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Transferring Territorial Governance Practices in the European Union

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Territorial Cohesion in Europe

For the 70th Anniversary of the
Transdanubian Research Institute

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Editors

Ilona Pálné Kovács
James Scott
Zoltán Gál

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Giancarlo Cotella – Umberto Janin Rivolin – Marco Santangelo

Introduction

The Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (EU) (Art. 174) mentions that, in order to promote its overall harmonious development, the EU shall develop and pursue its actions leading to the strengthening of its economic, social and territorial cohesion. The recent establishment of the aim to strengthen territorial cohesion as a shared competence with the member states has reinforced the ongoing political debate on how policies of different administrative levels can be co-ordinated. The organisation of territorial development is rather complex as decisions related to territories are made at different administrative levels, for different sectoral policies, and by different types of public and private actors. The concept of territorial governance would describe the political ambition to co-ordinate policies, programmes, and projects in the interest of territorial de-velopment. Thus, especially at the time of restricted public budgets, policy-makers in the field of territorial development feel a strong need to understand how policy actions can become more effective in their daily practice and how synergies can be exploited through vertical and horizontal co-ordination of public policies, programmes and projects. In particular in complex policy-making contexts where different levels and sectors are involved, practical advice and good examples providing inspiration for decision-makers, policy-makers and practitioners are needed.

Aiming at providing an insight into the matter, our contribution presents a part of the interim results of the ESPON project "*TANGO – Territorial Approaches for New Governance*"[1], in particular those related to the identification of peculiar elements of good territorial governance and their transferability. In doing so, we first briefly give an overview of the ESPON TANGO approach, presenting the

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[1] The ESPON TANGO project is pursued by a consortium led by Nordregio, involving the following partners: Delft University of Technology, University of Newcastle upon Tyne, Politecnico di Torino, Centre for Economic and Regional Studies (Hungarian Academy of Sciences); University of Ljubljana. See more at:

http://www.espon.eu/main/Menu_Projects/ Menu_AppliedResearch/tango.html

working definition of territorial governance adopted by the project, and the evidence base the latter is built upon. We then introduce an analytical model framing the process of policy transfer in the domain of EU territorial governance. More in detail, building on the evidence collected through the analysis of case studies, the authors discuss a number of "features" of good territorial governance, reflecting upon the main modes of transfer, too. The final section presents some interim conclusions on the basis of discussed results, and provides some ideas on future research perspectives.

Unpacking Territorial Governance – The ESPON TANGO Approach

Studies on governance and in particular on multi-level governance abound in political science and the theory of spatial planning. The majority of these studies are based on methods such as constructing narratives around particular cases and components of governance. While these inductive approaches confirm that "governance does matter" and contributes to a deeper understanding of the role it plays in achieving a certain outcome, there seems to prevail a need for "generating hypotheses about how, why and under which circumstances it matters a little, a lot or not at all" (ESPON 2012, p. 6). Aiming to provide a contribution to this line of thought, the ESPON TANGO project is pivoted, among others, on two main objectives, both of which are further reflected upon in the subsections below: on the one hand, it delves deeply into the conceptualisation of territorial governance while, on the other hand, it provides empirical evidence to support future territorial development policies in the EU.

Territorial Governance – a Working Definition

A very wide scope of research aims to explore the general notion of governance (e.g.: Pierre – Peters 2000, Stoker 1998), mainly focussing on various "models" of governance based on empirical observation and showing how the shift from government to governance has shaped decision-making and planning processes with the inclusion of many new types of actors and institutional frameworks. Moreover, the European integration literature went deeply into the discussion of multi-level governance in terms of the allocation of responsibilities and competencies, as it follows from Hooghe and Mark's distinction between Type I and Type II governance systems, whereby Type I has a limited number of non-overlapping multi-issue jurisdictions and Type II is composed of many flexible, sometimes overlapping jurisdictions that are often task-specific (Hooghe – Marks 2001 and 2003).

The concept of *territorial governance* is more recent in origin compared to *governance* and *multi-level governance*, and theory focuses more on how the concept has infiltrated into and been interpreted in the territorial debate (Janin Rivolin 2010, Faludi 2012). Territorial governance has become an increasingly important aspect of policy actions in Europe, related to the concept of territorial cohesion, together forming an integrated policy goal and a political and planning process including the means to achieve efficient, equitable and sustainable development in all types of territories in the EU. In spite of recent achievements, however, the debate on territorial governance continues to build on traditional governance discourses. For instance, when defining territorial governance as "[...] *the process of organisation and coordination of actors to develop territorial capital in a non-destructive way in order to improve territorial cohesion at different levels*", Davoudi et al. (2008, p. 37) conceptualise the term largely on the basis of "regular" governance theories, at the same time making a call for the development of a theory of territorial governance to be tested through new empirical analysis.

