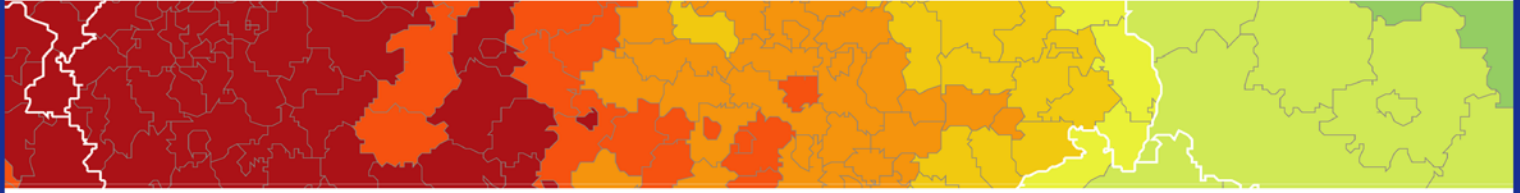


Inspire policy making by territorial evidence



COMPASS – Comparative Analysis of Territorial Governance and Spatial Planning Systems in Europe

Applied Research 2016-2018

Final Report

Final Report

This applied research activity is conducted within the framework of the ESPON 2020 Cooperation Programme.

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Final Report

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This document is a final report.

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The final version of the report will be published as soon as approved.

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Abbreviations

CP	Cohesion Policy
CLLD	Community-led local development
EC	European Commission
ECP	ESPON Contact Points
EIB	European Investment Bank
ESDP	European Spatial Development Perspective
EGTC	European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation
ESIF	European Structural & Investment Fund
ESPON	European Territorial Observatory Network
ESPON EGTC	ESPON European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation
ESPON MC	ESPON Monitoring Committee
EU	European Union
GATS	General Agreement on Trade in Services
IPA	Instrument for Pre-Accession
ITIs	Integrated territorial investments
MEP	Member of the European Parliament
NUTS	Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics
QC	Quality Control
SAP	Stabilization and Association Process
SAA	Stabilization and Association Agreement
TA2020	Territorial Agenda 2020
TG	Territorial Governance
TIA	Territorial Impact Assessment
ToR	Terms of Reference

Executive Summary

Introduction

The objective of the COMPASS project was to provide an authoritative comparative report on changes in territorial governance and spatial planning systems in Europe from 2000 to 2016. This Final Report presents the main findings, conclusions and policy recommendations.

The first comprehensive comparative analysis of spatial planning in Europe, the *EU Compendium of Spatial Planning Systems and Policies*, was published by the European Commission in 1997. It covered the then EU15 and became a standard reference. Much has changed since 1997, with the enlargement of the EU, the increasing influence of EU sectoral policies, and substantial reforms of spatial planning and territorial governance across Europe.

There is value in updating knowledge of spatial planning systems and territorial governance and widening the analysis to more countries because of the potential synergy with EU sectoral policies in a place-based approach. Planning at national, sub-national and local levels offers a means to strengthen the combined impact of EU policies. This requires a broader 'spatial planning approach' that goes beyond the regulation of land use and urban form to the coordination of the territorial impacts of sector policies, as has been advocated since the 1990s. There is limited knowledge of advances in spatial planning since then and certainly not a comprehensive international comparison such as this. ESPON COMPASS provides a starting point for understanding the capacity of spatial planning systems and territorial governance to enhance the implementation of EU policies.

The COMPASS project compares territorial governance and spatial planning in 32 European countries (the 28 EU member states plus four ESPON partner countries). COMPASS differs from previous studies in that the accent is not on a snapshot comparison of national systems, but on identifying trends in reforms from 2000 to 2016. It also seeks to give reasons for these changes with particular reference to EU directives and policies, and to identify good practices for the cross-fertilisation of spatial development policies with EU Cohesion Policy.

The research is based on expert knowledge with reference wherever possible to authoritative sources. Experts with in-depth experience of each national system were appointed to contribute to the study. The research design involved primarily collection of data from the 32 countries through questionnaires and five in-depth case studies of the interaction of EU Cohesion Policy and other sectoral policies with spatial planning and territorial governance. All the data collection and analysis has been subject to extensive quality control to ensure as far possible consistency and coherence of data. Initial investigations have also been made of the feasibility of adding further countries to the study.

Rather than imposing a particular definition of spatial planning, the project is characterising the nature of planning in the countries under study around generic but broad definitions of the

two key concepts: spatial planning and territorial governance. The project adopted working definitions.

Territorial governance comprises the institutions that assist in active cooperation across government, market and civil society actors to coordinate decision-making and actions that have an impact on the quality of places and their development.

Spatial planning systems are the ensemble of institutions that are used to mediate competition over the use of land and property, to allocate rights of development, to regulate change and to promote preferred spatial and urban form.

Territorial governance, spatial planning systems and trends 2000-2016

Spatial planning is ubiquitous in Europe. All countries control the right to develop or change the use of land or property using a hierarchy of instruments involving multiple levels of government. But the detailed arrangements are exceedingly varied.

The general understanding of planning in the countries in this study is as a process of steering development or the use of space, and managing competing interests over land so as to balance development with the protection of land in the public interest. Sustainable development, environmental protection, citizen engagement, infrastructure and economic growth are commonly mentioned objectives of planning. The EU and 'cohesion' are seldom mentioned.

There have been considerable shifts in the allocation of competences among levels of government but in varying directions. The most common trend is decentralisation from national to sub-national and local levels, but a small number of countries are increasing powers at the national level.

There is much reporting of a rescaling of planning competences in 'functional planning regions' to address the reality of environmental, commuting, economic and other flows across borders. New territorial governance arrangements are being established for such regions. Some are established formally by government, particularly for metropolitan areas. Municipalities are increasingly collaborating voluntarily for the provision of services and in some cases planning, with such arrangements being extensive. But the largest category, and one for which it is notoriously difficult to get accurate data are 'soft territorial cooperation areas'. In these regions, the starting point is cross-border cooperation but there is also a measure of inter-sectoral cooperation as a wide range of organisations get involved.

The project has identified 251 types of planning instrumentⁱ. They are not easily categorised. Traditionally we have talked of 'regulation', 'policy framework', 'strategic' and 'visioning' instruments. This is generally misleading. The project findings demonstrate that typically a

ⁱ The term 'spatial planning instrument' is used to denote plans and other tools that are used to mediate and regulate spatial development.

planning instrument or 'document' will have multiple functions. Also, whilst the strategic function tends to dominate at the national level and the regulative at the local level, this should not be taken for granted. Although planning is often criticised for its rigid regulatory approaches, visioning and strategy-making are important and increasing.

National planning instruments have seen relatively little change from 2000 to 2016. At the sub-national level there have been changes but the directions are multi-faceted. They generally correspond to changing competences at the sub-national level. More change is evident at the local level, where tools have been modified or new ones introduced. There is more consistency in the changes to the plan and permit procedures which mostly involve simplification and/or streamlining of procedures, adapting to digital technology, and providing for more citizen engagement in the planning process.

