 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 (cf. case 'Cross-border Cooperation in the River Rhine Basin'). 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 (cf. cases 'Greater Manchester Combined Authority' and 'The South Loire plan for territorial cohesion').

2) Distinguishing modes of leadership

The modes of leadership varied across case study areas. **Clear leadership** was a characteristic of those cases, which apparently are more successful in achieving the territorial development goal at hand, regardless of whether the leadership was formal, informal or even shifting (e.g. cases 'Neighbourhood Planning in North Shields Fish Quay' and 'Cross-border Cooperation in the River Rhine Basin'). 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 (see case 'Public transport and urban development in Rotterdam-The Hague'). Several of the cases, which rather

failed to achieve the targeted development goals were marked by leadership which was unclear, opaque or contested (e.g. case 'Target-based Tripartite Agreement in Lombardy'). 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 (e.g. cases 'Building Structural Fund Management systems in Central and Eastern Europe' and 'The European Capital of Cultural Pécs').

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 (e.g. case 'The South Loire plan for territorial cohesion') or organised on an ad hoc basis (e.g. case 'The European Capital of Cultural Pécs'). 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 (e.g. case 'Neighbourhood Planning in North Shields Fish Quay' or 'Trilateral Nature Park Goričko-Raab-Örség'). In fact, we see that in some 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 (e.g. case 'The South Loire plan for territorial cohesion'). In a few cases, the coordination of actors and institutions occurred behind closed doors and was not an explicit process (e.g. case 'Resource efficient urban development in Stockholm'). 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 (see case 'Neighbourhood Planning in North Shields Fish Quay'). However the cases pointed out several characteristics as enabling factors in the coordination of actors. These include previous cooperation among actors (see cases 'Trilateral Nature Park Goričko-Raab-Örség' and 'Cross-border Cooperation in the River Rhine Basin'), specific inter-municipal arrangements (cf. case 'Public transport and urban development in Rotterdam-The Hague'), or the desire to create and maintain a certain 'image' to be presented to the outside world, and which demanded coordination (cases 'Climate change adaptation strategy for the Baltic Sea Region' and 'Resource efficient urban development in Stockholm'). Several case studies also noted that a **unified political landscape**, whereby the same political party dominated multiple governance levels, was an important facilitation factor (e.g. case 'Greater Manchester Combined Authority' and 'Target-based Tripartite Agreement in Lombardy').

4.2 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' and general more functional territories whereby a regional, transnational or cross-border strategy or agreement forms the basis for cooperation among sectors (cf. cases 'Public transport and urban development in Rotterdam-The Hague', 'Cross-border Cooperation in the River Rhine Basin' and 'Climate change adaptation strategy for the Baltic Sea Region'). 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 ('e.g. cases 'Public transport strategies in the Ljubljana Urban Region' and 'Resource efficient urban development in Stockholm'). 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 with 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 (e.g. case 'The South Loire plan for territorial cohesion'). 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 (e.g. case 'Climate change adaptation strategy for the Baltic Sea Region' or 'Cross-border Cooperation in the River Rhine Basin'). In the cases featuring municipal or local governance, synergies were often facilitated by formal or informal structures to promote public-private partnerships (e.g. case 'Greater Manchester Combined Authority' or 'Resource efficient urban development in Stockholm'). 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 (e.g. case 'Trilateral Nature Park Goričko-Raab-Örség').

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, which were coloured by economic, social and environmental interests. The specific 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 (e.g. cases 'Resource efficient urban development in Stockholm' and

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'Neighbourhood Planning in North Shields Fish Quay'). But the cases also reflected the tensions between **short-term political goals and longer-term territorial or sectoral goals** (e.g. case 'The European Capital of Cultural Pécs'). Tensions also became apparent with regard to the sectors that appeared to be 'sidelined' by other more dominant sectors (e.g. cases 'Building Structural Fund Management systems in Central and Eastern Europe' and 'Target-based Tripartite Agreement in Lombardy').

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 (cf. case 'The South Loire plan for territorial cohesion'). 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 (e.g. cases 'Climate change adaptation strategy for the Baltic Sea Region' and 'Trilateral Nature Park Goričko-Raab-Örség'). 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 (cf. case 'Greater Manchester Combined Authority').

4.3   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 cases we can observe that 'routines' have been established which also show some degree of transparency (e.g. case 'The South Loire plan for territorial cohesion'). Others have reported that there is hardly any consistency in how this identification process is performed (e.g. case 'Resource efficient urban development in Stockholm'). 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 (e.g. case 'Public transport and urban development in Rotterdam-The Hague'). 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) (e.g. cases 'Public transport strategies in the Ljubljana Urban Region', Building Structural Fund Management systems in Central and Eastern Europe' and 'The European Capital of Cultural Pécs'). 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 (e.g. 'Climate change adaptation strategy for the Baltic Sea Region').

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 in particular at the municipal level** (e.g. the planning and building code) (see case 'Resource efficient urban development in Stockholm'). 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 (cf. cases 'Public transport and urban development in Rotterdam-The Hague' and 'Greater Manchester Combined Authority'). 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 (see case 'Public transport strategies in the Ljubljana Urban Region').

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 (e.g. cases 'Climate change adaptation strategy for the Baltic Sea Region' and 'Public transport strategies in the Ljubljana Urban Region'). Here the question to what extent the intervention at hand is considered to be **strategic or of high or low political importance** (or contested) determines how various interests and viewpoints are taken into account (e.g. case 'Resource efficient urban development in Stockholm'). 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, albeit with modest success (e.g. case 'Neighbourhood Planning in North Shields Fish Quay').

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 (see cases 'Greater Manchester Combined Authority' and 'Climate change adaptation strategy for the Baltic Sea Region'), or where influence of stakeholders is clearly limited in the issue at hand (see case 'The European Capital of Cultural Pécs'). 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 (see cases 'Public transport and urban development in Rotterdam-The Hague', 'Building Structural Fund Management systems in Central and Eastern Europe' and 'Target-based Tripartite Agreement in Lombardy'). 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 (e.g. cases 'The South Loire plan for territorial cohesion' and 'Cross-border Cooperation in the River Rhine Basin').

4.4   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 need to be addressed. How this knowledge is managed and secured for future purposes within institutions is certainly a question of **resources, scope for (individual) capacity-building and mechanisms**. What is apparently required is stability of institutional arrangements (see case 'Cross-border Cooperation in the River Rhine Basin'), various means to store and develop knowledge (monitoring system, annual reports) (e.g. cases 'Public transport and urban development in Rotterdam-The Hague', 'The South Loire plan for territorial cohesion' and 'Public transport strategies in the Ljubljana Urban Region') and mechanisms to safeguard personalised knowledge due to the fluctuation of individual actors (e.g. as was lacking in the cases 'Building Structural Fund Management systems in Central and Eastern Europe' and 'The European Capital of Cultural Pécs'). However, besides such rather structural aspects, leadership styles and the level of collaborative culture (e.g. positive in the case of 'Greater Manchester Combined Authority') 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 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 in general scarce (e.g. cases 'Resource efficient urban development in Stockholm' and 'The South Loire plan for territorial cohesion'). 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 (cf. cases 'Trilateral Nature Park Goričko-Raab-Örség' and 'Neighbourhood Planning in North Shields Fish Quay).