In order to partially provide an answer to this need, and to develop a working definition of territorial governance upon which various research activities could be built, the ESPON TANGO consortium collected the cornerstones from literature with regard to what is perceived as being most essential and inherent in the notion of territorial governance. The starting point was the argument by Davoudi et al. (2008, pp. 352–353) who, building on the results of the ESPON 2.3.2 project (ESPON 2007), claim that territorial governance implies both horizontal and vertical co-ordination and can be analysed by looking at three main types of factors: (1) the structural context, (2) the policies delivered by the institutions, and (3) the results and processes of actions, programmes, and projects for territorial cohesion. This leads to consider territorial governance as the organisation of new "constellations of actors, institutions and interests" (Gualini 2008, p. 16) both between units of government and between governmental and non-governmental actors and, in turn, it raises the questions related to the *integration of relevant policy sectors* and to the *co-ordination of such actors, in particular in a multi-level perspective*.

In addition, the consortium addressed the recent debate about the concept of resilience of social systems and their *adaptability to changing contexts* (e.g. economic crisis, natural disasters), building on the idea of Gupta et al. (2010) about "adaptive institutions", i.e. institutions that encourage learning among actors by questioning the socially embedded ideologies, frames, assumptions, roles, rules and procedures that dominate problem-solving efforts.

Another key dimension of territorial governance has been emphasised by the spatial planning literature since the late 1980s (cf. Healey 1997), namely the importance of *enhancing stakeholder participation,* thus activating their specific

knowledge and concerns in the formation and implementation of territorial development policies, programmes and projects. Similarly, being sensitive to Jordan's argument about the lack of geographical specificity in the contemporary conceptualisations of governance (2008, p. 21), the consortium devoted particular attention to the extent to which *place-based/territorial specificities and characteristics* are addressed in the frame of territorial governance practices.

Based on the above elements, the ESPON TANGO working definition of territorial governance has been formulated as follows:

> *Territorial governance is the formulation and implementation of public policies, programmes and projects for the development[2] of a place/ territory[3] by: (i) integrating relevant policy sectors, (ii) co-ordinating the actions of relevant actors and institutions, particularly considering multi-level interplay, (iii) mobilising stakeholder participation, (iv) being adaptive to changing contexts, (v) addressing the place-based/ territorial specificities and characteristics* (ESPON 2012, p. 11).

The Evidence Base of the Project

The evidence base for the research questions the ESPON TANGO project attempts to answer is constituted by twelve case studies from various parts of Europe (see Table 1). The case studies have been selected by a number of criteria, including geographical distribution, scope of governance, diversity in the sectoral policies studied, and the way they address particular territorial challenges.

In helping to elaborate and concretise the applied notion of territorial governance, the twelve case studies explore the concept in a diversity of European contexts. Geographically, they include cases from Southern Europe with a focus on the Western Mediterranean and the Southern Alps. Central and Eastern Europe is represented by studies on Pécs (Hungary) and Ljubljana (Slovenia), in addition to a broader study on the Management of Structural Funds in Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and Romania. The Baltic Sea Region (BSR) case study, dealing with climate change governance, covers parts of Eastern, Central and Northern Europe. The study on Stockholm also represents the North, while two other studies target English cities and other two the Netherlands and a part of Germany.

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[2] Development is defined here as the improvement in the efficiency, equality and environmental quality of a place/territory, in line with the Europe 2020 strategy.

[3] Territory/place means here a social construct, not necessarily limited by legally determined boundaries.

Table 1. ESPON TANGO case studies

Case studies	Geographical coverage	Short name
Territorial Climate Change Governance in the Baltic Sea Region	Baltic Sea Region	BSR
Territorial Governance as a Way to Resource Efficiency in Urban Development	Stockholm (SE)	Stockholm
Co-ordination of Land-use and Transport (StedenbaanPlus)	Southern Randstad (NL)	Stedenbaan
Cross-border River Management: Rhine River Basin	NL, DE	RhineBasin
Target-based Tripartite Agreement between the European Commission, the Italian Government and the Lomardy region	Italian Government, Lombardy Region (IT)	TRIP
Innovative Economic Development Strategies in Saint Étienne within the South Loire SCOT Framework	Saint Etienne (FR)	SCOT
Greater Manchester City Region Governance	Manchester, England	Manchester
North Shields Fish Quay: Neighbourhood Planning in the UK	Newcastle, England	Newcastle
Management of Structural Funds in Central and Eastern European Countries	H, PL, SK, RO	ERDF
European Capital of Culture	Pécs, (H – EU comparison)	Pécs
Formulation and Implementation of Spatial Planning Strategies and Regional Development Policies in Ljubljana Urban Region	Slovenia, Ljubljana Urban Region	Ljubljana
Governance of Natural Areas in the Alpine-Adriatic Area	SI, IT, AT, HU, HR	AlpAdria

Source: Authors' elaboration on ESPON 2012.