The overall picture is of planning systems evolving to address weaknesses and to better address contemporary issues. There is little evidence of 'deregulation' in the formal structure of planning systems, but rather innovation in the form of instruments and procedures.

The practice of spatial planning and territorial governance

In the majority of countries, most of the spatial planning instruments that are identified in the formal structure have actually been prepared, and performance in keeping plans up-to-date is reported as good and improving. A critical question is whether these plans have influence on spatial development in practice. This is a very difficult question but in general, the national experts report that the policies, proposals and regulations set out in the spatial planning instruments do have direct or indirect influence on guiding and controlling spatial development. However, in a group of countries where the governance conditions are more difficult and/or which have experienced difficulties since the 2007 financial crisis, there is a clear message that the influence of planning has declined, with, in some cases, little or no influence over patterns of spatial development.

Spatial planning at the national and local levels is thought to be well integrated with transport, environment, cultural heritage, tourism, and energy policies. There is much less integration at the sub-national level. Spatial planning is much less integrated with education, energy, health, retail, and waste policies.

With a few exceptions, there is progressive innovation in practices of planning which give much more emphasis to sectoral policy integration, to transparency and citizen engagement, and to creating more responsive instruments that can adapt to changing circumstances.

Europeanisation

The EU has undoubtedly exerted a significant impact on territorial governance and spatial planning systems between 2000-2016, most significantly through sectoral legislation. EU territorial cooperation (Interreg) has been less influential in domestic planning. Environment and energy legislation have had most impact. EU Cohesion Policy has been important for

domestic planning where there is significant funding. The Territorial Agenda has had limited impact compared with the *ESDP* and other general strategies such as *Europe 2020*. Relatively new member states are more receptive to EU concepts and ideas in the general discourse on spatial planning and territorial governance.

There are only few examples of a bottom-up influence of domestic territorial governance and spatial planning on EU level debate. In general, the older member states of the EU15 exert a higher influence, but some eastern European countries are increasingly influential.

Case studies of the relationship between EU Cohesion Policy and spatial planning and territorial governance

In-depth case studies in Sweden, Ireland, Poland, Hungary and the cross-border region between Spain and France demonstrate in more detail the variability of relationships between Cohesion Policy and spatial planning. Cohesion Policy often has a direct impact on physical spatial development through funded projects, and thus there is a strong indirect connection with spatial planning, especially where spending is high. The connection is weaker where there is less funding for infrastructure projects. Where there are impacts, they may support domestic planning strategies and policies – as in the case of infrastructure projects promoting increased densities, or they may undermine planning where spending facilitates suburbanisation.

The effectiveness of spatial planning in steering EU-funded investments varies, and in general planning is not well prepared to take on the task of steering such investments because of different timescales and priorities. In eastern Europe spatial planning tends to be weaker in steering because of the relative lack of integration across sectoral policies, the limited effectiveness of local planning instruments, and insufficient preparation in the accession process.

The case study regions are all innovating to improve the steering of Cohesion Policy. Good practices include using regional territorial investments to stimulate partnerships and joint vision and strategy making; using LEADER to prepare spatial plans jointly across public, private and civil society sectors; and creating local systems for monitoring the territorial impact of investments and compatibility with spatial planning strategies.

Policy Recommendations

The diversity of conditions for territorial development in Europe means there can be no ‘one-size-fits-all’ solution to territorial governance and spatial planning. Nevertheless, there is a common concern for all countries and the EU institutions to advance the role of spatial planning and territorial governance to meet their full potential in contributing to shared EU goals. The project makes five key recommendations

First, there is an ongoing trend towards more strategic and visionary approaches to planning that assist in creating synergy between sectoral policies and actors involved in territorial

development. This trend should be embraced and reinforced whilst also maintaining support for effective land use regulation. EU member states must develop an overarching narrative for the spatial development of the European territory that lays out principles and expectations. This should be complemented by narratives of spatial planning principles at the national and sub-national levels that address the specific concerns of places and promote strategic spatial planning. ESPON must tailor and promote its tools for use in spatial planning and territorial governance. All levels of government must strengthen assessment and monitoring of the impacts of sectoral policies on territorial development.

Second, spatial strategy making at national and sub-national levels should concentrate resources on joining-up sectoral policies and actions where there is a particularly strong effect on EU goals, notably economic investment, environment, energy and transport. EU institutions and sectoral policies must address their 'spatial blindness' and work with existing planning tools and procedures more effectively. The EU can support capacity building programmes through mobility and exchange. The national and sub-national levels can encourage dialogue on territorial governance through national exchange arenas. Sub-national and local levels can make more use of territorial impact assessments to feed this dialogue, and empower spatial planning players to engage with EU sectoral policy.

Third, there is a trend towards spatial planning and territorial governance initiatives in functional areas across administrative boundaries. This trend can be harnessed and reinforced in revitalised territorial cooperation initiatives so as to secure more coordination of the territorial impacts of sectoral investments. The EU policy framework should encourage inter-regional and inter-municipal cooperation within countries alongside its current focus on cooperation between countries. ESIF regulations and programmes must make territorial cooperation a mandatory element of regional and national funding. A revitalised Interreg is needed which reaches into mainstream planning systems and strategies and builds capacity and trust in functional regions. National and sub-regional governments should provide a framework and incentives for spatial planning in functional regions where multiple policy sectors cooperate.

Fourth, spatial planning and territorial cooperation should engage with and make more use of Cohesion Policy as a specific and powerful tool for achieving territorial development objectives. This can best be achieved if ESIF regulations and programmes have a strong territorial dimension promoting place-based cooperation. This should include explicit consideration of the impact of investment on mainstream spatial planning objectives, and higher co-funding rates for where the place-based approach is demonstrated. Spatial planning authorities can offer ESIF programmes analysis of territorial effects and how funding mechanisms can contribute to planning goals. This will require capacity building to tune spatial planning practice into Cohesion Policy and all facets of ESIF. ESPON tools such as territorial foresight can help in linking spatial planning to EU programmes and policies. Fundamentally, Cohesion Policy and spatial planning should follow a complementary rhythm

in terms of the development of operational programmes and strategies. This will require adoption of more adaptive planning instruments and processes that are responsive to opportunities.

Fifth, the EU must reinvigorate the Territorial Agenda with a substantial revision that aims to play in the same league as the New Urban Agenda and the UN Sustainable Development Goals. It will need a stronger connection to the potential of spatial planning and specific challenges of territorial development whilst embracing a wide range of sectoral interests. The NTCCP has a role in driving forward this initiative through partnership working. The impact and legacy of the European Spatial Development Perspective has been much stronger than the Territorial Agenda in spatial planning, and thus provides a model. It will require renewed efforts by national governments to engage in dialogue about the relation between sectoral policies and spatial planning. The main efforts need to be made within member states to ensure a common understanding of territorial development objectives at all levels. One important aspect of this is to ensure that graduating young professionals are properly informed about the Territorial Agenda and any successors.

