Understanding territorial governance: conceptual and practical implications

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Abstract

Much of the policy analysis of spatial planning today focuses on governance or multi-level governance in the sense of tracing vertical and horizontal linkages and integration of relevant stakeholders (particularly from the bottom-up). Thus far, little attention has been paid to the more specific territorial dimensions of governance or how knowledge of territorial specificities and the territorial impacts of various courses of action are used in policy- and decision-making. This paper presents the conceptual and practical implications of the 'ESPON TANGO' – project (Territorial Approaches for New Governance). To that end a framework of analysis was developed to systematically conceptualise, operationalise and explore territorial governance processes. Some of the main empirical findings from twelve case studies across Europe are synthesised along 20 components of territorial governance. These components are representative of the structural and process-oriented facets of territorial governance. It will be argued that our analytical framework offers various entry points to understand the main elements and characteristics of territorial governance and thus adds clarity to the debate on what territorial governance is. It also offers a more practical access to doing territorial governance to support practitioners and policy makers at any level to promote territorial governance.

Regular governance, multi-level governance, territorial governance, European spatial policy and planning, analytical framework

Zusammenfassung

Territoriale Governance verstehen: konzeptionelle und praktische Implikationen

Die politische Analyse der Raumplanung konzentriert sich zurzeit vornehmlich auf Governance oder Multi-Level-Governance, insofern sie vertikalen und horizontalen Verbindungen und der Eingliederung einschlägiger Interessenvertreter (vor allem von unten nach oben) nachgeht. Die genaueren territorialen Aspekte der Politikgestaltung fanden bisher wenig Beachtung. Auch wie Kenntnisse territorialer Ausprägungen und die territorialen Auswirkungen diverser Vorgehensweisen in die Politik- und Entscheidungsfindung einfließen, wurde noch nicht eingehender untersucht. Dieser Artikel stellt die konzeptionellen und praktischen Implikationen des Projekts ESPON TANGO (Territorial Approaches for New Governance) vor. Zu diesem Zweck wurde ein Analyserahmenwerk für die systematische Konzeptualisierung, Operationalisierung und Erforschung territorialer Governance-Prozesse entwickelt. Einige der wichtigsten empirischen Erkenntnisse aus zwölf europäischen Fallstudien werden neben 20 Komponenten der territorialen Governance dargestellt. Diese Komponenten geben die strukturellen und prozessorientierten Facetten der territorialen Governance wieder. Unser analytisches Rahmenwerk liefert verschiedene Ansätze für ein besseres Verständnis der Hauptelemente und Charakteristika der territorialen Governance und schafft somit mehr Klarheit in der Debatte darum, was territoriale Governance ist. Darüber hinaus bietet es Praktikern und Entscheidungsträgern Hinweise zur Praxis und Förderung territorialer Governance.

Reguläre Governance, Multi-Level-Governance, territoriale Governance, europäische Raumpolitik und -planung, analytisches Rahmenwerk

Territorial governance: scientific and policy debates across Europe

For more than two decades, the concept of *governance* has permeated the way research describes the dynamics of the interplay between the state, market actors and the civil society. The formerly established channels within this interplay have been eroded in recent years and partly replaced and/or complemented by new networks and alliances through which (particularly local) government is linked to citizens and businesses. These changes are often labelled as the shift from government to governance, whereby, in simple terms, *government* refers to the dominance of state power organised through formal and hierarchical public sector agencies and bureaucratic procedures, while *governance* refers to the emergence of overlapping and complex relationships, involving 'new actors' external to the political arena (e.g Jessop 1997; Painter a. Goodwin 1995; Pierre 2000). Thus governance is "a concern with governing, achieving collective action in the realm of public affairs, in conditions where it is not possible to rest on recourse to the authority of the State" (Stoker 2000, p. 93). Seen in this light, the fundamental challenge of governance is, as Davoudi et al. (2008, p. 351) put it, "how to create new forms of integration out of fragmentation, and new forms of coherence out of inconsistency". In doing so, Lidström (2007, p. 499) argues, new patterns of collaboration may emerge, both between units of government and between governmental and non-governmental actors, whereby it is essential how the borders of jurisdictions are drawn, how functions are allocated, how units are governed and the level of autonomy is defined. Consequently a wide field of research focuses on how the shift to governance, in concert with governmental processes, are shaping decision-making and planning processes to a greater degree with the inclusion of new types of actors, networks and constellations (e.g. Bulkeley et al. 2003; Healey 2006; Swyngedouw 2005).