As far as their territorial scope is concerned, the case studies range from the intra-municipal level through the municipal, to inter-municipal and metropolitan levels. Cross-border processes are explored through the Rhine Basin case on cross-border river management and the case dealing with the governance of natural spaces in the Alpine-Adriatic Area. The regional and national levels are represented by the TRIP case and the one concerning Structural Funds management, while the BSR case offers an example of macro-regional territorial governance.

Furthermore, nearly all of the cases address some aspect of "bottom-up" territorial governance, where the impetus of territorial development was born at local and/or regional level.

Finally, territorial governance challenges dealt with in the case studies include developing territorial strategies involving different governance levels and various

sectors; horizontal governance, with a focus on co-operation and competition; promoting engagement among a range of actors, particularly in promoting bottom-up initiatives; co-ordinating the regulation of issues in fields such as transportation and water management; and vertical and horizontal policy integration.

Promoters and Inhibitors of Good Territorial Governance

Through the analysis of case studies it was possible to identify "good" territorial governance principles and criteria, keeping in mind the main question of how they become operational (or not) and thus how they contribute to the success of the development of a place or territory. The research questions for the analysis were driven by the "five dimensions" constituting the working definition of territorial governance presented above, looking for aswers to e.g. how the barriers to cross-sectoral integrations are being overcome, how gaps in multi-level co-ordination are being addressed, how stakeholders are mobilised and how their input is used in decision-making, etc.

Below we present the results of the analysis, finding a number of generalisable features of good territorial governance. Building on the assumption that each case would include practical characteristics of territorial governance and thus could help define what features may contribute to "good" governance and what may undermine it, each analyst was required to identify a set of territorial governance *promoters* that emerged from his/her case study, and classify them into one of the five listed dimesions of territorial governance. Similarly, they were required to identify one or more *inhibitors*, i.e. specific negative features that hamper the proper working of territorial governance.

To simplify the interpretation of the many promoters and inhibitors gathered in the course of analysing the twelve case studies, the authors aggregated their information contents in more abstract promoters and inhibitors that may be considered to affect good territorial governance in a specific context, leading to a smaller number of factors to be classified (see Tables 2 and 3).

While the territorial governance *inhibitors* constitute a set of "warnings" for the different stakeholders active in the field of territorial development and cohesion, representing a "to-be-avoided" list of elements that may undermine good territorial governance, *promoters* represent features the adoption of which may contribute to successful territorial governance processes. However, the issue of their effective transferability from one context to another, as well as the possible modes through which their transfer may take place, is a particularly complex issue that will be addressed in detail in the rest of the paper.

Table 2. List of territorial governance promoters

TG Promoter	Case studies
1. Integrating policy sectors	
Acknowledgement of, and integration with, a multi-level policy framework	Stedenbaan, RhineBasin, TRIP, AlpAdria
Political support to policy integration at the appropriate territorial scale	RhineBasin, Manchester, Ljubljana
Spatial tool favouring sectoral integration	ERDF, Pécs, Ljubljana
Rationale catalysing integration	Stockholm
Involvement of relevant public and private stakeholders	Stockholm, Stedenbaan, RhineBasin, Manchester
Organisational routines favouring cross-sector "fertilisation"	SCOT, ERDF, Ljubljana, AlpAdria
Strong political commitment towards a shared territorial vision	BSR, Stockholm, SCOT, Newcastle
Balance between flexibility and legal certainty	RhineBasin
2. Co-ordinating actions of actors and institutions	
Stability of co-operative experiences	Stockholm, RhineBasin, Manchester, AlpAdria
Pro-active public organisation	Stedenbaan, RhineBasin, Pécs
Motivation	RhineBasin, TRIP
Capacity of negotiation	Newcastle, Ljubljana
Clear and uncontested leadership	Stockholm, Stedenbaan, SCOT, Manchester, Ljubljana, AlpAdria
Self-committed leadership	BSR, RhineBasin
Effective strategic framework	RhineBasin
Political committment	ERDF, Ljubljana, AlpAdria
Framework flexibility enhancing subsidiarity	Stockholm, RhineBasin
Vertical division of responsibilities	BSR, RhineBasin, Manchester
3. Mobilising stakeholder participation	
Involvement of local actors	RhineBasin, ERDF, Pécs
Political commitment	Stockholm, RhineBasin
Usage of various mechanisms of participation	Newcastle, AlpAdria
Mix of indirect and direct democratic legitimacy	Stedenbaan, Ljubljana
Mechanisms allowing for broad stakeholders' involvement	BSR, Stockholm, Ljubljana
Information flow ensured	ERDF, Manchester

Table 2 (continued)