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 cases 'Climate change adaptation strategy for the Baltic Sea Region' and 'Cross-border Cooperation in the River Rhine Basin') or are part of

strategy, scenario and/or monitoring work (see cases 'Greater Manchester Combined Authority' and 'Public transport and urban development in Rotterdam-The Hague'). Others noted that at least opportunities for forward-looking actions are given or possibly being considered in the future (e.g. 'Building Structural Fund Management systems in Central and Eastern Europe'). In one case it has been reported that the strong belief in continuous urban growth seems to make the consideration of other alternatives meaningless (cf. case 'Resource efficient urban development in Stockholm').

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). A prime example is the case of 'Climate change adaptation strategy for the Baltic Sea Region', since the relative little guidance from the EU and its non-binding character leaves lots of room for experimentation and a high degree of flexibility as regards policy design and implementation. The case 'Target-based Tripartite Agreement in Lombardy', for instance, shows a rather low scope of flexibility due to a rigid process management in order to meet the pre-defined targets in particular on the side of the EU Commission. Other factors promoting the scope of flexibility are the possibility to **integrate ad hoc debates, to create new partnerships** (see the cases 'Public transport and urban development in Rotterdam-The Hague' and 'Greater Manchester Combined Authority'), **soft leadership** that allows corrective actions or to search for new solutions in light of overwhelming economic crisis (see case ''Trilateral Nature Park Goričko-Raab-Örség'). Limiting factors are scarce resources (budget) and business-as-usual attitudes (see cases 'Public transport strategies in the Ljubljana Urban Region' and 'Resource efficient urban development in Stockholm'). 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 (cf. cases 'Cross-border Cooperation in the River Rhine Basin' and 'Trilateral Nature Park Goričko-Raab-Örség').

4.5   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 is being pre-defined by the **jurisdictional boundaries** of the lead institution (e.g. municipality) (e.g. cases 'Resource efficient urban development in Stockholm' and 'The South Loire plan for territorial cohesion') and b), the territorial scope is based on **functional/issue-based criteria** (e.g. catchment area of river, nature conservation, labour market region) (e.g. cases 'Cross-border Cooperation in the River Rhine Basin' or 'Trilateral Nature Park Goričko-Raab-Örség'). Also in some cases both logics are integrated, which enormously complicates a number of previously discussed components of territorial governance (in particular under dimensions 1 and 3) (e.g. cases 'Public transport and urban development in Rotterdam-The Hague' and 'Public transport strategies in the Ljubljana Urban Region'). As regards functional/issue-based criteria one needs to add that the territorial scope can be also contested or unclear depending on the issue area or sector that is being covered (see cases 'Climate change adaptation strategy for the Baltic Sea Region' and 'Neighbourhood Planning in North Shields Fish Quay').

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 a more issue-based (and often wider) context, and concrete interventions that are dealt with, as it is often the case in the end, 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 (see cases 'Cross-border Cooperation in the River Rhine Basin' and 'Greater Manchester Combined Authority'). 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 (here 'Neighbourhood Planning in North Shields Fish Quay'). 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. The only clear exception displays the case of 'Target-based Tripartite Agreement in Lombardy', where this potential to support the territorial governance process there has not been activated at all. 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**. As regards the latter the cases of 'Trilateral Nature Park Goričko-Raab-Örség' and 'Cross-border Cooperation in the River Rhine Basin' seem to demonstrate some interesting characteristics how this has been achieved.

20)   Integration of territorial analysis

Although the utilisation of territorial (expert) knowledge is in general 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 (see the case 'Climate change adaptation strategy for the Baltic Sea Region') 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 that although comprehensive analysis has been undertaken, the decision-making process was rather shaped by other rationales (see case 'Building Structural Fund Management systems in Central and Eastern Europe'). 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) (e.g. case 'Neighbourhood Planning in North Shields Fish Quay') or of **setting priorities due to limited resources** (see case 'Public transport strategies in the Ljubljana Urban Region'). Examples for the latter are the selection of certain areas for territorial monitoring (cf. case 'The European Capital of Cultural Pécs') or the integration of territorial impact assessments for only strategic' projects (those who get high political attention) (see the case 'Resource efficient urban development in Stockholm').

5.   Re-conceptualising territorial governance

Based on the synthesised results from our 12 case studies across Europe presented in chapter 4, 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 both *governance* and *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'.

In performing the case studies, the project partners found that it was not always easy to make the analytical distinction between real life actions from dimension 1 and dimension 2. Dimension 1 (coordinating the actions of actors and institutions) was often a basis for dimension 2 (integrating policy sectors); that is, the actors involved on various levels are those responsible for integrating policy sectors. 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 within a territorial context. 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 actions for 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.

There is thus a strong interplay between dimensions 1 and 2 as there is a high dependency on institutionalised structures to integrate both actors and sectors in various policy decisions (cf. Figure 5.1**).** Between dimensions 1 and 3 there is moderate interplay as the coordination of actors and institutions may help to support inclusion of further stakeholders and territorial grounding. Likewise between dimensions 2 and 3 the mobilisation of relevant stakeholders can support the integration of various sectoral views and interests in order to control or assess the inter-sectoral design of an intended policy, programme or project.

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 5.1).

What is also striking is that 'territorial elements' are only implicitly integrated in dimensions 1 and 2. In essence, these dimensions are not specifically "territorial" but are important aspects of any governance or multi-level governance issue. The

territorial element comes in 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.

The analysis of the cases also showed that what was sometimes hindering local, regional, national or transnational territorial governance was the fact that governance routines were not very adaptive to dealing with change. They often lacked the capacity to respond to unanticipated events or long-term challenges such as climate change or work within "softer" territorial groupings such as cross-border cooperation schemes or macro-regions. The necessity of the adaptability of institutions is not only limited to changing territorial contexts, as institutions need to adapt to a range of shifting circumstances such as declining population or the financial crisis. However the case studies found that adaptability became particularly important when knowledge about differing territorial conditions became evident (such as the need for local or national institutions to adapt to new Structural Fund demands or the need for local climate change strategies to take into consideration a strategy at the level of the macro-region). Likewise, they often were unsure how to actually use the expert knowledge, analyses and tools produced on territorial questions (such local plans) and their impacts and/or lacked routines to incorporate local knowledge gleaned from stakeholders into their decision-making processes (dimension 5). This is perhaps because there is a different overarching mechanism at play than in dimensions 1 and 2. While dimensions 1 and 2 set the structural pre-conditions of multi-level governance, which demands coordinative capacities, dimensions 4 and 5, as argued below rather have **knowledge as the overarching mechanism** (see figure 5.1).