Within the European Union the concept of *multi-level* governance has been established in order to understand the system of nested relationships among primarily governmental levels (e.g. supranational, national, regional and local). This was largely entwined in the policy and academic debate of the early 1990s on European integration and inter-governmentalism (see e.g. Houghe and Marks 2003 and the synthesis provided by Stephenson 2013). Marks (1993, p. 292) first uses the multi-level governance term to describe how various layers of government are nested or "enmeshed in territorially overarching policy networks". Further there is "...a system of continuous negotiation among nested governments at several territorial tiers" (Marks 1993, p. 392). In recent years the literature of the concept has been expanded to various types and characteristics of multi-level governance (e.g. Hooghe and Marks 2010). Nonetheless, the role and different notions of territory, as Faludi (2012) criticises, has been hardly incorporated so far into this body of research.

Territorial governance within European spatial policy and planning

One might expect that the term territorial governance stems primarily from the EU spatial policy discourse, since it is related to the normative notion of territorial cohesion or the Euro-English term *spatial planning* (Schmitt and Van Well 2014). However, Stead (2014, p. 1372) points out that the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) was one of the first policy-related institutions that undertook efforts to promote the concept of territorial governance (cf. OECD 2001). In their *Territorial Outlook* of 2001, territorial governance is defined as "the manner in which territories of a national state are administered and policies implemented, with particular reference to the distribution of roles and responsibilities among the different levels of government (supranational, national and sub-national) and the underlying processes of negotiation and

consensus-building" (OECD 2001, p. 142). In other words, this definition emphasises the issue of *governance of territories*, particularly within the nation-state, rather *than governance in a territorial perspective*. Stead (2014, p. 1372) further notes that this definition was later copied into two policy documents in the European context, namely in the *Resolution on Territorial Governance of 2006 by the Council of Europe* (cf. CEMAT 2006) and by the expert advisors to the Ministers responsible for Urban Development and Territorial Cohesion within the EU in the 2007 report *The Territorial State and Perspectives of the European Union* (cf. Ministers of Urban Development and Territorial Cohesion of the European Union, 2007). Further inferences to the notion of territorial governance are given in relation to the *Green Paper on Territorial Cohesion* elaborated by the European Commission (cf. CEC 2008) and in the so-called *Barca Report* (Barca 2009). In the latter, which opened up the debate for the EU cohesion policy period 2014 to 2020, a place-based approach to development policies "refers both to the context-dependent nature of the efficiency and equity problems that the policy deals with, and to the fact that the design of integrated interventions must be tailored to places, since it largely depends on the knowledge and preferences of people living in it" (Barca 2009, pp. 5-6).

The growing importance of territorial governance to achieve territorial cohesion is further reflected in the *Territorial Agenda of the European Union 2020* (Ministers responsible for Spatial Planning and Territorial Development of the European Union 2011) and the *Network of Territorial Cohesion Contact Points* report (NTCCP 2013), both of which call for a place-based, territorially sensitive and integrated approach to policies, to improve the performance of actions on all levels and create synergies between different types of policy interventions. Along these lines, the legislative proposals set up for the EU cohesion policy period 2014-2020 envisage a *Common Strategic Framework* (CEC 2012) to be

implemented through the principles of *partnership* and *good governance* to meet the territorial challenges of smart, sustainable and inclusive growth as stipulated in the Europe 2020 Strategy (CEC 2010).

Taking inspiration from this cursory survey on the emergence and growing importance of territorial governance within the EU spatial policy discourse one can conclude that in some of the earlier policy related documents the concept is rather close to the notion of multi-level governance or even regular governance, since the horizontal and vertical coordination of actors and institutions as well as aspects such as democratic legitimacy and accountability are showcased. In recent years, however, the territorial aspect has been further articulated by emphasising the role of place or territory and the impacts on those through various policies, projects and programmes. This is maybe most eye-catching by depicting territorial governance as a mean to promote territorial cohesion. Particularly in scholarly research about the cohesion policy processes, measures promoting good territorial governance are seen as part of territorial cohesion policy (cf. Faludi 2010).

The territorial governance 'analytical gap' and scope of the paper
While the notion of multi-level governance has become prevalent in policy and research in Europe, the related concept of territorial governance seems to be a rather new animal. While the term has appeared in a number of transnational policy documents (see above), a robust conceptualisation, in a more strict academic or even policy perspective, is still in development. Much of the policy analysis today focuses on governance or multi-level governance in the sense of tracing vertical and horizontal linkages and integration of relevant stakeholders (particularly from the bottom-up) into policy making processes. Thus far, little attention has been paid to the more specific territorial dimensions of governance or how knowledge of territorial specificities

and the territorial impacts of various courses of action are used in decision-making. This includes ways in which the need for territorial knowledge (for instance, technical knowledge of the impacts of climate change or statistical data on demographic trends) is identified, understood and integrated (or not) into governance processes.