TG Promoter	Case studies
Effective means of communication/dissemination of information	Stockholm, Stedenbaan, RhineBasin, SCOT, Pécs, Ljubljana
High level of accountability	Stockholm
4. Being adaptive to changing contexts	
Co-production of knowledge, knowledge transfer	RhineBasin, ERDF, Ljubljana, AlpAdria
Institutional mechanisms that favour learning	Stockholm, Manchester, Pécs
Feedback procedures	BSR, Stockholm, Stedenbaan
Shared understanding of problems	RhineBasin, Pécs
Institutional mechanisms supporting adaptivity	SCOT, Manchester
Role of people in charge of responsibility	Stockholm
Flexibility of governance structure	Stedenbaan
Experience in complex programming	Ljubljana
5. Realising place-based/territorial specificities and impacts	
Awareness of territory	Manchester, Newcastle, Pécs
Involvement of different levels of government	Stedenbaan, AlpAdria
Spatial tool for co-ordination	Stockholm, RhineBasin
Acknowledgement of, and integration with, a spatial context	Stockholm
Acknowledgement and use of territorial potentials	Stockholm, Stedenbaan
Co-production of knowledge, knowledge transfer	RhineBasin, Ljubljana
Existing shared territorial knowledge	Manchester, AlpAdria

Source: Authors' elaboration.

Table 3. List of territorial governance inhibitors

TG Inhibitor	Case studies
1. Integrating policy sectors	
Lacking or inappropriate mechanisms of co-ordination	TRIP, ERDF, Pécs, Ljubljana
Sectoral rationale dominating	BSR, Stockholm, RhineBasin, AlpAdria
Lack of institutional capacity/stability	ERDF
Scarce cohesion among actors	Newcastle, Stedenbaan, Manchester, Pécs
Lack/inefficiency of integrating spatial tools	RhineBasin, ERDF, Ljubljana

Table 3 (continued)

TG Inhibitor	Case studies
2. Co-ordinating actions of actors and institutions	
Lack of institutional capacity/stability	Stockholm, RhineBasin, SCOT, Newcastle, ERDF, AlpAdria
Scarce co-operation between public authorities	SCOT, Ljubljana
Lack of financial autonomy	ERDF
Power struggles	RhineBasin, Pécs, Ljubljana
Unclear assignation of responsibilities	TRIP, SCOT, Stockholm, Stedenbaan, Newcastle
Scarce capacity of partnership-making	ERDF
Centralisation	ERDF, Pécs, Ljubljana
Lack of shared motivation	SCOT
3. Mobilising stakeholder participation	
Late or no involvement of stakeholders	Stockholm, Pecs
Involvement of non-co-operative stakeholders	SCOT, Newcastle
Exclusion/limited involvement of certain stakeholders	SCOT
Hegemony of politicians over the process	Stockholm, Pécs, Ljubljana
Limited communication among stakeholders	SCOT, Pécs, Ljubljana
Limited communication towards the outside world	Stockholm
Weak involvement of civic actors	ERDF
4. Being adaptive to changing contexts	
Absence of feedback procedures	Stockholm
Lack of institutional capacity/stability	Pécs, ERDF, Pécs
Prejudice or limited strategic thinking	Stockholm, Newcastle
Uncertain/blurred strategy	BSR
Rigidity of the governance structure	Newcastle, ERDF
Negative influence by people in charge of responsibilities	ERDF
5. Realising place-based/territorial specificities and impacts	
Territorial scope disputed	BSR, TRIP, SCOT, Stockholm, Pécs
Lack of structured institutional framework	ERDF, AlpAdria
Time constrains	Ljubljana
Limited use of existing territorial knowledge	BSR, Stockholm, SCOT, Pécs
Excessive complexity of programming tools	AlpAdria

Source: Authors' elaboration.

Transferring Territorial Governance Practices: a Conceptual Framework

The transferability of good territorial governance practices is a field characterised by a high degree of complexity and risk of failure, among others due to:

- the lack of verified and tested universal models for policy transfer, because of the significant number of variables at stake (Dolowitz – Marsh 2000);
- doubts related to the reproducibility of best practices, especially where different institutional contexts are concerned (James – Lodge 2003, Vettoretto 2009, Stead 2012);
- the nature of territorial governance, which is not a policy *per se*, but rather the result of a complex process integrating several policies.

In the light of all this, the present section aims at framing the institutional context for policy transfer in the domain of territorial governance in the EU, with the purpose of reducing conceptual complexity as far as possible. Types and typologies of territorial governance, as well as the complexity of factors inherent in their definitions, are witnesses to the "institutional nature" of this subject. According to a proficient debate concerning institutions in/for spatial planning (Bolan 1991, Healey 1999 and 2006, Gualini 2001, Moulaert 2005, Hohn – Neuer 2006, Verma 2007), territorial governance as an institutional phenomenon can be described as the end-product of a creative selection process of trial and error based on "(i) the generation of variety (in particular, a variety of practices and rules); (ii) competition and reduction of the variety (of rules) via selection; (iii) propagation and some persistence of the solution (the system of rules) selected" (Moroni 2010, p. 279).