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 dimension 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.
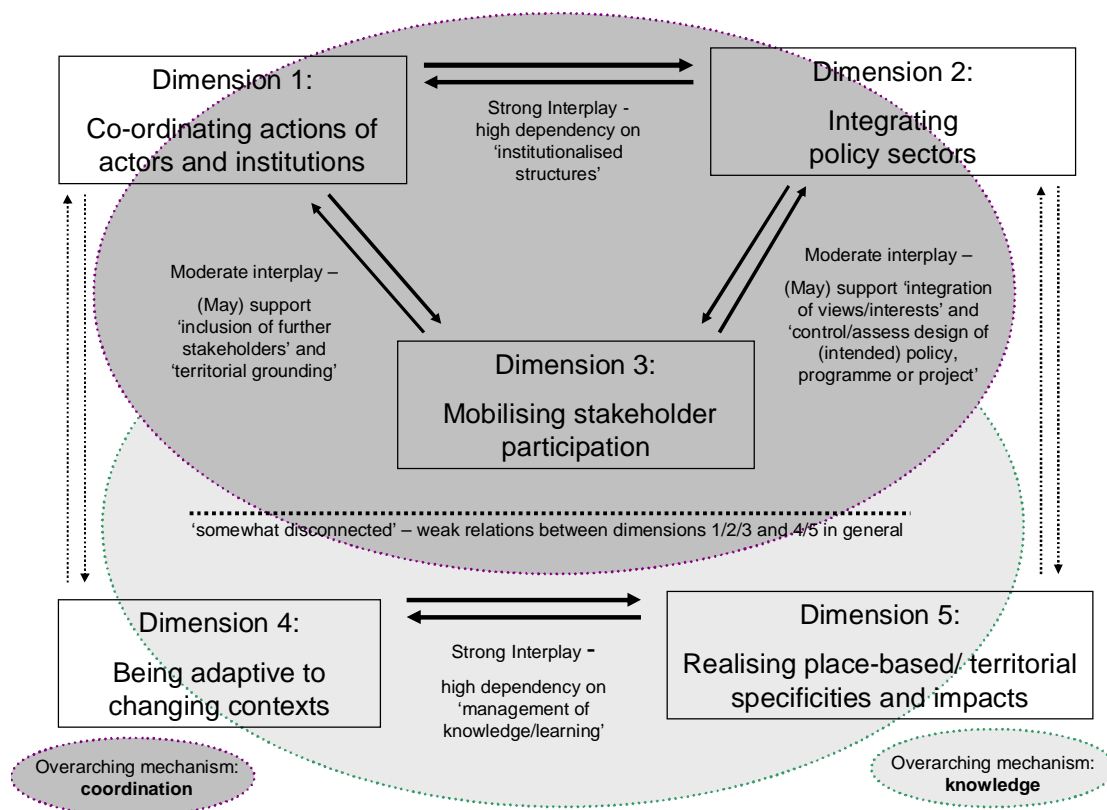

Figure 5.1: Inter-relations between the five dimensions of territorial governance

In general we can argue that the interplay within the triangle composed of dimensions 1, 2 and 3 has been (largely) captured, although using a different starting point, by other authors using the concept of "regular" governance and/or 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' within TANGO 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 does (relational) space as a social construct, as well as categories such as 'place' and 'territory' factor into multi-level governance (see figure 5.2).

As such, we discern a clear "disconnect" or weak relationship between dimensions 1, 2, and 3 and dimensions 4 and 5. This disconnect comes from the empirical results of the case studies, which show that most territorial questions take into consideration at least some of the components of these dimensions. It was harder in reality to find examples where the case studies specifically made conscious efforts to adapt their institutions to new or shifting territorial knowledge. This disconnect is mirrored in the theoretical discussions of multi-level governance and territorial governance whereby many contributions (e.g. Hooghe and Marks, 2001; Howlett, 2009, Lidström, 2007) discuss primarily the "vertical" and "horizontal" dimensions of governance, but fewer have really honed in on how institutions can be adaptive and how they can realise place-based specificities (e.g. Birkmann et al, 2010; Burkeley and Kern, 2006).

We assert that this is one of the added value elements of the TANGO research: based of our empirical evidence we argue that territorial governance includes not only dimension 1, 2 and 3, but also dimensions 4 and 5, which truly distinguish it from multi-level governance and includes in a pronounced way the territorial and knowledge-based perspective.
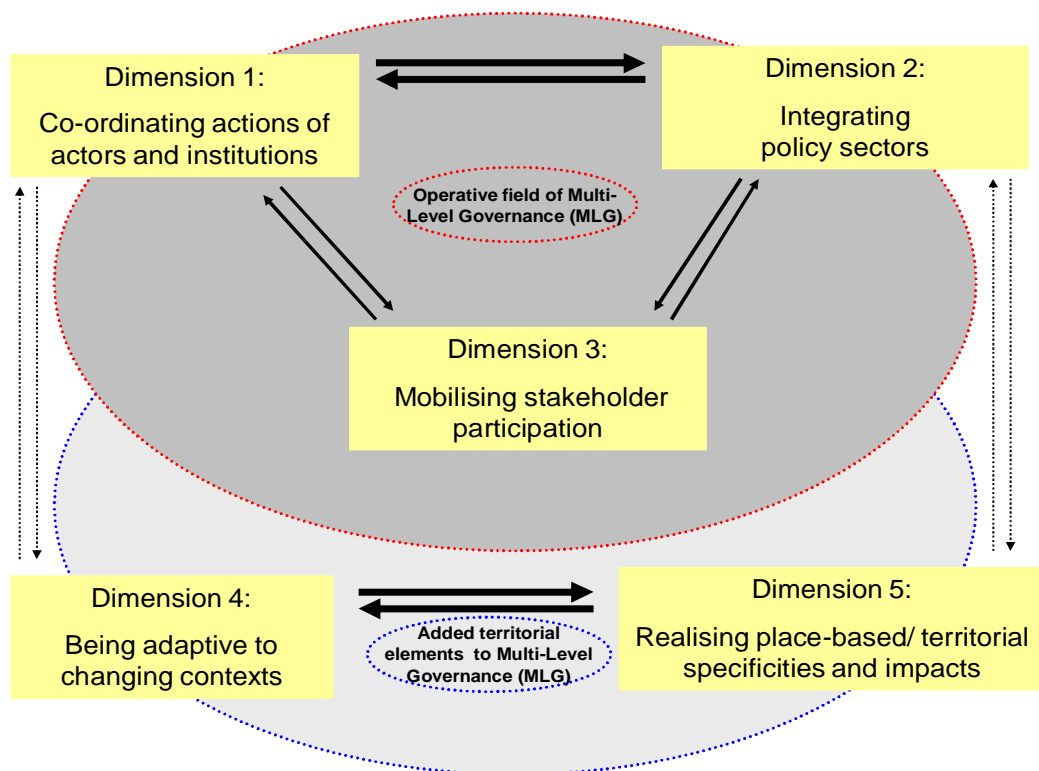

Figure 5 2: The operative field of Multi-Level Governance and the 'Added territorial elements to Multi-Level Governance'

A framework for "promoting" territorial 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 (see figure 3.3) 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.