Recommendations for further research and on-going monitoring

The COMPASS project has addressed questions about the functioning of spatial planning and territorial governance that have not been addressed systematically for the whole of the EU for decades. There are a number of areas where further research work would be valuable.

First, regular monitoring and evaluation of ongoing reforms in spatial planning and their impact in relation to EU sectoral policies would be more timely and cost effective than periodic studies. It would also offer a source for benchmarking and inspiration for improvement. It would include: an overview of current key reforms in regard to critical issues such as economic investment and climate change; an explanation with practical examples of forms of planning instruments in use in each country to be periodically updated; and a platform for exchange and interaction of interested players. Visibility would be raised through events including a European spatial planning day. There is potential to begin the monitoring exercise by creating a web-based inventory of the country information collected in this project, supplemented with more practical examples.

Second, this study (and monitoring) should be widened to include the 'additional countries' where feasibility has been tested, and other European countries where information is available.

Third, ESPON should commission research evaluating the performance of planning in guiding and responding to trends in territorial development; successful pathways to effective strategic planning; and the relation between strategies, regulation and actual outcomes.

Fourth, there is much interest in how policy integration happens in practice and the mechanisms that are used, especially between spatial planning and Cohesion Policy.

Research on this topic could also include consideration of the integrating potential of EU territorial cooperation initiatives beyond Interreg.

Fifth, practitioners appreciate information that helps them to position their activities in a wider European context. This calls for more projects on 'strategic positioning' showing territorial interrelationships drawing on spatial planning in the member states.

Finally, the terminology of spatial planning and territorial governance is complex and rooted to place. Further clarification of concepts and terms through the systematic creation of a multilingual annotated glossary would help international and trans-cultural exchanges.

1. Introduction

1.1 Aims and scope of the project

The objective of the COMPASS project is to provide an authoritative comparative report on changes in territorial governance and spatial planning systems in Europe since 2000. It substantially improves the knowledge base on territorial governance and spatial planning, and in particular, their relationship with EU Cohesion Policy.

The first comprehensive comparative analysis of spatial planning in Europe, the *EU Compendium of Spatial Planning Systems and Policies*,¹ was published by the European Commission in 1997. Since then the number of member states has nearly doubled, the territorial dimension of EU sector policies has deepened, and there have been many, sometimes radical, reforms of systems of territorial governance and spatial planning. To some extent, these reforms have been stimulated and informed by EU initiatives, notably the *European Spatial Development Perspective*², the *Territorial Agenda 2020*³ and other EU sectoral policies. Numerous other factors have also played a part in changes to territorial governance and spatial planning systems in particular countries, including more neoliberal politics and individualism in societies; the critical effects of the financial crisis from 2008 on the capacity and resources of government; and policies to address the risks associated with climate change.

Since 2000, knowledge of territorial development trends in Europe has improved dramatically, notably from the ESPON programmes. However, understanding of the means by which member states seek to shape territorial development is lacking. At the same time, demand for such knowledge has increased. This is because EU Cohesion Policy and spatial planning systems have complementary and interrelated purposes. EU Cohesion Policy and other sectoral policies seek to strengthen economic investment and employment, promote more sustainable development, enhance resilience to shocks, widen accessibility to services, and more. The policies and actions that support these objectives always have a spatial dimension – they have effects in particular places, but this is not always recognised. EU studies and reports such as the *Sixth Report on Economic, Social and Territorial Cohesion*⁴ and the report on *An Agenda for a Reformed Cohesion Policy*⁵ call for more effective territorial governance.

In principle, spatial planning systems and territorial governance can assist in addressing the place-based dimension of sectoral policy. However, in many parts of Europe ‘planning’ itself has taken a sectoral approach focussed on regulating land uses and physical urban form. Elsewhere, the potential of planning to coordinate the impact of sectoral policies in particular places has been realised – the ‘spatial planning approach’. Here, planning plays a wider role seeking to influence and shape the development of territories: guiding investment to particular

locations, protecting sensitive environmental assets, enhancing the quality of urban and rural environments, ensuring citizens have accessibility to jobs and services, and much more.

There is, therefore, great potential benefit in bringing EU sectoral policies and domestic systems of spatial planning into a closer alliance. But the European institutions have only limited knowledge of the way that member states seek to shape the development of territories – both the formal arrangements and their use in practice. Whilst governments at all levels tend to be well informed about the potential of spatial planning they know less about how their planning systems, practices and innovations compare with others. Thus, there is much value in reviewing the relationship between territorial governance, spatial planning and EU sector policies, especially Cohesion Policy.

The project compares territorial governance and spatial planning in 32 European countries (the 28 EU member states plus four ESPON partner countries). In order to provide sufficient in-depth knowledge across 32 countries, a large consortium was formed. It is led by Delft University of Technology and comprises eight further partners and 16 sub-contractors. The countries in the comparative review and the responsible 'country experts' that provided data are given in Annex 1.

The Final Report contains:

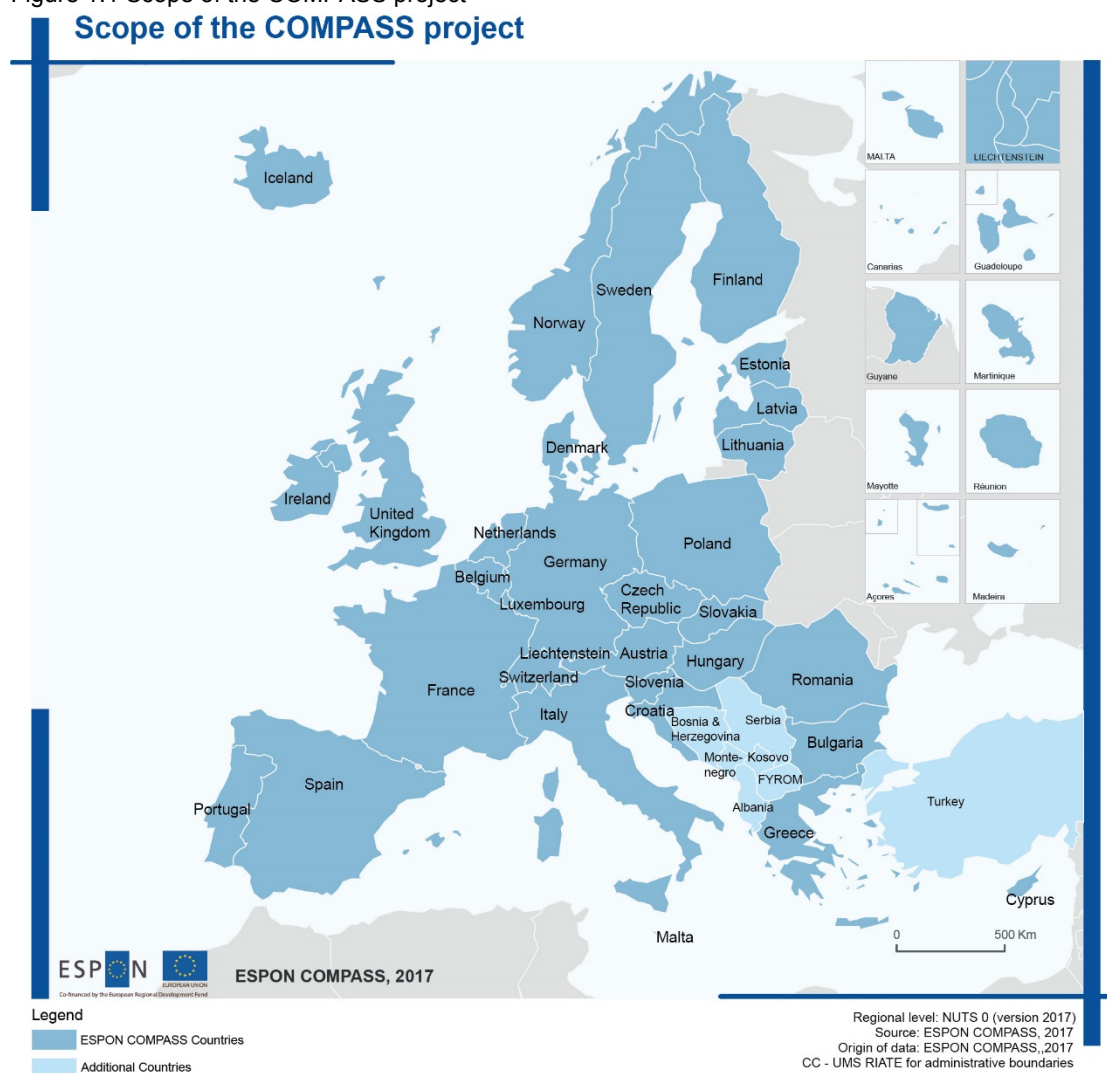
- an executive summary mainly based on the key policy questions;
- a short description of the methodology and conceptual framework;
- comparative analyses of the findings and policy recommendations;
- synthesis of the case studies, and case study reports;
- recommendations for future research and ongoing monitoring.

This report contains annexes that are needed to understand the points made in the text. Additional volumes set out the data collected for the report and preliminary analysis as follows:

- Volume 1. Comparative tables
- Volume 2. Methodology
- Volume 3. Phase 1 Questionnaire answers
- Volume 4. Phase 2 Questionnaire answers
- Volume 5. Additional countries feasibility study
- Volume 6. Case studies
- Volume 7. Analysis of Europeanisation trends.

The intention of the Final Report is to provide an accessible summary of the findings. Inevitably, this entails some generalisation and simplification of what are very complex systems and processes, and the enormous variability between the countries concerned. We have sought to balance the risk of misrepresentation with the need to provide clear messages to policy makers and other stakeholders.

Figure 1.1 Scope of the COMPASS project



1.2 Objectives and tasks ⁱ

The aims of the project as set out in the Terms of Reference are:

- to describe and explain changes in territorial governance and spatial planning systems and policies across Europe since 2000, and the reasons for these changes with particular reference to EU directives and policies;
- to identify good practices for the cross-fertilisation of spatial and territorial development policies with EU Cohesion Policy;
- to recommend how national and regional spatial and territorial development policy perspectives can be more effectively reflected in EU Cohesion policy and other sector policies, and vice versa.

The specific tasks needed as specified in the Terms of Reference (ToR) are in summary:

ⁱ This section closely follows the terms of reference with minor amendments to ensure the explanation of change considers a wider range of factors; to replace 'best practice' with 'good practice', and to recognise the interrelationship of EU policy with national and regional policies as a two-way process rather than just from the EU to member states.

- (task 1) to provide a structured review of European territorial governance and spatial planning systems, employing a method that recognises the cultural rootedness of governance and planning, and working definitions of territorial governance and spatial planning;
- (task 2) to identify trends, commonalities and differences in European territorial development and spatial planning systems through comparative analysis along a number of dimensions;
- (task 3) to identify and investigate four to five case studies which are likely to demonstrate good (best) practices in the cross-fertilisation of EU policies with territorial governance and spatial planning;
- (task 4) to develop policy recommendations that will improve the capacity for spatial planning and Cohesion Policy to achieve synergies, and recommendations for future research, particularly a monitoring system.

Note that there was no intention in this project to produce a set of country reports as an outcome.

1.3 Additional countries feasibility study

The ToR also required an assessment of the 'data situation' for the EU candidate countries (i.e. Albania, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM], Montenegro, Serbia and Turkey) and other countries of the Western Balkans (i.e. Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo under UN Security Council Resolution 1244).

For each of these 'additional countries', a brief review of territorial governance and the spatial planning system was undertaken together with an assessment of the potential to complete a full analysis to the same depth as the EU 28+4. The feasibility study included a preliminary overview of the aspects of spatial development, planning and EU policies that are addressed in this report.

From the evidence collected, we conclude that a full analysis is feasible for all seven 'additional countries', although additional expertise and resources would be needed to conduct the same study for these countries. Such an analysis would also be useful because each country is involved to some degree in the scope of one or more EU policies, from the mainstream objective of European territorial cooperation to the Instruments of Pre-Accession (IPA), European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instruments (ENPI), and related programmes (SIGMA, Twinning, ⁶ etc.). Thus, the EU already plays a role in shaping the territorial governance and spatial planning system and exerts impacts in concrete practice. Individual summary assessments of each country are provided in Volume 5.

In Chapter 7 of this report we recommend that a similar in-depth analysis could be undertaken for the additional countries in a follow up study, and that this could usefully be extended to other European and neighbouring countries.

2. Methodology

Key points

- Lessons from comparative studies of spatial planning, some by members of the research team, have been central in devising the research design for the COMPASS project.
- COMPASS considers 'spatial planning' as the collection of institutions that seek to regulate the change of use of land and property; and 'territorial governance' as institutions that seek to coordinate the spatial or territorial impacts of sectoral policies.
- The scale of the project (32 countries) required appointing 'country experts' with in-depth experience of the organisation and practice of territorial governance and spatial planning and of relevant EU legislation and policy.
- Data collection was divided into two phases. The first questionnaire was on the structure and changes in territorial governance and spatial planning systems. The second involved the exploration of the reality of the operation and performance of the system.
- Case studies were done to investigate the relationship between Cohesion Policy and spatial planning systems and territorial governance in practice; and to identify good practices for cross-fertilisation of spatial development policies with Cohesion Policy.
- Relying on expert opinion across many countries, quality control was a vital part of the COMPASS project. It was done in three areas: national reports, case study reports and conclusions and recommendations.