This paper presents the conceptual and practical implications of the 'ESPON TANGO' – project (Territorial Approaches for New Governance, see ESPON and NORDREGIO 2013a, 2013b, ESPON and POLITECNICO DI TORINO 2013). The main objective of the TANGO project, which ran between 2011 and 2014, was to synthesise conclusions about territorial governance throughout Europe by looking specifically at dynamics, structures and mechanisms, but also barriers and illustrative advancements within current practices. To do this, a framework of analysis was developed within the TANGO project to systematically conceptualise, operationalise and explore territorial governance processes. In this paper we show how the framework was developed and used to perform and synthesise the results of a dozen case studies across Europe into a number of components of territorial governance. These components thus helped us to re-construct the notion of territorial governance based on empirical evidence gained from the case studies. It will be argued that our framework offers various entry points to understand the main characteristics of territorial governance and thus adds clarity to the debate on what territorial governance is. However, our framework also offers a more practical access for doing territorial governance, based on our empirical and conceptual findings, in the form of a generalised checklist to help practitioners and policy makers at any level in working with territorial governance.

Conceptualising territorial governance
One of the scientific objectives of TANGO was to conceptualise and operationalise territorial governance across Europe. The

lion's share of the empirical work was thus dedicated to twelve in-depth case studies which illustrate a wide range of territorial governance situations across Europe. The methodological approach used for constructing and subsequently de-constructing the territorial governance concept as a framework to guide the case study work is briefly presented here. Subsequently, we analyse the empirical results of the case studies by reflecting on the variations and commonalities as well as linkages along a total of 20 components.

To that end territorial governance has been conceptualised along five key dimensions, which serve as the central theoretical framework from which to study territorial governance processes at play (see also Schmitt and Van Well 2012; Van Well and Schmitt 2013). The point of departure was to bring together various key points from the literature with regard to what is perceived as (most) essential and inherent to the concept of territorial governance. Inspiration was taken from the literature on *regular* governance (e.g. Pierre and Peters 2000) and multi-level governance (eg. Hooghe and Marks 2003) as the precursors to territorial governance, as well as the emerging literature on the concept of territorial governance itself (eg. Davoudi et al. 2008; Gualini 2008; Faludi 2012). This body of knowledge was then extended to include debates around the concepts of stakeholder participation (e.g. Healey 1997) as well as resilience and adaptability (e.g. Gupta et al. 2010). Finally, to address the lack of further specification of the notion of geographic specificity or territory which is often absent in the literature (Jordan 2008) the research approach includes the extent to which place-based/territorial specificities are addressed within territorial governance practices.

Based on the literature review and extensive discussion and negotiation with the experts on the project team, our conceptualisation of territorial governance emerged as the formulation and implementation of public policies, programmes and projects for the development (an im-

provement in efficiency, equality and environmental quality of a place/territory) by:

1. coordinating 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".

Remove quotations, but add reference ESPON and NORDREGIO (2013a)

An important caveat is that territory and/or place are understood as social constructs that are not necessarily limited by jurisdictional boundaries. In that sense, this conceptualisation integrates a flexible notion of spatial entities, recently often called as *soft spaces* (e.g. HAUGHTON et al. 2009; METZGER and SCHMITT 2012; HAUGHTON et al. 2013), which are based on functional or other issue-related criteria. In other words, these soft spaces are not represented by governmental layers, since they transcend the boundaries of what could be called *hard spaces* (i.e. municipalities, administrative regions, nation states).

The next step was to extract robust indicators, which help to further explore 'good' territorial governance. We were interested in the *processes* (such as learning capacity or transparency) and to what extent these qualitative indicators can be distinguished in the case studies rather than the *outcomes* like an improvement in the efficiency, equality and environmental quality of a place. So in other words good territorial governance is rather considered as a means to achieve such outcomes (as reflected also in its definition as presented above). The five dimensions provided the starting point to select and define a preliminary list of twelve qualitative indicators based on an extensive literature review and discussions within the project team. Later on a Delphi exercise was performed that largely confirmed the dimensions and the relevance and practicality of the twelve *qualitative* indicators of territorial governance developed (see Fig. 1).