To this end we also argue that the five dimensions as such can constitute a simple framework or heuristic in which to actually "promote" territorial governance. Policymakers, decision makers and practitioners that desire to take a territorial governance perspective in their work can use the five dimensions as a "checklist" for thinking about what actions they can take that will facilitate the realisation of a territorial goal in an efficient, equitable and sustainable manner (see table 7.1 in chapter 7). In this sense while the dimensions (and the indicators) do not form a systematic means of "measuring" good territorial governance, they do serve as a reminder or a benchmark for working towards better territorial governance (see also the Guide to better Territorial Governance).

In addition we want to underline that our framework for analysing the performance of territorial governance is not a territorial development assessment tool. Rather it helps to "think about" territorial governance *processes* along the five dimensions and 12 indicators respectively. In doing so, it also provides a useful means to carve out a number of features of territorial governance (which worked more or less well in the case at hand) (see also chapter 6) and thus to make some further qualified investigations into the 'quality of processes' within territorial governance.

6. Transferring territorial governance

The assumption that dissemination practices can lead to policy change "has become an accepted wisdom within national policies and programmes, as well as in international arenas and networks" (Bulkeley, 2006: 1030). This is evident when looking at recent EU policy documents, highlighting how the identification and dissemination of best/good[6] practices is pivotal to many areas of European policy (e.g. CEC, 2006). Similarly, various global policies, programmes and initiatives all illustrate that the development and dissemination of practices is widely considered to be an effective means for promoting policy transfer and learning (World Bank, 2000; OECD, 2001a; CEC, 2006; UN-Habitat, 2009).

The TANGO research project aims, among others, at developing practical advice for territorial governance based on evidence from current practices. This is not an easy task, as territorial governance processes are intrinsically complex and made up of a number of key dimensions and it is highly questionable that any territorial governance practice can be assumed as entirely 'good' or 'bad'. Rather, each territorial governance practice can be supposed 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.

By problematising the act of transferring lessons of "good" territorial governance, this chapter aims at building an analytical bridge between the case study results and the policy relevant dissemination output of the project, i.e. the handbook entitled 'Towards Better Territorial Governance in Europe: A Guide for practitioners, policy and decision makers'. In order to test and verify the results emerging from the case study analyses as well as to obtain additional relevant information concerning the identification of good territorial governance features and their transferability, a *Stakeholder Workshop* was held within the framework of the TANGO project on 20 March 2013 in Brussels. The workshop played an essential role in the consolidation and further detailing of the project's results and, most importantly, in the development of the handbook.

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

Following the argument of Wolman and Page (2002), who define policies as made of various elements that can be exchanged, the transfer of each feature of good territorial governance from one context to others may be seen as depending on different *interactive resources* that, in turn, may be more relevant for specific categories of stakeholders active in territorial development. Linking each territorial governance feature that may potentially be transferred to the category or categories

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[6] Different concepts of best/good practices can be identified within the international debate. In general terms, a 'best practice' indicates a superior method or action that contributes to the improved performance of an organisation, and as such should be usually recognised as 'best' by other peer organisations. On the other hand, a 'good practice' is related rather to the accumulation and application of knowledge about what is working / not working in different situations and contexts, including a continuing process of learning, feedback, reflection and analysis (what works where, how and why). In this light, also taking into account the widespread opinion on the problematic meaning of the term 'best practice' (see, for instance: Andrews, 2010; Grindle, 2011), to refer to 'good' rather than 'best' practices seems to fit more appropriately the aims of the TANGO project, as the research is mainly expected to derive its findings from case studies rather than from a comprehensive comparative analysis.

of *interactive resources* – namely: (i) **ideas and principles**, (ii) **practices of implementation,** (ii) **techniques and methods for policymaking tools**, and (iv) **rules for structuring territorial governance** – which would potentially be more effective in promoting the transfer may therefore allow to link each of these features to the specific group of stakeholders that usually manage those resources. In particular, those promoters that are identified as more easily transferrable through practices of implementation should be primarily addressed to practitioners[7]; those that seem to require techniques and methods for policymaking tools should be addressed to policy-makers[8]; and those that are assessed as needing the codification of rules for structuring territorial governance should be addressed to decision-makers[9]. Finally, the promoters whose transfer is considered to potentially occur through ideas and principles should be addressed to all the categories of stakeholders.

The case studies analysis has helped to generate a number of **features** of territorial governance. Building on the assumption that each case would include characteristics of territorial governance and thus could help to define what features may contribute to 'good' territorial governance and what may undermine it, each research team was asked to identify specific territorial governance **promoters** that emerged from their case study by referring to the five territorial governance dimensions that constitute the TANGO working definition of territorial governance. Similarly, they were asked to identify, in relations to each of these five dimensions, one or more **inhibitors**, or in other words, 'bad' features of territorial governance.

The promoters were then further discussed in the Stakeholders' workshop (see Scientific report chapter 7.4.3, which led to a further revision of the list).[10] Those promoters that were assessed as relatively easily transferrable through practices of implementation were primarily addressed to practitioners; those that seemed to require techniques and methods for policymaking tools were addressed to policy-makers; and those that were indicated as demanding rules for structuring territorial governance were addressed to decision-makers. Finally, the promoters which transfer could occur through ideas and principles were assigned to the above mentioned groups of stakeholders (see table 6.1).

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[7] Practitioners of territorial governance are the private or public professionals engaged in various roles concerning activities with a territorial dimension at different scales and cohesion policy programmes or projects in Europe. Practices are the specific resource they 'can manage', since they are protagonists of the creation of interactive knowledge, which is generated from the social experience of territorial governance processes.

[8] Policy makers of territorial governance are usually public executives and officials in charge of spatial planning and control activities at various administrative levels in all countries, as well as deputed to implement cohesion policy at the EU level (e.g. officials of the European Commission) or at national, regional and local levels in Member States. Techniques of policymaking, applied through the elaboration of programmes and projects, are the primary resource of which they dispose in order to address territorial governance processes.