2.1 Introduction

The project's terms of reference require 'a clear and consistent methodological/conceptual framework for undertaking the comparative analysis within a highly complex and diverse socio-political space' (ToR, p. 5). In particular, the research has to provide meaningful comparisons whilst at the same time respecting great variation in the socio-economic, political, legal and other conditions of the places under study. But the comparison of territorial governance and spatial planning across a large number of countries presents many challenges. The next sections explain how the project has taken into account the different challenges for the conceptualisation of the main terms, the design of the research, the methods for comparison and the data collection.

2.2 Key challenges in comparing territorial governance and spatial planning

In preparation for this study, the proposal set out a lengthy review of important literature on the making such comparisons and of the evolution of the notions of territorial governance and spatial planning systems. Some of the key materials are by members of this research team – Nadin and Stead ⁷ and Reimer *et al.* ⁸ on comparative planning research methods and trends; Nadin and Stead ⁹ on planning and social models; Cotella and Janin Rivolin ^{10, 11} and Böhme and Waterhout ¹² on Europeanisation of planning; Schmitt and van Well ¹³ and Stead ¹⁴ on territorial governance (drawing from ESPON Tango); Nadin *et al.* ¹⁵ on the EU Compendium;

the Academy for Spatial Research and Planning's website ⁱⁱ, and others. The lessons from these comparative studies of spatial planning have been central in devising the research design for the COMPASS project, in order to tackle the significant challenges of the task. Here we mention the most important ones:

- Planning systems are historically rooted in place and language. Variation must be explained with reference to national and regional social models (socio-economic, political and cultural systems) that can be important factors explaining performance and change. Thus, there can be no single definition of spatial planning or territorial governance.
- Translation of terms from one language to another must be done with great care. In this case the translation to English must avoid using terms that have a specific meaning in English language countries. That means that generic non-country specific terminology should be used.
- It is not sufficient to record the formal structure and instruments of spatial planning systems and territorial governance, but also their operation in practice.
- Territorial governance and spatial planning systems are dynamic and, by necessity, always incomplete. Thus, is it important to identify trends rather than a snapshot of systems (the diachronic method).
- Planning systems operate in a fluid, multi-scalar and iterative process between multiple institutions and actors, and thus there is a need to consider the interplay of actors and networks.
- Micro-scale practices are as important as larger structures for understanding of a planning system's effectiveness, the identification of 'good practices' and the potential for policy transfer.
- Spatial planning can be usefully conceptualised as an 'institutional technology' comprising structure, tools, discourse and practices, in order to analyse the interplay of the EU and countries in the process of Europeanisation.

2.3 Conceptualising European spatial planning systems and territorial governance

The most important challenge of the COMPASS project is the design of a method of investigation that gathers important information, allows for a meaningful comparison, and explains the evolution of systems and the relationship with EU policies.

Like the 1997 *EU Compendium of Spatial Planning Systems and Policies*, ¹ this project should 'define more precisely the meaning of the terms used in each country, rather than to suggest that they are the same'. We must be open to revealing alternative meanings of our key terms. Nevertheless, it is crucial for the project to foster consistency in the use of generic terms, particularly 'spatial planning' and 'territorial governance'. In this task the history of changing terminology since the 1990s is instructive.

ⁱⁱ <http://www.commin.org>

In the mid-1990s the term 'spatial planning' (in English) was adopted by DG Regio of the European Commission. This was an alternative to the more common English terms of 'town and country planning' or 'city planning'. This was because some member state governments at that time were concerned that the territorial impacts of European policies should be clearly distinguished from the effects of planning systems in the member states which are in the exclusive competence of national governments. ⁱⁱⁱ The EU Compendium of 1997 adopted the term spatial planning and explained that it '...embraces measures to co-ordinate the spatial impacts of other sectoral policies, to achieve a more even distribution of economic development between regions than would otherwise be created by market forces, and to regulate the conversion of land and property uses'. Thus, in its definition of spatial planning, the Compendium covered both land use regulation aspects of planning systems (which was the main interest of member states) and the role of planning in coordinating the territorial impacts of sectoral policies (which was more of interest to the EU). But there remains some ambiguity, not least because 'spatial planning' is the literal translation of the term for national land use regulation planning system in some countries.

Subsequently, the notion of 'spatial planning' became popular across Europe in the 2000s in the wake of the elaboration of the *European Spatial Development Perspective* ² (even though planning does not figure in this title). ^{16, 17, 18, 19} However, at the same time the role of the Commission in planning was hotly disputed and the exclusive competence of member states in the field of town and country planning was confirmed ^{13, 20}. Whilst maintaining an interest in the approaches to policy integration in the member states, the EU institutions started to avoid the term 'spatial planning' and used alternatives instead, such as 'spatial management' (previously used by the Council of Europe), 'spatial development policy', and latterly, 'territorial governance'.

The concept of 'territorial governance' emerged in the 2000s ^{21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26}. It has been widely advocated but with varying connotations, for example by the Council of Europe in their *Resolution on Territorial Governance* ²⁷ and in the *Green Paper on Territorial Cohesion* ²⁸, among others. The so-called 'Barca Report' ⁵ did not specifically refer to the term territorial governance but promoted a place-based approach to development policies that is 'tailored to places'. The objective of territorial cohesion is emphasised by the *Territorial Agenda of the European Union 2020 (TA 2020)* ³ and in the work of the Network of Territorial Cohesion Contact Points (NTCCP). ^{iv} They call for a place-based, territorially sensitive and integrated approach to policies in order to improve the performance of actions on all levels, and create synergies between different types of policy interventions. ESPON TANGO ²⁹ took this work forward and proposed a working definition:

ⁱⁱⁱ Derek Martin, 2005, personal communication.

^{iv} The Network of Territorial Cohesion Contact Points was created during the 2007 EU Portuguese Presidency, to support the implementation of the Territorial Agenda.

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

- *co-ordinating actions of actors and institutions,*
- *integrating policy sectors,*
- *mobilising stakeholder participation,*
- *being adaptive to changing contexts, and*
- *realising place-based/territorial specificities and impacts (p. 6).*

In the European institutions from the early 2000s there has been a shift in the term used to imply the coordination or integration of the territorial impacts of sector policies from 'spatial planning', through 'spatial development' to 'territorial governance'. The term 'territorial governance' is now well established and used consistently, for example, in the *Territorial Agendas* of 2007 and 2011.^{30, 31}

At the same time, spatial planning has been adopted more widely as a generic term for the land use planning systems of member states – a process begun by the *EU Compendium of Spatial Planning Systems and Policies* – which is mostly a description of domestic land use regulation planning systems. Such distinctions are notional. In practice there is much overlap and interplay. Spatial planning and territorial governance are collections of formal and informal institutions, some of which are shared. Spatial planning 'systems' have more formal institutions. They are 'systems' because they are organized sets of rules like plans and permit procedures that help societies govern urban and rural development. There are also important informal institutions in spatial planning, for example, shared norms in relation to the need for probity or acceptance of corruption; or discourses around economic development, etc.