Overview of the five dimensions and twelve qualitative indicators of territorial governance

Dimensions of territorial governance	Indicators for assessing the 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

Source: ESPON and NORDREGIO 2013a, p. 20

Fig. 1: Overview of the five dimensions and twelve qualitative indicators of territorial governance

These indicators were then used to generate questions in an extensive Case Study and Interview Guideline which six partners representing various governance cultures in Europe, used in performing their case studies. All case studies were based on structured and semi-structured interviews with 8-12 relevant stakeholders, as well as analysis of relevant policy documents. To ensure topicality, the objects of the twelve case studies were all from around 2000 until the present. The cases are representative of the major geographic areas of Europe and address a number of territorial policy areas as well as a range of institutional levels (see Map). The case studies included several cases from Southern Europe that have a focus on the Western Mediterranean and the Southern Alps. In Eastern Europe, studies focusing on Pecs (Hungary) and Ljubljana (Slovenia) in addition to a wider study on the Management of Structural Funds in Central-Eastern Europe, but also involving territorial governance practices in Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and Romania. Further, the Baltic Sea Region (BSR) case dealing with climate change adaptation in the EU Strategy for the Baltic Sea Region covers parts of Eastern, Central and Northern Europe. Another case study from Northern Europe features resource efficiency in Stockholm. North-Western Europe is covered through two cases from England, one at the city-regional and one at the neighbourhood level as well as two cases involving the Netherlands, one about the Southern Randstad and the other one including the catchment area of the Rhine basin. The latter case also includes parts of Germany, namely the Federal State of North Rhine-Westphalia. Most of the case studies addressed at least some form of *bottom-up* governance process. They also involve territories bounded by *hard* administrative borders as well as those with *softer* delimitations. Map must conform to ESPON specifications as we originally submitted. Please see: http://www.espon.eu/main/Menu_LegalNotice/

The interviews for the twelve case studies were performed in two stages; an initial exploratory phase to identify key stakeholders, documents and working hypotheses, and a second more systematic stage involving interviews. In the latter stage, the five dimensions as well as the twelve indicators of territorial governance were further explored to trace our initial assumptions for each case by carving out in particular the various practices, routines or even critical views within each case study's specific territorial and institutional context.

As such, the five dimensions and twelve indicators were de-constructed into a total of 42 core questions. These questions thus formed the general guideline and structure for the interviews. Naturally, there was some room for amendments or specific focus depending on the specific role, function and/or knowledge of the interviewee at hand. The questions were partly designed to also investigate the extent to which the various dimensions and indicators are intertwined. In addition, a specific focus was placed on exploring what kind of other territorial governance practices, routines or even mechanisms and structures are important, but were external to our research framework.

ESPON TANGO case study areas' main territorial focus

1. Baltic Sea Region

2. City of Stockholm

8. North Shields Fish Quay

4. Rhine Basin

7. Greater Manchester Region

3. Southern Randstad

12. Trilateral Nature Park Goričko-Raab-Őrség

9. Southern Transdanubian Region

6. South Loire Area

10. Pécs

11. Ljubljana Urban Region

5. Lombardy Region

Canarias

Guadeloupe | Martinique | Réunion

Guyane

Madeira

Açores

This map does not necessarily reflect the opinion of the ESPON Monitoring Committee

0   250   500 km

Soft territories defined by functional or other criteria

Hard territories defined by jurisdictional boundaries

NUTS 2 region boundaries

1. Case study area number

● Case study area, small

ESPON

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Regional level: NUTS 2/3, 2010
Source: ESPON TANGO, 2013
Origin of data: ESPON TANGO, 2013
© EuroGeographics Association for administrative boundaries

Map: ESPON TANGO case study areas' main territorial focus

Empirically informed components of territorial governance

Derived from the theoretical and conceptual framework and based on the analysis of the evidence generated in the twelve case studies, 20 *components of territorial governance* were identified in the researche (see Fig. 2).

These components were distilled by extracting the essence of each case study report in terms of the observed practices, routines, but also mechanisms and partly structures of territorial governance along the five dimensions. These short and empirically-informed syntheses were then analysed and then further generalised into this list of 20 components (see Fig. 3).

In this light they are representatives of the patterns and process-oriented facets of territorial governance. They do not necessarily reflect issues of 'good' territorial governance; rather they are more of objective character, since they reflect

The TANGO research framework in a nutshell

5 Dimensions → 12 Indicators → 42 Core Questions → 20 Components

Source: ESPON and NORDREGIO 2013a, p. 28

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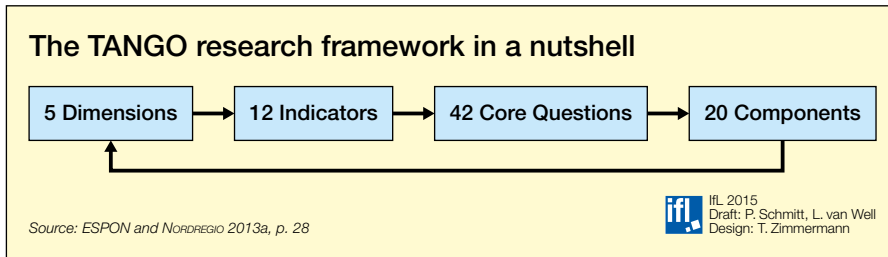Draft: P. Schmitt, L. van Well
Design: T. Zimmermann