[9] Decision makers of territorial governance are those appointed by democratic vote, such as members of the EU Parliament and national parliaments or regional and municipal councils, often in charge of ministerial or departmental roles that are related to spatial planning and to cohesion policy. In reason of their elective position, they are the ones that can establish rules on territorial governance.

[10] The inhibitors are discussed further in section 7.4 of the Scientific Report.

Figure 6.1: Territorial governance promoters organized by interactive resources and target audiences

Practices of implementation (practitioners)	Techniques and methods for policy-making tools (policy-makers)	Rules for structuring territorial governance (decision-makers)	Ideas and principles (all stakeholders)
• Organizational routines favouring cross-sector fertilisation	• Effective strategic framework – strategies	• Political support to policy integration at the appropriate territorial scale	• Strong political commitment towards a shared territorial vision
• Involvement of relevant public and private stakeholders	• Institutional capacity – qualified staff	• Spatial tool favouring sectoral integration	• Win-win situation – interest
• Common goals, common history	• Follow-up – monitoring	• Balance between flexibility and legal certainty	• Compatible policy sectors
• Motivation	• Stability of cooperative experiences	• Code of conduct – guidelines	• Rationale catalysing integration
• Capacity of negotiation	• Pro-active public organisation	• Leadership at the right level	• Acknowledgement of and integration within a multi-level policy framework
• Effective means of communication/dissemination of information	• Mechanisms allowing for broad stakeholders' involvement	• High level of accountability	• Quality of motivation
• How to motivate stakeholder (vision, benchmarking)	• Information flow ensured	• Multi-annual programming	• Clear and uncontested leadership
• Usage of various mechanisms of participation	• Feedback procedures	• Power to decide change at the right level	• Self-committed leadership
• Exchanging best practices to understand the right amount of adaptation	• Methods for attracting change	• Role of people in charge of responsibility	• Ownership of questions
• Involvement, participation, commitment	• Territorial Impact Assessment	• Institutional mechanisms that favour learning	• Adaptive management (flexibility, room to change direction)
• Co-production of knowledge and knowledge transfer		• Institutional mechanisms supporting adaptivity	• Integrative holistic
• Experience in complex programming		• Involvement of different levels of government	• Being conscious and being inspired
• Existing shared territorial knowledge		• Functional regions	• Evidence of larger territorial context
• Acknowledgement and use of territorial potentials		• Eliminate barriers to cooperate	• Territorial challenges
• Building trust – permanent cooperation		• Spatially differentiated policies	• Awareness of territory

6.2 "Towards Better Territorial Governance"

The practices of implementation, techniques and methods for policy-making tools, the rules for structuring territorial governance, as well as ideas and principles have been taken into account in the making process of the handbook 'Towards Better Territorial Governance in Europe: A Guide for practitioners, policy and decision makers'. The five **dimensions** of the TANGO territorial governance definition, the different **levels of action** to which they can be promoted as well as the aforementioned **interactive resources** constitute the structuring elements of this guide (see Figure 6.1). As explicitly mentioned in the guide, an improvement of territorial governance in Europe resembles the complexity of the well-known Rubik's Cube. A further difficulty is that here each single player is unable to decide all moves, having however the chance to produce changes in the overall framework.

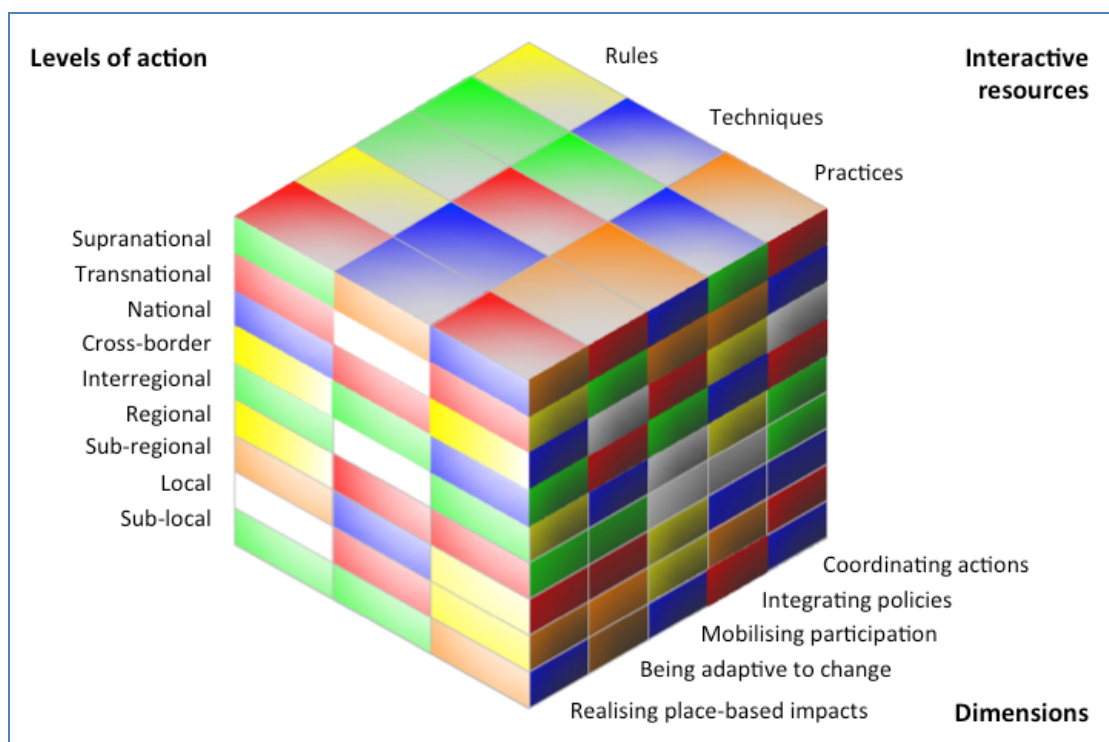*Figure 6.2: The "Rubikube" of better territorial governance in Europe*

The guide addresses the main phases of the territorial governance process, i.e. *decision*, *address*, *implementation* and *assessment*, which are respectively managed by the target groups of the guide: decision makers, policy makers, practitioners and the technical/scientific community (despite a frequent overlapping and confusion of roles in real cases).

7. Policy Options: The Added Value of a Territorial Governance Approach

The Territorial Agenda of the European Union 2020 clearly states that the objectives of the Europe 2020 Strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth can only be achieved by taking into account the territorial dimension of the strategy. More recently 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.

Europe is still in recovery from a deep financial crisis and struggling with unemployment and social exclusion. At the same time it must switch to a low-carbon economy and adapt 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. The so-called 'place-based approach' as delineated in the Barca Report (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 Territorial Agenda of the European Union 2020 from 2011 and the NTCCP (Network of Territorial Cohesion Contact Points) report from 2013, which both call for a place-based, territorially sensitive and integrated approach to policies, so as to improve the performance of actions on all levels and create synergies between different types of policy interventions.