In general, territorial governance has more informal than formal institutions, that is, shared values, norms or traditional ways of working such as inter-departmental meetings to share information. It may be that the institutions of territorial governance are being formalized, and there may be cases where there are strong formal institutions. However, informal institutions are no less valuable than formal ones.³² Less tangible and therefore more difficult to research, they are nevertheless part of the culture of spatial planning.

For the COMPASS project we argue that the starting point should be to consider 'spatial planning' as the collection of institutions that seek to regulate the change of use of land and property; and 'territorial governance' as institutions that seek to coordinate the spatial or territorial impacts of sectoral policies.^{33, 34, 35} Thus, our working definitions are:

Territorial governance comprises the institutions that assist in active cooperation across government, market and civil society actors to coordinate decision-making and actions that have an impact on the quality of places and their development.

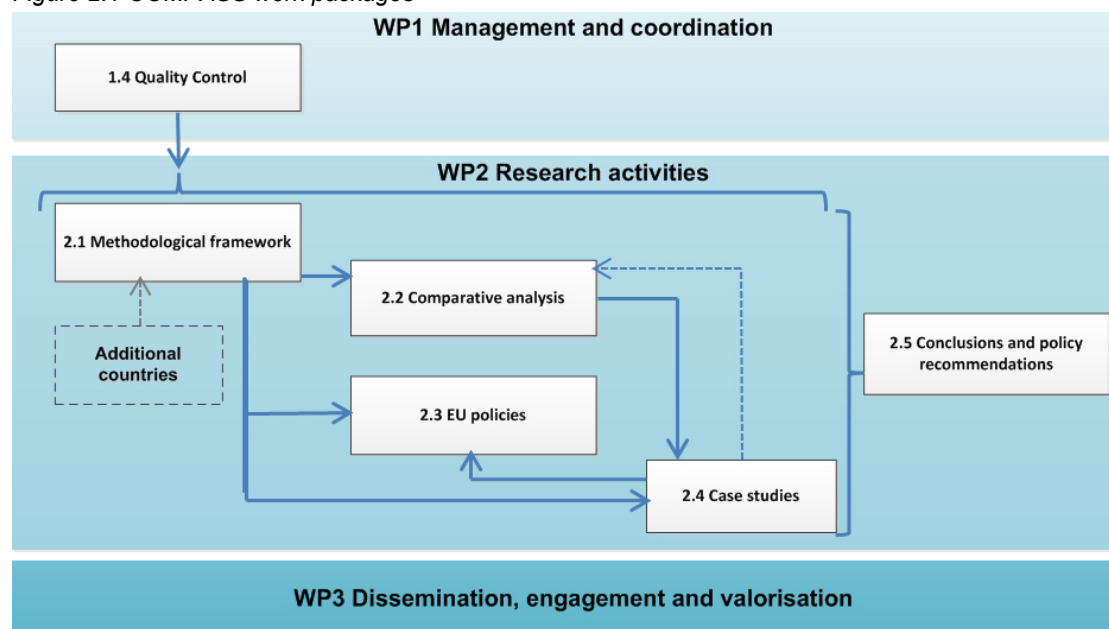
Spatial planning systems are the ensemble of institutions that are used to mediate competition over the use of land and property, to allocate rights of development, to regulate change and to promote preferred spatial and urban form.

Spatial planning and territorial governance are evolving and emergent concepts – and therefore so is their meaning. We will explore the trajectories of territorial governance and spatial planning systems since 2000, and especially the relation between spatial planning ‘systems’ and related practices and procedures that might be seen as territorial governance. The project leader provided explicit, written guidance to country experts on the meaning of various terms used in the project, as explained in Volume 2.

2.4 Methods for comparison and data collection

Figure 2.1 illustrates the research design, showing the structure of the three work packages. The main research activities are concentrated in work package 2.

Figure 2.1 COMPASS work packages



The scale of the project, involving 32 countries, required that the data be collected by expert opinion. The project appointed ‘country experts’ with in-depth experience of the organisation and practice of territorial governance and spatial planning and also an understanding of relevant EU legislation^v and policy. The country experts were asked to identify a minimum of four other experts with in-depth experience of different aspects of spatial planning and EU policy in the country in question who are able to provide information on specific issues and also help to check and validate the data. Group and one-to-one meetings were held with country experts to answer questions. The guidance emphasised that wherever possible experts should make reference to sources where the data can be validated.

^v The term ‘legislation’ is used here to cover all acts of the EU including regulations, directives and decisions, and both ‘legislative acts’ and ‘non-legislative acts’.

Data collection was divided into two phases. In phase one, country experts were asked to complete a questionnaire on the structure and changes in territorial governance and spatial planning systems. The second phase involved validation of the data for each country with the wider group of national experts through focus group or one-to-one interviews, together with exploration of the reality of the operation and performance of the system. Experts based their answers on their own knowledge, readily available information sources and where necessary, consultation with other experts. The questionnaires were devised by a working group of three partners. The working group consulted other main partners of the project and a draft questionnaire was the subject of a pilot study in Germany, Hungary and Poland. The questionnaires and guidance notes are presented in Volume 2.

The data gathered in the first phase of data collection from experts in 32 countries includes: terminology for spatial planning and territorial governance; the underpinning constitutional and legal framework; the organisation of government and distribution of competences the character of spatial planning and territorial governance instruments at national, sub-national and local levels; the procedures for the allocation of development rights through plan and decision-making; the influence of EU legislation; and the influence of EU policy. In each case we have considered the changes that have taken place between 2000 and 2016.

The data gathered in the second phase of data collection concentrated on the practice of spatial planning and territorial governance and includes: the production and influence of planning instruments; the integration of spatial planning with other sectoral policies, and the influence of those sectors on planning; the extent to which spatial planning coordinates other sectors, mobilises citizen engagement and is adaptive to changes in circumstances; the influence of EU discourse on domestic practices; and the influence of each country on EU territorial governance.

The selection of case studies was guided by the priorities of the TA2020. In a first round, 13 countries or cross-border regions were selected based on: expert knowledge in relation to the TA2020 thematic issues; key governance characteristics; and exposure to EU Cohesion Policy. A second stage identified four country cases (Poland, Hungary, Ireland and Sweden) plus one cross-border case (France-Spain) that together provided a good spread of interest across themes and locations. Within these cases the research focused on 13 sub-regions.

The team investigated the cases through desk research, interviews and focus group workshops or semi-structured interviews. Good practices were identified and discussed within the team. The emphasis has been on providing meaningful examples of good practice which are different to the mainstream practice, rather than making a long list of routine practices. The selection of case studies and methods are presented in Volume 6.

Quality control was a vital part of the COMPASS project, which places a reliance on expert opinion across many countries. The main outputs covered by quality control were (1) country reports (the questionnaire returns for phase 1 and phase 2); (2) the case study reports; and

(3) conclusions and policy and research recommendations. Full details of the quality control process are given in Volume 2.