Fig. 2: The TANGO research framework in a nutshell

the central elements and the scope of the five dimensions and the twelve indicators. As such they enabled the following observations to be made in accordance with each component:

Dimension 1: Co-ordinating actions of actors and institutions

Distributing power across levels
Power relationships are seldom symmetrical in any territorial governance situation, particularly those involving several administrative levels of government or governance. There is 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).Transnational or cross-border actors largely exercise informal power, rather than formal power. Local and intra-regional actors often exhibited power relations that were a mixture of both normative and regulatory. The geographical specificities of the territory may also dictate power relations; for instance in questions of water or river governance, an *upstream* territory may have more muscle to influence governance processes than a *downstream* territory. In another instance, in an intra-regional or intra-municipal setting, the largest city or neighbourhood generally has a greater chance of dictating the agenda than does a smaller settlement in the area.

Distinguishing modes of leadership
Clear leadership, in terms of being transparent and generally accepted, appears to be a characteristic of those cases which apparently are more successful in achieving the territorial development goal at

hand. This was so regardless of whether the leadership was formal, informal or even shifting. In the same vein, clear leadership appeared to be a contributing factor to the success of other dimensions of territorial governance, in particular cross-sectoral integration. In the softer spaces, consensus among actors characterised the main mode of decision-making, facilitated by clear leadership. Several of the cases, which rather failed to achieve the targeted development goals, were marked by leadership which was unclear or contested. In a few cases, especially those in more centralised countries, national authorities often claimed more top-down power at the expense of more bottom-up leadership at local or regional level.

Structures of coordination
The main way of coordinating actors and institutions, at the local, regional, national or supra-national levels, was by organising forums (e.g. 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 forums could be institutionalised as part of a project or administrative structure or organised on an ad hoc basis. However the various forums were not organised solely to coordinate actors and institutions, but generally had the goal to scope out the current knowledge base, identify technical solutions or explore various courses of action. In fact, if the structures for coordinating actors and institutions were put in place, they had no real bite in the end unless the territorial goal was sufficiently specified. Sometimes the coordination of actors and institutions occurred behind closed doors and was not an explicit process. Finally

there is always a risk in coordination forums that important stakeholders are neglected or forgotten, or that only those with sufficient financial and capacity resources are able to participate.

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 desire or will to work up and down 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 tended to be the structural

The 20 components of territorial governance

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

Source: ESPON and NORDREGIO 2013a, p. 28

Fig. 3: The 20 components of territorial governance

solutions proposed to deal with coordinating actors and institutions. Results illuminated that there are few real tools for coordination. However several enabling characteristics in the coordination of actors can be distinguished. These include previous cooperation among actors, specific inter-municipal arrangements, or the desire to create and maintain a certain image to be presented to the outside world. A unified political landscape, whereby the same political party dominated multiple governance levels, was an important facilitation factor.

Dimension 2: Integrating policy sectors

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 as well. 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' territories whereby a regional, transnational or cross-border strategy or agreement forms the basis for cooperation among entities. At the national or sub-national level, cross-sectoral integration is generally nested within the governmental/administrative level that is responsible for planning processes. In general, the softer functional territories address cross-sectoral integration more explicitly than do the administrative spaces, since the softer spaces have an often non-binding character which allows them to be more experimental in their approaches to integrate policy sectors.

Achieving synergies across sectors

The processes for achieving synergies across sectors varied, but were mainly conducted through established channels and regulations, such as statutory planning processes. That said, working concretely for synergies often occurred through dialogue among networks or partnerships associated with the drafting of programmes or strategies among trans-regional, transnational or cross-border actors. In municipal or local governance, synergies were often facilitated by formal or informal structures to promote public-private partnerships. Especially in 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.

Acknowledging sectoral conflicts

Acknowledging the conflicts among sectors and the actors representing them is the first step in dealing with potential 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 spanned economic-environmental, transport and spatial planning, water management as well as mobility and housing. In general the dominating sectors were often those with a harder economic profile, such as construction development or tourism at the expense of softer goals such as culture or environment. But there were also tensions between short-term political goals and longer-term territorial or sectoral goals. Tensions also became apparent with regard to the sectors that appeared to be sidelined by other more dominant sectors.