Based on our empirical findings the TANGO project team asserts that governance matters and territorial governance matters in order to achieve specific territorial development goals and, in doing so, to strive towards the EU's objective of territorial cohesion. But, as discussed in the previous chapters, how and under which circumstances territorial governance matters varies considerably for the vast range of territories across Europe. Thus distinguishing generalisable and transferable lessons about territorial governance processes has been a challenging task, but one that can provide additional fuel to the EU Cohesion Policy debate for instance.

Taking this task to hand, the main objective of the TANGO project has been to draw and synthesize conclusions about territorial governance throughout Europe. Further below (see chapter 7.1 and 7.2) we provide some conclusions on not only how spatial planning and regulatory instruments are involved in territorial governance, but also how broader policy processes such as coordination of actors and institutions, cross-sectoral integration, stakeholder mobilisation, adaptive capacity, and realising territorial specificities and impacts, can be used to inform the future of Cohesion Policy. While the spatial planning actions taken at national, regional and local levels are often utilised in implementing Cohesion Policy we have separated the types of policy options in a way that Cohesion Policy refers mainly to the development actions at EU level. Nonetheless, we want to 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.

7.1 Supporting territorial governance and spatial planning work at national, regional and local level

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, as mentioned above, since the territorial governance context differs quite dramatically across Europe, it is impossible to give 'one-size-fits-all' recommendations. Thus decision and policy makers and practitioners can pick and choose various options with relevance for their own territorial circumstances.

Resulting from our case studies and synthesis of outcomes, we argue that policymakers, decision makers and practitioners or spatial planning and related policy areas can find **added value in taking a territorial governance approach** for the following reasons and in the following ways:

- A territorial governance approach that *coordinates the actions of actors and institutions* pays attention to the distribution of power across levels and makes a distinction between **regulative power** (ability to make laws and regulations) and **normative power** (ability to frame visions and strategies). The latter is more likely to be used in "softer" functional spaces than in harder administrative "governmental" spaces (cf. dimension 5). This coordination (cf. dimension 1) is also **facilitated by clear and consensual leadership – either formal or informal.** Coordinating actors and institutions can help to ensure that policies or strategies are efficient and equitable to achieve "smarter" growth and a more cost-effective manner.

- A territorial governance approach that works on *integrating policy sectors* should first **acknowledge that sectoral conflict exists** and needs to be dealt with. This requires **territorial knowledge of different sectors** as well as knowledge of various stakeholder **values and principles** (cf. dimension 2). The TANGO case studies show that the means to facilitate inter-sectoral synergies is mainly through **dialogue, partnerships and networks**; basically the people involved in the various sectors need enter into frank discussions with one another about how a territorial goal can be solved in an inter-sectoral manner. But in order to do this, national, regional and local administrative structures also need to be **adaptable enough** to enable inter-sectoral work (cf. dimension 4). This could facilitate an approach which is more "sustainable" in considering all of the relevant sectors within the areas of economy, social aspects and environmental policy.

- A territorial governance approach that can efficiently and equitably *mobilise stakeholder participation* can do so by ensuring the allocation of both **human and financial resources** to make it in the interests of stakeholders to participate (cf. dimension 3). In particular within spatial planning, a number of tools have been developed in recent years (and could be further utilised here) to ensure that **not just the "usual suspects"** join in participatory processes (e.g. using (social) media for engaging a broader range of people as well as other actors and institutions), and that processes be made **accountable to stakeholders** (ie reporting back on how their input was used). In addition, efforts should be made to increase the participation of business interests in stakeholder forums, particularly small and medium-sized enterprises. Such an

approach will help to increase "inclusiveness" of the actors which have a stake in an issue

- A territorial governance approach that is *adaptive to changing contexts* can enable national, regional and local authorities to respond to crises, such as the current economic one, by "**thinking outside the box**" in the search for quick (and long-term) solutions. The results of the case studies show that more flexible or "softer" governance 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. Here again, in particular spatial planning tools like **developing 'visions' and/or 'scenarios'** could support such territorial governance processes in order to identify options and alternatives that are still in line with the intended territorial development goal. 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**.

- It is a common place in particular within spatial planning that one of the underlying core challenges is to make trade-offs between the spatial logic of those actors and institutions that align their practices almost solely along the borders of political jurisdictions (hard spaces) and others that favour a more functional approach which demands a more permeable or soft understanding of these 'hard spaces'. Be it as it may, we argue that **a territorial governance approach that *realises place-based/territorial specificities and impacts* will inevitably 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 how this can be facilitated, including, creation and work towards a **common territorial goal** or **developing a specific territorial rationale**, utilising a **high degree of flexibility** in policy design and implementation and developing a **culture of collaboration** to link the policy, planning, civil society and scientific communities to coordinate territorial knowledge.

Finally, we have asserted in chapter 5 that the five dimensions as such constitute a simple framework to comprehend territorial governance. In particular they offer room for local, regional and national actors to assess the extent to which the territorial dimension matters within regular (multi-level) governance. Thus the five dimensions offer a holistic approach to support spatial planning work. As such they can be used as an instrument for practitioners, policy makers and decision makers to *think about, review, check, organise and eventually promote territorial governance* processes within spatial planning work.

While it is impossible to give specific instructions for such a wide range of territorial scopes and issues, table 7.1 below illuminates a '**checklist**' of some of the questions that policymakers, decision makers and practitioners can ask themselves to ensure that their planning takes into consideration various territorial governance dimensions. These questions have been distilled from the 42 Case Study Guideline questions (see Annex D of the Scientific Report) which the cases found particularly relevant in

doing territorial governance, and from the examples in Chapter 5 of the Handbook "Towards Better Territorial Governance".

Table 7.1: A checklist for thinking about and "promoting" Territorial Governance

1. Coordinate the actions of actors and institutions to set up flexible coordination based on subsidiarity
- Which actors at all levels are needed to organize and deliver the territorial goal at stake?   - What types of existing platforms or forums are available to facilitate coordination?   - Do existing platforms/forums have the capacity and legitimacy among actors and institutions to achieve the territorial goal at stake?   - What is the formal and informal distribution of power / room for manoeuver?   - What types of territorial knowledge do actors and institutions have?
2. Integrate policy sectors to create a rationale for policy integration
- Which policy sectors are needed to be able solve the issue at hand?   - What are the potential or real sectoral conflicts?   - Who is able to discuss the topic? Who has a stake in this?   - What are the potential synergies that could be realized by inter-sectoral cooperation?
3. Mobilise stakeholder participation to involve the appropriate actors
- Have all relevant groups been considered (e.g. inhabitants, policymakers, interest groups)?   - How can new or previously excluded groups be included in participation processes?   - How could stakeholders be encouraged to participate?   - How are stakeholders given insight into territorial governance processes?   - Are there processes or mechanisms in place to use the territorial knowledge gained through stakeholder participation?
4. Be adaptable to changing contexts to pursue a shared understanding of the changing context
- How can individual and institutional learning be encouraged?   - How can forward-looking and/or experimental decisions be made?   - In which ways can new territorial knowledge be integrated into the process?   - Have contingency plans been made, and what is the scope of flexibility?
5. Realise place-based/territorial specificities and impacts to adopt a multi-scalar vision
- What are the place-based specificities that are most relevant for the issue?   - How has the area of intervention been defined? Are the boundaries "soft" or hard?   - How can territorial knowledge (expert or tacit) be utilized in achieving the goal?   - How are the territorial impacts of policies, programmes and projects evaluated?