3. Territorial governance and spatial planning systems and trends 2000-2016

Key points

- Spatial planning is generally understood as action to steer development or sustainable development, to protect land and to involve citizens in decisions on spatial development.
- Many countries are decentralising or centralising competences for planning to the sub-national and local levels.
- There is great variety in types of planning instruments. Many perform multiple functions that include a combination of visionary, strategic policy framework and regulation. Strategies are more common at higher levels, regulations at lower levels, but this is not always the case. Visioning is less common.
- There has been much reform of plan and permit procedures between 2000 and 2016 in order to simplify and/or streamline of structures and procedures.
- Reforms have also been made to increase transparency and citizen engagement in the planning process; to improve sectoral policy coordination; to strengthen regulation and implementation, and 'regularize' development; to facilitate value capture from development, and to adapt to digital technology.

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the varying systems of spatial planning systems and territorial governance in the 32 countries. It explains their formal scope and objectives; the distribution of planning competences among levels of government; the characteristics of instruments used; the procedures for decision making in planning; and how the systems have changed between 2000 and 2016. The chapter concentrates on those issues which are of particular interest to this study. It complements other sources of information about the characteristics of planning systems where descriptions of systems and instruments are given.^{vi, 36, 37, 38} The operation of the systems in practice is explained in Chapter 4.

3.2 Constitutional and legal frameworks for spatial planning

Constitutions and other law establish and govern the formal framework for spatial planning and territorial governance. All countries in this study have allocated competences for spatial planning through constitutions and law to government bodies from national to local levels (not all levels of government hold planning competences in all countries). Constitutional law also deals with how the government exercises authority over land or territory, especially those rights that enable the transformation or building on land or change of use of property, that is to 'develop' land. A core prerequisite for effective government influence over the process of spatial development is that rights to develop land or property are restricted for private individuals and held and allocated by the state.

^{vi} commin.org/en/commin/

The common position in the 32 countries is that both the state and private individuals can own land. However, with few exceptions land ownership does not automatically confer rights to develop the land. In all cases the right to develop land effectively belongs to the state. In some countries the concentration of development rights with the state has been achieved through a comprehensive legal act which nationalises those rights. In other cases, it has been achieved by law that says that the act of adopting statutory regulation plans removes any right to develop. In the latter case, the need to provide coverage of the territory by legally binding plans becomes paramount. Development rights are allocated according to the land use plan in most cases. Few exceptions to this arrangement have been reported by country experts, for example, where the constitution may grant specific limited rights to develop land. Similarly, rights of expropriation (taking property from private owners for public uses or benefit) is only possible by government or its agencies which hold devolved powers.

3.2.1 The formal scope of spatial planning

The scope and objectives of territorial governance and spatial planning are established in law, policy and practice. This section explains the scope of spatial planning according to the law and professional discourse in each country. Chapter 4 explains the scope in terms of planning's relationship in practice with sectoral policies.

Country experts were asked to provide the formal legal terms for 'spatial planning' and other key terms 'that are used to describe spatial planning and territorial governance in professional discourse', together with a short explanation based on legal definitions.^{vii} Many respondents had difficulty in finding a clear definition of spatial planning. This is because in some countries there is no definition, but rather, the meaning of the term is embodied in the whole legal act or acts. In other countries the meaning may be ambiguous or it may be given in general government policies. In these cases, country experts provided a summary of the meaning of spatial planning.

The findings on the formal scope of planning were categorised in three ways as shown in Figure 3.1: the broad purpose of planning, the competences associated with levels of administration, and the substantive topics identified in the definitions. The first two categories reflect a procedural understanding of planning, that is, they emphasise the role of planning in decision-making processes such as providing a legitimate basis for intervention or the engagement of citizens. The third category concerning a substantive understanding of

^{vii} Terms were submitted in 25 languages. Experts were also asked to provide a translation of the terms into English (with transliteration if needed). The results are based on legal definitions or explanations from 31 countries (EE did not provide sufficient information); and professional definitions from 25 countries (CY, ES, IS, LI, LV, NL and RO did not provide sufficient information). Five countries argued that two legal terms were needed and both were used (BE, ES, FR, IT and RO).

planning emphasises the role of planning in achieving certain policy goals such as economic growth or the provision of infrastructure.

Figure 3.1 Categories for the analysis of the scope of spatial planning in legal and professional terms

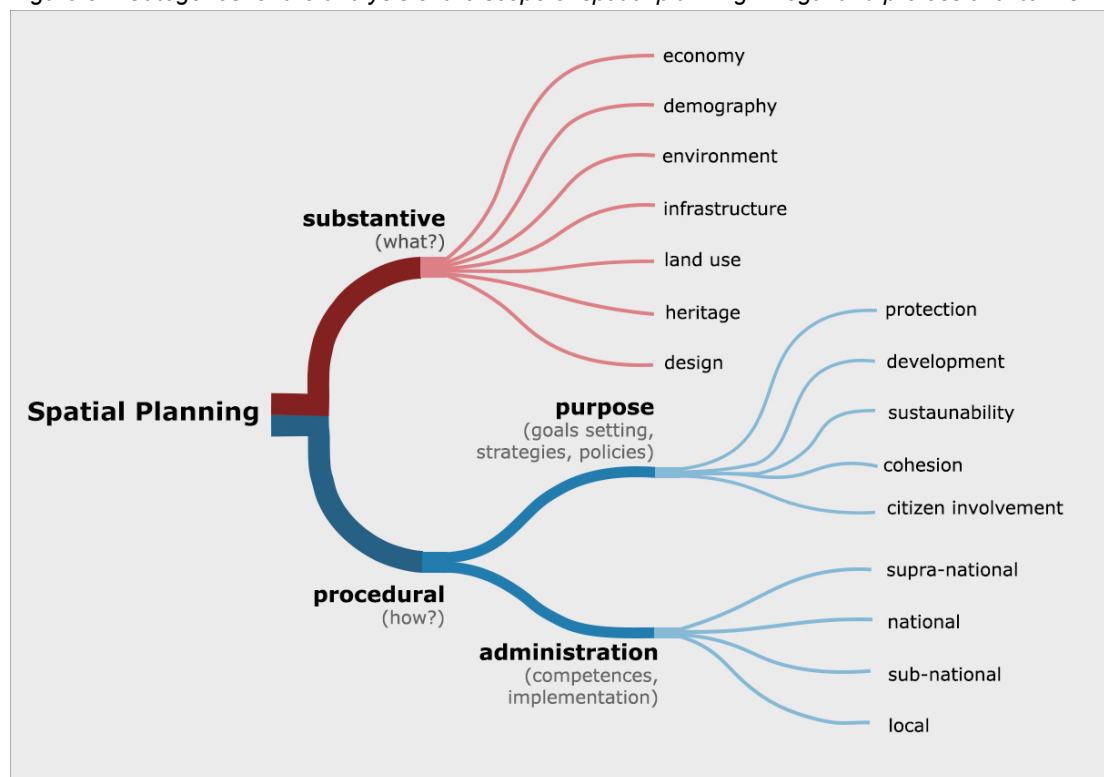


Table 3.1, summarises the findings on the legal and professional understanding of spatial planning and territorial governance in Europe, and provides an overview of commonalities and differences in formal scope. Most countries define planning in law in both procedural and substantive terms. Eight countries have in law a dominant procedural view of planning (AT, BG, DE, EL, LI, MT, NL and the UK) and only one has a predominantly substantive view of planning (SK).