Dealing with sectoral conflicts

There were several ways for dealing conflicts among various sectors, even if some conflicts are not necessarily solvable. One way was in gathering information or knowledge about the sectors at hand, particularly those sectors that were not the dominating ones within the case. This was addressed through forums where actors with sectoral interests could participate and in requests for reporting of interests and positions. A second way was in the established traditions of cooperation and relational dialogue to overcome differences, especially among transnational or cross-border actors and in informal discussions among local actors to create a win-win situation. Actors from various sectors often come from disparate professional cultures and sometimes spoke 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 inter-sectoral interests. Greater decentralisation of powers to lower levels was also seen as a way to increase the capacity of the localities to mobilise resources for addressing conflicts between sectors.

Dimension 3: Mobilising stakeholder participation

Identification of stakeholders

The practices of identifying who is relevant and who should be allowed to actively participate in territorial governance are often dependent on established routines which show some degree of consistency or transparency. Very often public institutions and actors are designated to select these stakeholders, or specific institutional arrangements (e.g. platforms) had been formed, that already represent the intended range of stakeholders, so that it is felt that no further selection process is required. This can lead to somewhat nested networks, since the selection process is based on personal relations or unknown criteria for appropriateness (e.g. being supportive for the specific territorial development goal at hand). Due to limited ressources not all stakeholders that were identified as being relevant are able to participate in the various forums.

Securing of democratic legitimacy and accountability

This component includes in particular the extent to which the territorial governance arrangement reflects democratic

215

principles and integrates clarification of ownership in the event that public or civic institutions and actors want to appeal the project, policy or programme under consideration. Often there are some specific structures and mechanisms in place, in particular at the municipal level (e.g. the planning and building code), but there are hardly any additional forms of representative and/or participative democracy integrated (e.g. at the regional level), which could further strengthen and secure democratic legitimacy and accountability. This is in particular addressed in territorial governance arrangements which have been created that are not congruent with jurisdictional boundaries and/or are not (yet) represented by any governmental layer.

Integration of interests/viewpoints
How and to what extent interests and viewpoints are integrated into territorial governance work differed 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 the integration of interests is being dealt with. Here the question to what extent the intervention at hand is considered to be strategic or of high or low political importance) determines how various interests and viewpoints are taken into account. Also it appears that in many cases the practices are not set in stone, meaning that we can observe some dynamics in terms of widening the range of viewpoints or trying out social media as a rather untraditional tool.

Insights into territorial governance processes
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. A number of deficits have been reported, such as unclear or undefined procedures, which can hamper any further mobilisation of stakeholders, or where influence of stakeholders is clearly limited. It was also reported that such processes might be very transparent for those who actively take part (or are allowed to do so) from the beginning, but as outsiders or as stakeholders joining such processes at a later stage it is rather difficult. Various media channels (online, radio, newspaper) seem to be powerful tools to make territorial governance more visible, but not necessarily more transparent, due to the prevailing high level of complexity.

Dimension 4: Being adaptive to changing contexts
Institutional learning
Here the basic question has been to what extent structures and routines have been installed to promote institutional learning. This is important as territorial development goals often demand that specialised sorts of knowledge are 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, various means to store and develop knowledge (monitoring systems, annual reports) and mechanisms to safeguard personalised knowledge due to the fluctuation of individual actors. However, in addition to such rather structural aspects, leadership styles and the level of collaborative culture can either promote or inhibit the opportunity for institutional learning.

Individual learning and reflection
Individual learning and reflection was felt as being important, in particular in "soft" territorial governance arrangements. Inter-personnel networking and trust, as well as the degree of motivation and pas-

sion of individual actors seem to be central drivers. Otherwise individual learning was sometimes given too little room in daily work. Often decision makers are confronted with a high amount of information, but this is hardly transformed into knowledge, since routines and time for reflection are generally scarce. 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 understanding specific sectoral interests.

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. To some extent, future developments are intrinsically built-in in the policy, programme or project under consideration or are part of strategy, scenario and/or monitoring work. Occasionally opportunities for forward-looking actions are given or possibly being considered in the future. In one case it has even been reported that the strong belief in a principle such as continuous urban growth seems to make the consideration of other alternatives meaningless.

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

enough to absorb the impacts of political changes.

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

Criteria/logic of defining intervention area

Two different types of intervention logics were observed; a) the territorial scope as pre-defined by the jurisdictional boundaries of the lead institution (e.g. municipality) and b), the territorial scope based on functional/issue-based criteria (e.g. catchment area of river, nature conservation, labour market region). Also in some cases both logics are integrated, which enormously complicates a number of previously discussed components of territorial governance. As regards functional 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.