These inputs have recently been applied by the authors for the purpose of conceptualisation in comparative analysis. This led to the development of a conceptual framework composed of four analytical dimensions – namely practices, discourse, structure and tools. These describe the operation of territorial governance in any institutional context as occurring through cyclical processes representing stages of social experience, political sharing and institutional codification, in which the aforementioned dimensions are in interaction (Figure 1).[4]

A tentative application of the above analytical model in the wider context of EU territorial governance (see Figure 2) has served to cast some light on the process of the "Europeaniszation" of territorial governance (Knill – Lehmkuhl 1999, Radaelli 2004, Lenschow 2006, Böhme – Waterhout 2008). Whereas the mechanisms that lie behind the "Europeanisation" of territorial governance are not

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[4] The diagram does not aim to present a detailed picture of territorial governance operations, since they are results of an infinite variety of factors, circumstances and individual behaviours. It rather proposes a consistent analytical approach to discuss territorial governance as an institutional phenomenon subject to permanent social evolution.

addressed by the ESPON TANGO project, their connections with the processes of policy transfer are rather clear (Radaelli 2000, Wishlade – Yuill – Mendez 2003, Holzinger – Knill 2005). Namely, they are both framed by two interrelated and shared processes: one based on a selective (and thus voluntary) recognition of common problems and possible solutions, usually known as "lesson drawing" (Rose 1991 and 1993); and another based on the more or less coercive transfer of rules, methods and ideas from one place or institutional context to others (Dolowitz – Marsh 2000).
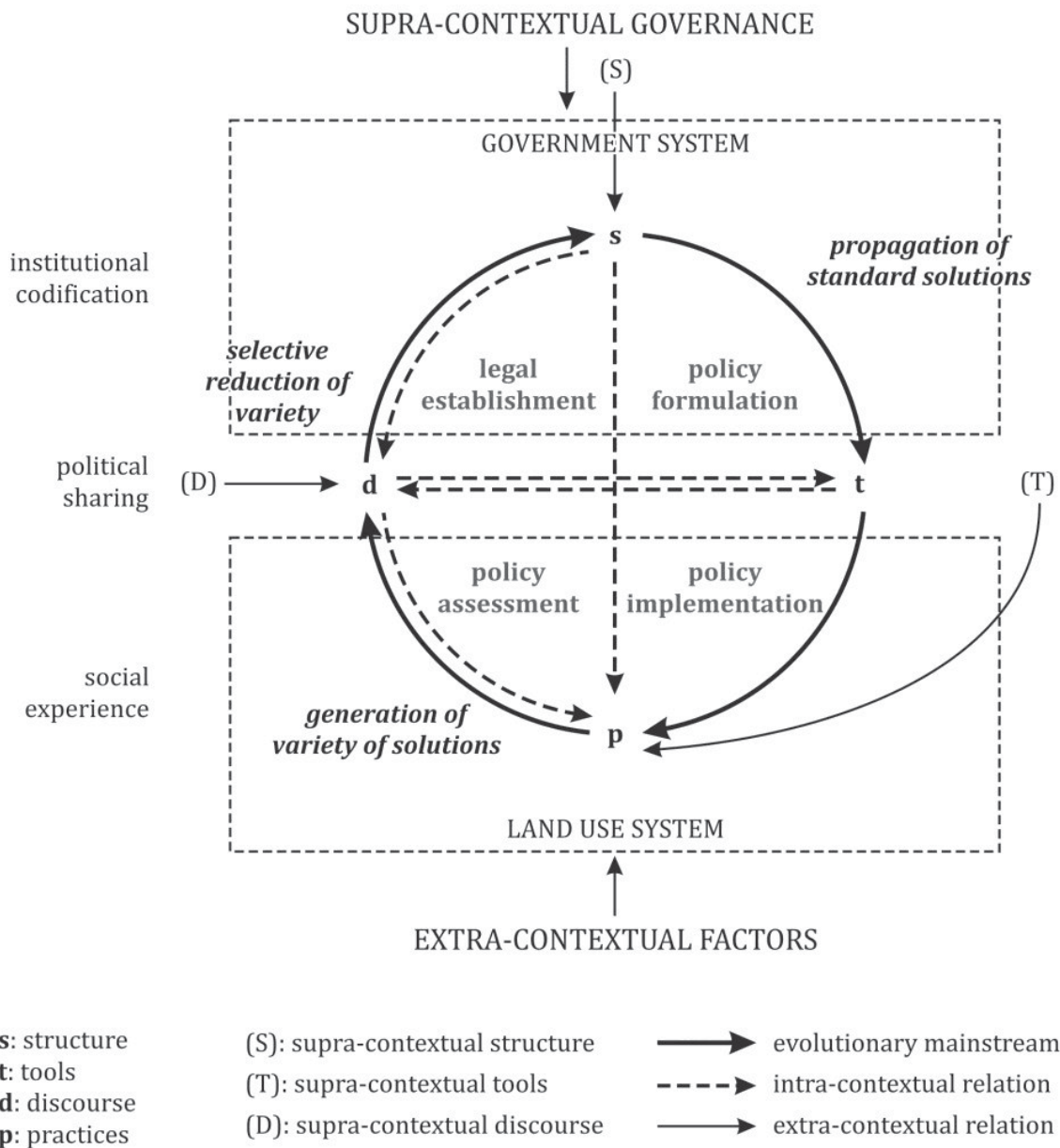
Figure 1. Stylised pattern of territorial governance
Source: ESPON 2012, based on Janin Rivolin (2012).
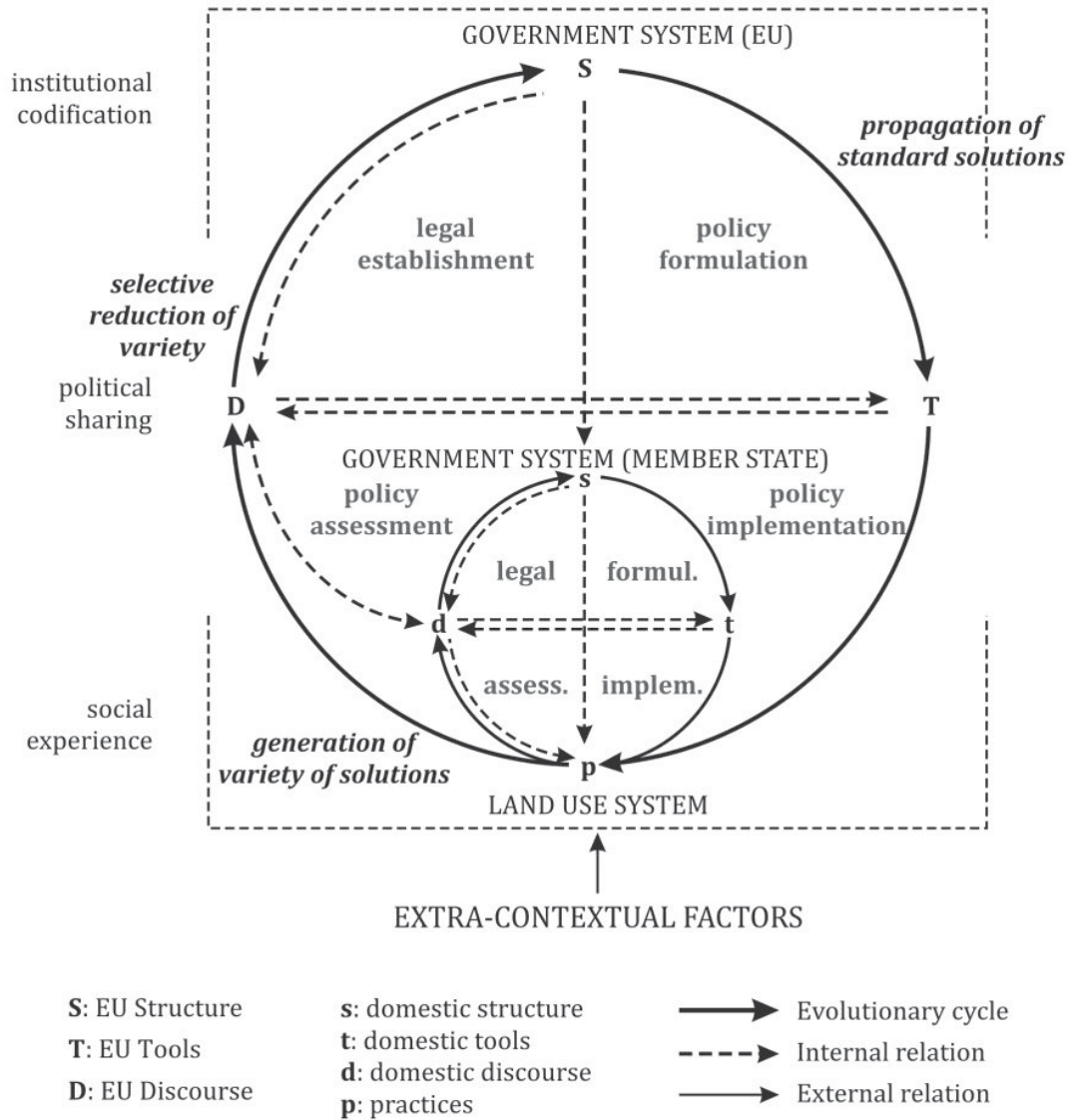
Figure 2. Stylised pattern of EU territorial governance
Source: ESPON 2012 on Cotella – Janin Rivolin (2010; 2012).