7.2 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, Cohesion Policy decision and policy-makers and practitioners can more fruitfully engage in territorial development in a more place-based manner. As such, we would assert that **territorial governance as a means to achieve a territorial cohesion needs to be more prominently framed within EU policy documents such as the update of the Territorial Agenda EU 2020.**

A place-based, territorially sensitive approach is assumed to help realise the closer coordination of European Funds[11], 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). Thus the national authorities and programme drafters have been challenged to take a more integrated approach in charting out their Cohesion Policy Options. In addition the 2014-2020 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 within Cohesion Policy instruments. This is also echoed in the report "how to strengthen the territorial dimension of Europe 2020 and the EU Cohesion Policy" (Böhme et al, 2011).

To this end, the results of the TANGO analyses of the case studies 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.

Coordinating the actions of actors and institutions
In order for Cohesion Policy to better be able to *coordinate the actions of actors and institutions*, it is important to remember that coordination is largely an iterative process. Existing networks and partnerships that have been built up both around Operational Programmes or other regional development cooperation should be harnessed with regard to forming potential new projects, particularly flagship or strategic projects. It is especially important that the networks formed in a bottom-up fashion are utilised in programme and project development, as these tend to have a higher rate of success (ESPON TERCO). Likewise discussions of future Cohesion Policy instruments could further stress the need for programmes to take a **multi-level governance approach** and involve actors on all appropriate levels in projects so as to increase their political legitimacy.

Against this backdrop, new instruments for intervention in cities and territories in the EU Cohesion Policy period 2014-20 are addressed to improve interaction among actors and organisations. In particular, the **Community Led Local Development** (CLLD) is built on the long experience of the LEADER Community Initiative.

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[11] 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).

Integrating policy sectors

In order for Cohesion Policy to facilitate *integrating policy sectors* administrative routines and structures should be promoted to creative synergies (and avoid overlap). Horizontal Actions within Operational Programmes are good examples of this (here the cross-cutting **Horizontal Actions of the EUSBSR Action Programme**). This is especially important in light of the reduction of priority areas that the current programming period insists upon in order to avoid potential problems with absorption of funds. Thus future Cohesion Policy discussions could make horizontal actions a more pronounced aim of Operational Programmes.

In regards to methods and techniques, territorial governance should be assessed from a territorial and inter-sectoral perspective, which implies the adoption of inter-sectoral evaluations. With this in mind, the **Territorial Impact Assessment (TIA)** represents an interesting approach to evaluate territorial policies and projects, although it was originally intended to evaluate the territorial impacts of EU sector legislation. High-level institutions and organisations, such as DG REGIO and DG AGRI, ESPON and Eurostat, are currently developing this approach and this could further lend itself to a territorial governance perspective.

Mobilising stakeholder participation

In order for Cohesion Policy to better *mobilise stakeholder participation*, the Partnership Contracts of the 2014-2020 period for the coordination of funds and mobilisation of stakeholders should be evaluated as to how they have established truly collaborative forums. Place-based schemes cannot be managed by central governments alone. Thus local and regional stakeholders and the territorial knowledge they bring with them (cf. dimension 5) are essential to ensure that a bottom-up perspective complements top-down Cohesion Policy actions. Partnership Contracts could then include the demand that stakeholders from all levels are active in the drafting and implementation of programmes.

Benchmarking exercises to compare how involvement and participation mechanisms are implemented in different situations may be helpful. These can be learnt, amongst others, from the LEED (Local Economic and Employment Development) Programme of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. Activities developed by the Eurocities network and by the EU programme URBACT deserve attention as well. Here, one may look at very diverse initiatives focused on a specific issue (unemployment or wellbeing, for instance) or referred to more comprehensive development strategies. These help to find similarities and possibilities to adopt – and adapt – strategies and methodologies in different contexts.

Being adaptable to changing contexts

In order for Cohesion Policy be more *adaptive to changing contexts*, there is a need to find ways of **transcending the project form** to ensure that the knowledge and outputs of various projects are not lost once the project ends and can be utilised in the longer term. This includes questions of the "**ownership" of immaterial results** of projects and the possible "institutionalisation" of strategic documents and visions. Future Operational Programmes could thus encourage projects to develop **long-term strategies for how the knowledge created will be made accessible and sustainable** (for example web platforms).

The Common Strategic Framework for EU Cohesion Policy during the 2014-20 period has introduced some major improvements, such as the Partnership Contract between the EU and Member States and various instruments for local development in specific sub-regional areas. An adaptability and **alignment of national and**

regional programming systems with the EU model in the next years would ensure consistent gains in overall efficiency. To this end a greater focus on the different types of institutional capacity (see ESPON SMART-IST) would facilitate such alignment.

Realising the place-based/territorial specificities and impacts
In order for Cohesion Policy to better *realise place-based /territorial specificities and impacts*, programmes must be built on the areas' specific challenges and opportunities. This extends not just to analysing the socio-economic or territorial trends and data of a region, but also **assessment of the territorial governance processes** within a region. To this end, a **better balanced and more timely utilisation of on-going or *ex post* evaluations** could be made to ensure their inclusion in the policy designing and drafting of new programmes. On-going and ex post evaluations of the new programming period could thus include how the **territorial governance situation within a region (or cross-border region) could affect the realisation of programme objectives, priorities and indicators**. This will help in the creation and sharing of territorial knowledge as one of the mechanisms by which the Territorial Agenda EU 2020 proposes to make territorial cohesion a reality. Moreover, the recently introduced tool for the next Cohesion Fund programme period (2014-2020) – the **Integrated Territorial Investments** (ITI) advocates going beyond traditional administrative boundaries to co-operate and co-ordinate actions in order to achieve shared goals. Based on ITI, the **Integrated Sustainable Urban Development** is proposed more specifically for territorial governance in urban areas.