Coping with hard and soft/functional spaces

There is a clear tension between the approach to integrate in "soft" territorial governance practices with concrete interventions that are dealt within harder administrative spaces. Nonetheless, it seems that more functional approach can challenge prevailing perceptions and routines of actors and institutions that are locked in 'hard' spaces and can contribute to a more relational territorial understanding. The key question is then to what extent such a more relational understanding gets integrated into policies programmes or projects or even formally institutionalised in the long run. As regards the latter, occasionally a slight 'hardening' of an initial soft space has been reported at the neighbourhood level. More frequently, however, 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.

Utilisation of territorial (expert) knowledge

The utilisation of territorial (expert) knowledge has been largely characteri-

sed as being sufficient or even high in the territorial governance cases. In other words, it appears that today's territorial governance practices have access to an enormous body of territorial expert knowledge. An issue which has been mentioned in many cases is the question of 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.

Integration of territorial analysis

Although the provision 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. For example, territorial analysis may be considered at the local, but not at the macro-regional level. Or in other cases, ex-ante evaluations may have shaped the policy, programme or project at hand, but not necessarily the lessons taken from ex-post analysis. Evidently, although comprehensive analysis has been undertaken, in some cases the decision-making process was rather shaped by other rationales. Other issues that can be carved out from the cases is the question of continuity (since during the plan-making phase the integration of territorial analysis can be high, but rather low once the plan is adopted) or of setting priorities due to limited resources. Examples for the latter are the selection of certain areas for territorial monitoring or the integration of territorial impact assessments for only strategic projects (those which get high political attention).

Practical implications of the territorial governance framework

When we speak of territorial governance, the encroaching value that it is desirable to take both a *governance* as well as a *territorial* perspective is never far away. In general the hypotheses guiding the TANGO analysis also worked with the assumption that it is good practice to integrate ac-

tors, sectors and stakeholder and to be adaptable and use territorial knowledge. But the sometimes conflicting normative aspects of territorial governance also need to be problematised. The five dimensions, as discussed above were meant to be as non-value-based as possible, whereas only the indicators should direct us into the direction of assessing the quality of territorial governance and thus help to investigate to what extent our values and norms e.g. in respect of subsidiarity or transparency are met or not. Nonetheless, even the five dimensions inevitably integrate some of the inherent positive expectations that are attached to the notion of governance in general, namely to mobilise stakeholders outside the governmental sphere for instance, or to provide a mode to coordinate the actions of actors and institutions.

At closer inspection, however, we can also detect that for instance, integrating many sectoral interests into decision making might make for a fair and inclusive process, but it may also contribute to the process being unwieldy, inefficient or unable to be very creative. Contrarily, institutions that exhibited a greater degree of adaptability or room for manoeuver were often more successful at achieving a territorial goal. But this room to ponder creative solutions was sometimes seen to be at odds with questions of transparency of decision-making procedures or accountability processes. In another example, the level of territorial knowledgeability can help to improve transparency or even support clarifying who is accountable to the public for making place-based decisions. But in order to be able to sufficiently understand and use such knowledge, actors and institutions need to be adaptive and reflexive enough to bring territorially informed understanding of knowledge into governance processes. In particular the interplay between the use of territorial knowledge and the capacity of institutions and organisations to be able to utilise such knowledge is a gap in governance-oriented research that should be addressed. Another crucial aspect that shall be noted here is one underlying core challenges in particular within spatial planning

work. Namely that of making 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 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 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.

Nonetheless, as stated earlier, it is impossible to give 'one-size-fits' instructions or recommendations for such a wide range of territorial scopes and issues as those examined in the TANGO project case studies. Rather, we can construe what we call 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 (see Fig. 4).

These questions have been inspired by the Case Study Guideline questions which the cases found particularly relevant in doing territorial governance, as well as

from the lessons learned in the analysis of the 20 components.

Conclusions: Reflections on understanding territorial governance

This paper has shown how the understanding of territorial governance could be more systematically researched, analysed and even practiced. In terms of researching territorial governance, we would argue that the five dimensions as such constitute a robust framework to analyse territorial governance. The twelve indicators, the 42 case study guideline questions and 20 components (see Fig. 2 and 3) have been helpful to further trace our study of territorial governance at play, instead of solely focussing on describing the institutional structures. Certainly, one can adapt this conceptual framework 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.