Basically, the hypothesis addressed here is that the EU territorial governance context offers a wider range of opportunities for policy transfer than "multinational" contexts in general. More explicitly, problems of policy transfer in the case of EU territorial governance concern an institutional context in which "*the apparatus of policy diffusion and development has been transnationalised in such a profound and irreversible way as to render anachronistic the notion of independent, 'domestic' decision-making*" (Peck 2011, p. 774). If so, the proposed model may help in conceptualising possible paths of transferring good practices from certain contexts to others, also indicating which modes of policy transfer should be

applied in principle for operational purposes. The identification of these modes is based on the assumption that the ESPON TANGO project plays an active role in the discourse about the formation of EU territorial governance, namely engaging in a "policy assessment" of the practices emerging from the case studies, to identify their "promoters" and the useful ways of transferring them to different domestic contexts.

First, a *direct mode* of transferring good territorial governance practices from one context to another is related to the dimension of practices (p) and is mainly open to practitioners involved in territorial development activities. It concerns the possibility to translate features of good territorial governance, retrieved from the case studies as identified in the third section, through e.g. practices, joint projects, or interaction that may stimulate the potential interest of practitioners operating in diverse institutional contexts.

Then, the *discursive mode* of transferring good territorial governance practices in the EU context is linked – as a "target dimension" – to various domestic discourses (d), where the word "discourse" refers to the complex activity of territorial knowledge communities in reducing the variety of solutions to a few "hegemonic concepts" (Adams – Cotella – Nunes 2011, Servillo 2010). This concerns the opportunity to translate features of good territorial governance retrieved from the case studies through ideas, principles, or philosophy that match the interest of domestic actors operating in diverse institutional contexts. In both the direct and the discursive modes, transfer depends on social learning mechanisms, and may happen easier when the match between voluntary motivations for change and potential solutions triggers an immediate "peer to peer" process of policy transfer.

A *technical mode* of transferring good territorial governance in the EU may be used by policy-makers at both domestic and EU level, and concerns the opportunity to translate the features of good territorial governance retrieved from the case studies via e.g. methods, techniques, and know-how. These can be extended to both domestic and EU-level policies, programmes and projects. When this takes place at the EU level, many territories could be affected through mechanisms of fiscal conditionality for the potential borrowers.

Finally, the *institutional mode* of transferring good territorial governance practices is a set of tools for both domestic and EU-level decision-makers and concerns the opportunity to translate features of good territorial governance retrieved from the assessment of case studies as different kinds of rules, codes, and laws that could be codified either at the level of the member state or at that of the EU. When this takes place at the EU level, a wide range of territories and domestic relations could be affected through legal conditionalities within the Community.

Modes and Components of Transferring Territorial Governance Practices

The above discussion showed that the transfer of good practices in territorial governance is not merely a matter of copying or imitation. It is still in question at what conditions may good practices trigger learning in other contexts, how they could be transferred and by what means.

In order to summarise what has been learnt from the individual ESPON TANGO case studies, that may be relevant to different groups of stakeholders within the various domestic contexts, an additional step was made, focusing on the various modes (and components) of experience exchange.[5] Each case study analyst was required to link the identified promoters of good territorial governance to one of the transfer modes that have been introduced in the section above, namely:

- the direct mode (with components of practices, joint projects, and interaction);
- the discursive mode (with components of ideas, principles, and philosophy);
- the technical mode (with components of methods, techniques, and know-how); and
- the institutional mode (with components of rules, codes, and laws).

More in detail, they were asked to identify which component(s) might potentially be helpful to transfer each of the promoters from one context to another. In this way, aggregating the obtained information following the same logic as the one adopted in the third section for the abstraction of the territorial governance promoters, it was possible to link each of them to a specific set of components of experience exchange and, therefore, to a specific mode of transfer (see Table 4).

It may be stated that the aforementioned institutional and technical modes represent more "coercive" types of policy transfer (Dolowitz – Marsh 2000), while the discursive and direct modes are framed by more voluntary "lesson drawing" processes (Rose 1991 and 1993). Furthermore, as previously indicated, each of the identified modes of transfer may be directly, albeit not exclusively, related to a main target audience. The institutional mode implies the capacity to transfer features of good territorial governance into rules, codes, and laws, addressing decision-makers. Conversely, the technical mode of transfer implies the opportunity to translate features of good territorial governance in terms of methods, techniques, and know-how primarily addressing policy-makers. On the other hand, the discursive mode of lesson drawing is particularly concerned with the identify-

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[5] For additional information on the adopted transferability components (ideas, principles for action, philosophy, methods, techniques, know-how, operating rules, programmes, institutions, modes of organisation, practitioners, joint projects) please refer to OECD (2001, p. 35) and ESPON (2012, p. 37).