In accordance with the Policy Questions addressed within TANGO (figure 1.1) please see table 7.2 below for the specific trends on how territorial governance is organised (PQ1), the role of national and regional spatial planning instruments (PQ2) and the lessons for Cohesion Policy (PQ3) as listed per dimension of territorial governance.

Table 7.2: Responses to Policy Questions (PQ1 to PQ3) as listed per dimension of territorial governance

	PQ1: How is territorial governance organised	PQ2: Role of national and regional spatial planning instruments	PQ3: Lessons for Cohesion Policy
Dimension 1 **Coordinating actors and institutions**	Trend towards "softer" functional regions with more normative than regulatory power in coordination of actors.	National and regional planning structures need to have a consensual territorial goal or outcome to have any real "bite".	Coordination of actors on all levels is largely an iterative process. Cohesion policy could build on existing networks and collaborative forums.
Dimension 2 **Integrating policy sectors**	Still a lack of tools to help policymakers deal with sectoral conflict.	National and regional policy makers need to acknowledge at first the fact that sectoral conflict exists. Gathering knowledge and relational dialogue facilitates integration.	Operational Programmes, in light of the CSF should continue to develop routines and administrative structures to integrate policy sectors (like Horizontal Actions).
Dimension 3 **Mobilsing stakeholder participation**	Stakeholder mobilisation is a lynchpin for achieving territorial governance.	Allocation of resources (human and financial) for mobilisation of stakeholder on various levels is key to involving stakeholders; need to avoid only involving "usual suspects".	Partnership agreements of new programme period need to be evaluated to see how they act as collaborative forums for integration of different funds.
Dimension 4 **Being adaptive to changing contexts**	Many institutions are not adaptable enough yet to be able to take an integrated territorial governance approach.	Encourage "thinking outside the box" in the search for forward-looking actions, allocate more resources for capacity building and training.	Operational Programmes could discuss ways that the territorial knowledge created in projects transcend the project-level and become institutionalised to some extent.
Dimension 5 **Realising place-based/ territorial spec/impacts**	Territorial knowledge is recognised as important but is not always fully integrated into place-based policies.	Better integration of territorial impact assessments in policies.	Within all Cohesion Policy instruments, make better use of ex post evaluations in the feedback linkage between programmes and projects.

8. 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 of 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 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.

Nonetheless, we should not forget that empirical evidence in particular drawn from qualitative research within social sciences (as it inevitably is in ESPON in general and the TANGO project in particular) is typically open to various interpretations and policy options and thus it cannot be considered an unambiguous guide to policy-making. Likewise the study of territorial governance has underlined the importance (and complexity) of transferability of experiences.

In this light, we argue that the hitherto strong focus within ESPON on quantitative analysis based primarily on available territorial statistics is a first, necessary step to description of the challenges and opportunities in Europe. But **to understand *why* cities and regions develop in different ways, in-depth knowledge is often necessary, and requires in turn qualitative analysis**. When qualitative methods are applied to support evidence-based policy-making, it is often in the form of case studies of cities and regions. This partly contradicts the overall aim to derive universal conclusions for the entire ESPON space. Nonetheless, **to make the next step in terms of understanding the territorial dynamics and mechanisms in Europe, there should be more room for qualitative research in general and in the broad field of territorial governance in particular.**

In this light we want to underline that the TANGO project has been an initial step in this direction and there are certainly further possibilities for follow-up research in the future, be it within the ESPON 2020 programme or beyond.

Further investigations within dimensions 4 and 5

Much of the policy analysis today focuses on governance or multi-level governance in the sense of tracing vertical and horizontal linkages (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. In this light, it might be worthwhile to set up a what is called in ESPON 2013 a "targeted analysis project" (priority 2), in order to study how the two dimensions factor into

territorial development within a specific territorial context (e.g. a city-region) and what are the concrete practices or at least possibilities seen by local stakeholders to overcome some of the addressed challenges. For this purpose, **the TANGO research framework (consisting of dimensions, indicators and core questions) can be used and even fine-tuned to do further analysis and enrich our lists of promoters and inhibitors of territorial governance** and in this way also update the handbook (ie. the guide for practitioners, policy and decision maker). Certainly further in-depth studies could be also performed for the other three dimensions, but the aforementioned two (dimension 4 and 5) are inevitably at the heart of the ESPON programme as such.

Re-visiting the concept of stakeholders: For whom do the TANGO results really matter?

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 as well as located within different institutional and geographical contexts. Therefore, particular attention must be paid to identifying 'for whom' the identified territorial governance promoters and inhibitors are considered to be 'good' or 'bad'. Whereas the territorial governance promoters derived from the case studies may be referred to the potential target audiences to which they are mainly addressed to, such a distinction is by no means exhaustive and requires further empirical research on the matter.

We do appreciate that increasingly, ESPON is trying to widen the target group for the results from various projects, in particular among policymakers from the local to the transnational level (e.g., within the EU Commission), and in some projects even decision-makers or other kinds of practitioners (e.g., regional analysts). This is a desirable goal, because evidence-based territorial knowledge matters at various scales (and thus policy levels), but it challenges researchers to provide tailor-made results for what is often a rather vaguely defined target group. This was in particularly a vital question when designing the handbook. In particular within (territorial) governance studies, actors and institutions are in the focus. Looking at our case studies, we can, unsurprisingly conclude, that these include a very broad range of various kinds of stakeholders. **In other words, when engaging further into territorial governance research, one needs to further investigate what types of stakeholders matter for what kind of element or issue**. The same might be the case for other kind of research and analysis within the broad field of ESPON and beyond.

Territorial Governance and Spatial Planning: two sides of the same coin?

In 2011, the two scholars Nuissl and Heinrichs pose the question: Does the governance discourse have something to offer to spatial planning? Their conclusion, which is mainly based on a survey of more theoretical and conceptual literature, is rather sceptical, since many issues discussed under the label of governance are already integral elements of current thinking about spatial planning. Rather the governance discourse is useful for reflecting spatial planning practices in particular at the interface of state, market and civil society. They also argue that the "notion of 'good governance' can serve as reality check for the expectations regarding the efficacy of (….) approaches to participatory, transparent, and proactive spatial planning (Nuissl & Heinrichs, 2011, 55). Taking inspiration from these arguments, we would suggest that the notion of spatial planning and related terms need to be further reflected in a European perspective by distilling a number of key elements in a national as well as transnational perspective. In recent years some basic work has been undertaken in the field of comparing planning systems and conceptualising the

notion of planning cultures across Europe. The results stemming from this exercise should be systematically compared with findings and conclusions from the TANGO project. In the end, it would be fruitful for the debate within ESPON as well as the larger planning and policy community in Europe to what extent the two notions (territorial governance and spatial planning) can cross-fertilise each other and/or converge or not. In this light, the research could also give fuel to the debate about the robustness of the two concepts in research and policy.

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