In terms of analysing territorial governance, the components as briefly synthesised in this paper are central elements of the five dimensions and the twelve indicators. As such, they are related in particular to the observed practices, routines, but also mechanisms and structures of territorial governance. In this way they can help to analyse the dynamics of territorial governance with a focus on the *who*, *what, when* and *how* aspects. In addition we want to underline that the proposed framework for analysing territorial governance is not a territorial development assessment tool. Rather it helps academics and professionals to think about territorial governance processes along the five dimensions and twelve indicators respectively. In doing so, it also provides a useful means to carve out a number of features of territorial governance and thus to make some

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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 organise and deliver the territorial goal at stake?
- 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 existing platforms or forums are available to facilitate coordination?
- 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?
- Who is able to discuss the topic? Who has a stake in this?
- What are the potential synergies that could be realised by inter-sectoral cooperation?
- What are the potential or real-sectoral conflicts?

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 utilised in achieving the goal?
- How are the territorial impacts of policies, programmes and projects evaluated?

Source: ESPON and Nordregio 2013a, p. 49

Fig. 4: A checklist for thinking about and promoting Territorial Governance

further qualified investigations into the 'quality of processes' within territorial governance (see here in particular the developed guide for practitioners, policy and decision makers 'Towards Better Territorial Governance in Europe' developed within the TANGO-project; ESPON and POLITECNICO DI TORINO 2013).

Finally in terms of practicing territorial governance, 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 and twelve indicators as a frame 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 Fig. 1). The proposed checklist (see Fig. 4) offers a set of hands-on questions in this respect and reflects the qualified empirical findings of dozen of case studies across Europe. 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.

Acknowledgement

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Резюме

Лиза Ван Велл, Петер Шмитт

Разбираться в территориальном управлении/планировании: концептуальные выводы и практическое значение

Политический анализ пространственного планирования в настоящее время сосредоточен, прежде всего, в области управления или многоуровневого управления/Multi-Level-Governance, поскольку речь идёт о вертикальных и горизонтальных связях с учётом интересов соответствующих сторон (особенно о связях снизу вверх). Более точным территориальным аспектам этой политики до сих пор уделялось мало внимания. Даже вопрос о том, как знания территориальных особенностей и территориальное воздействие различных подходов проникают в такие области, как политика и принятие решений, более обстоятельно не исследован. В статье представлены концептуальные и практические результаты проекта ESPON TANGO (Territorial Approaches for New Governance). При этом была разработана аналитическая основа для систематической концептуализации, операционализации и исследования территориальных процессов управления. Некоторые из наиболее важных эмпирических данных из двенадцати европейских ключевых исследований представлены наряду с 20 компонентами территориального управления, воспроизводящими его структурные и технологические аспекты. Аналитическая основа предусматривает различные подходы для лучшего осмысления главных элементов и характеристик территориального управления/планирования, обеспечивая тем самым большую ясность в дискуссии о том, что оно собой представляет. Кроме того, в проекте при финансировании территориального управления обеспечивается практический подход к его операционированию и поддержка лиц, принимающих законодательные и практические решения на всех уровнях.

Регулярное управление, многоуровневое управление, территориальное управление, европейская территориальная политика и планирование, аналитическая база

Résumé

Lisa Van Well, Peter Schmitt

Comprendre la gouvernance territoriale: Implications conceptuelles et pratiques

Pour une bonne part, l'analyse politique de l'aménagement territorial se concentre aujourd'hui sur la gouvernance, ou gouvernance multi-niveaux, en cela qu'elle retrace des liens verticaux et horizontaux et l'intégration des acteurs pertinents (en particulier de bas en haut). Jusqu'à présent, peu d'attention a été prêtée aux dimensions plus spécifiquement *territoriales* de la gouvernance, ou à la façon dont la connaissance de spécificités territoriales et des impacts territoriaux de différents modes d'action est utilisée dans l'élaboration des politiques et dans la prise de décision. Cette contribution présente les implications conceptuelles et pratiques du projet «ESPON TANGO» (Approches Territoriales pour une Nouvelle Gouvernance). À cette fin, un cadre d'analyse a été développé pour conceptualiser, rendre opérationnels et explorer de façon systématique les processus de gouvernance territoriale. Certaines des découvertes empiriques majeures issues de douze études de cas à travers l'Europe ont été synthétisées en 20 composants de la gouvernance territoriale. Ceux-ci sont représentatifs des aspects axés sur les structures et les processus de la gouvernance territoriale. Il sera argumenté que notre cadre analytique offre différents points d'entrée pour comprendre les principaux éléments et caractéristiques de la gouvernance territoriale, et apporte ainsi de la clarté aux discussions débattant de ce qu'est la gouvernance territoriale. Il offre également un accès plus pratique au *faire* de la gouvernance territoriale, afin d'assister les professionnels et décideurs politiques à quelque niveau que ce soit dans la promotion de la gouvernance territoriale.

Gouvernance ordinaire, gouvernance multi-niveaux, gouvernance territoriale, politique européenne d'aménagement du territoire, cadre analytique