Table 4. Territorial governance promoters organised by transfer modes

Direct mode	Discursive mode	Technical mode	Institutional mode
Organisational routines favouring cross-sector "fertilisation"	Political commitment	Effective strategic framework – strategies	Political support to policy integration at the appropriate territorial scale
Involvement of relevant public and private stakeholders	Win-win situation – interest	Institutional capacity – qualified staff	Spatial tool favouring sectoral integration
Common goals, common history	Compatible policy sectors	Follow-up – monitoring	Balance between flexibility and legal certainty
Motivation	Rationale catalysing integration	Stability of co-operative experiences	Code of conduct – guidelines
Capacity of negotiation	Acknowledgement of, and integration with, a multi-level policy framework	Pro-active public organisation	Leadership at the right level
Effective means of communication/dissemination of information	Quality of motivation	Mechanisms allowing for broad stakeholders' involvement	High level of accountability
How to motivate stakeholder (vision, benchmarking, learning)	Clear and uncontested leadership	Information flow ensured	Multi-annual programming
Usage of various mechanisms of participation	Self-committed leadership	Feedback procedures	Power to decide change at the right level
Exchanging best practices to understand the right amount of adaptation	Ownership of questions	Structure/No structure	Role of people in charge of responsibility
Involvement, participation, commitment	Adaptive management (small steps, flexibility, room to change direction)	Methods for attracting change	Institutional mechanisms that favour learning
Co-production of knowledge and knowledge transfer	Integrative holistic	Territorial impact assessment	Institutional mechanisms supporting adaptivity

Table 4 (continued)

Direct mode	Discursive mode	Technical mode	Institutional mode
Experience in complex programming	Being conscious and being inspired		Involvement of different levels of government
Existing shared territorial knowledge	Evidence of larger territorial context		Functional regions
Acknowledgement and use of territorial potentials	Territorial challenges		Eliminate barriers to co-operation
Building trust – permanent co-operation	Awareness of territory		Spatially differentiated policies

Source: Authors' elaboration.

cation of specific features of good territorial governance that may constitute ideas, principles and philosophy to be taken on board by the territorial knowledge communities active in a specific context. Finally, the direct mode of transfer requires the consolidation of practices, joint projects and interaction through which practitioners involved in various domestic contexts may learn from each other.

Concluding Remarks and Future Research Perspectives

In this paper we have presented some of the preliminary results of the ESPON TANGO project. Trying to understand how practices and institutions of territorial governance can contribute to achieving territorial cohesion, the project gathered relevant "good practices" from all around Europe. Having been given the mandate to address specific questions like how territorial governance is linked to territorial development outcomes or to a larger policy goal such as territorial cohesion, the project team not only had to consider territorial governance from an analytical perspective, but also had to integrate a normative approach, in terms of what constitutes "good" territorial governance, related to the working definition adopted as a pivotal basis of the research. On the basis of the experiences collected via case study analysis, we were able to identify some generalisable lessons on "what to do" and "what not to do" in territorial governance. This resulted in a list of general *promoters* and *inhibitors* of good territorial governance that may potentially provide fuel for the policy debate on the matter.

However, when it comes to policy-relevant implications, it is important to stress that the various case studies constituting the evidence base of the project dealt with policies, programmes, and projects of various governance levels, located

within different institutional and geographical contexts. Therefore, particular attention must be paid to reveal "for whom" the identified territorial governance promoters and inhibitors are considered to be "good" or "bad". This raises challenges in any in-depth discussion concerning the extent of their transferability into other contexts. Whereas our paper presented a preliminary classification of these territorial governance promoters by the main modes of transfer and, in turn, by the potentially addressed target audience, such a classification is by no means exhaustive and requires further empirical research.

More in detail, as various critiques of theories of policy transfer and lesson drawing (James – Lodge 2003, Bulkeley 2006, Vettoretto 2009, Peck 2011, Stead 2012) clearly remark, the "filtering out" process of transferring various features of good territorial governance from one context to another is a complex one that implies different degrees of adaptation. Similarly, the "filtering in" process through which specific territorial governance features may be taken on board in a certain domestic context appears to be related to two intertwined dimensions, namely a process of adoption that gives birth to policies/actions according to changes in the context, and a degree of territorialisation, that is, the relationship between these possible policies/actions and specific place-based issues.

Finally, the authors would like to stress that neither this contribution, nor the ESPON TANGO project aim at searching for "one-size-fits-all" solutions concerning the transferability of territorial governance, but rather at building an evidence-based set of opportunities for innovation in territorial governance practices at different levels/in different contexts, from which various stakeholders may draw lessons according to their own peculiar needs and will.

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