Law in European countries typically defines spatial planning as the process of organising the territory, land use or space, and managing competing interests so as to balance development with protection of land in the public interest. A few countries go further to define wider objectives or substantive goals. Five examples serve to illustrate. Lithuania provides a particularly broad legal definition that says (in summary) planning aims for sustainable territorial development and includes the establishment of land use priorities, measures of environmental protection, public health, heritage protection, the creation of residential areas and manufacturing, engineering and social infrastructure systems; and creating conditions for regulation of employment and services, and reconciliation of public and private interests.^{viii} In Greece, spatial planning means (in summary) setting the objectives, guidelines and

^{viii} Lithuania Law on Spatial Planning (1995) No I-1120 (last amended 2016).

regulations for spatial development and organization, including the shaping of residential areas, of business activities and of protected areas.^{ix} France has a long list of substantive objectives in the *Code de l'urbanisme* including policies to reduce territorial disparities, to foster economic development, and to ensure a sustainable development.^x In Portugal spatial planning has, in part, a specific definition concerned with achieving territorial cohesion to address the arbitrary transformation of rural land into urban land, and to counteract land speculation.^{xi} And in Italy, since 2001, there has been a widening of the definition of planning from '*urbanistica*' and its emphasis on regulating the transformation of land, to '*governo del territorio*' which indicates a wider interest in territorial dynamics.

In more detail, most countries address the purpose of planning in law, and the most common purpose is to steer development (28 countries) and/or to pursue sustainable development (18), followed by the protection of land and other assets (14), and involving citizens in decisions on spatial development (11). Only four countries mentioned 'cohesion' as a purpose of spatial planning (BE, BG, LV and PT).

Most countries (24) mention what levels of administration have competence for spatial planning and they are equally divided between national, sub-national and local levels. Only four countries mention the EU in their explanations of planning (IT, HR, DK and CY).

Most countries mention substantive issues for planning in the law (29). The most common is land use (23), although this is expressed in different ways. Other substantive issues that planning should address that are mentioned in the law are population or demography (16), environment (12), economy (11), heritage (9), infrastructure (8) and design (6).

The terms that are used in professional discourse and their explanations follow a similar pattern. The terms address the purpose of planning in most countries (28) but here there is a strong emphasis on development (17), with other issues mentioned less often. There is again a strong emphasis on land use as the key substantive issue for spatial planning (16), along with infrastructure (14), economy (10), demography (10), environment (9) and design (8).

^{ix} Article 1 al. b of Law 4447/2016.

^x Loi n° 95-115 1995, version on 27.02.2017, Art.1.

^{xi} Portugal Decree-Law 80/2015

3.2.2 Government administrative structure for spatial planning

In order to discuss the different levels of government relevant for spatial planning in the 32 European countries under study, we define *level of government* as those separate levels having directly elected bodies with decision-making power in relation to spatial planning competences. This may exclude special regional bodies created by national governments for the implementation of regional-economic policies, for instance to administer EU Cohesion Policy. It also excludes bodies created by local governments to address planning issues which are situated on a supra-local level but below the level of a sub-national government (if such a level exists) and also do not have an elected body. These are usually collections of local level governments such as *communes* (more on this in section 3.2.5).

Under this definition, the picture of the administrative systems in terms of levels of government with spatial planning competences in the 32 countries is quite varied as shown in Table 3.2. Most countries (21) are characterized by three levels of administration with some sort of competence in planning. Nine countries have two levels of administration with competences in planning. Another three countries have four levels of administration with competences in planning and one country has five levels of administration with competences in planning. In three countries there are no planning competences for the whole country at the national level: Belgium, Spain and the United Kingdom. This picture masks a variety of arrangements between levels, the locus of competences and changes over time in the distribution of competences.

Table 3.2 Levels of government relevant for spatial planning in 2016

2 Levels	3 Levels	4 Levels	5 Levels
DK; IS; LI; LT; LU; MT; SE; SI; UK- SCT/WAL/NIR	AT; BE; BG; CH; CY; CZ; EE; EL; ES; FI; FR; HR; HU; LV; NL; NO; PL; RO; SE; SK; UK-ENG	DE; IE; IT;	PT
No planning competences at national level: BE; ES; UK. The UK Government has competence for spatial planning for England.			

3.2.3 Distribution of competences among levels of government

The project examines how different types of planning competences are distributed among levels of government in order to find and compare trends in the 'locus of power'. Experts were asked to explain the competences held by government bodies at the various levels distinguishing between law-making, policy-making, plan-making, decision-making and supervision.

The results show that competences are widely distributed. Unsurprisingly law-making competences are concentrated in national governments and/or federal states, with a few exceptions where local level bodies also make law (CH, EE). Policy making is mostly a competence of national and sub-national governments. Plan and decision-making are mostly shared among all levels of government with some exceptions.

3.2.4 Changes in the distribution of competences or ‘rescaling’ 2000-2016

The findings show that there has been very significant reform in the distribution of competences for spatial planning among levels (spatial scales) of government since 2000. Changes in the structure of government and the distribution of competences in planning are closely related. The reports of national experts on the changes in the constitutional and legal framework reflect a great variety in arrangements but some common trends can be identified. Table 3.3 and Figure 3.2 Shifts in competences for spatial planning in the EU summarise the findings on the dominant trends, showing that there are both decentralisation and centralisation tendencies in different parts of Europe. Many countries are decentralising planning competences from national and sub-national levels to the local level and/or strengthening the autonomy of local level planning bodies, following a general trend in the strengthening of lower levels of self-government observed by authors such as Hooghe and Marks (2003)³⁹ and Lidström (2007)²¹. Meanwhile, a smaller group of countries is strengthening planning at the sub-national level (regionalisation). A third group has strengthened national or sub-national government competences. Aside from the rescaling of competences over time, it is important to recognise that the competences for spatial planning are generally shared at various levels in most countries, and that this situation remains in many cases, despite shifts in powers and responsibilities. In other words, spatial planning is an activity which involves different levels of government and which is subject to multi-level governance (see for example Hooghe and Marks 2003).³⁹

Table 3.3 Forms of rescaling of competences for spatial planning

	AT	BE	BG	CH	CY	CZ	DE	DK	EE	EL	ES	FI	FR	HR	HU	IE	IS	IT	LI	LT	LU	LV	MT	NL	NO	PL	PT	RO	SE	SI	SK	UK	
National								↑		↑	↑	↓	↓	↓							↑	↑	↓	↑			↓					↓	
Sub-national																	↑					↓											↓
Local	↑	↓				↑	↓	↓		↑			↓	↑	↓	↑		↓			↓	↑	↑		↑		↑					↓	

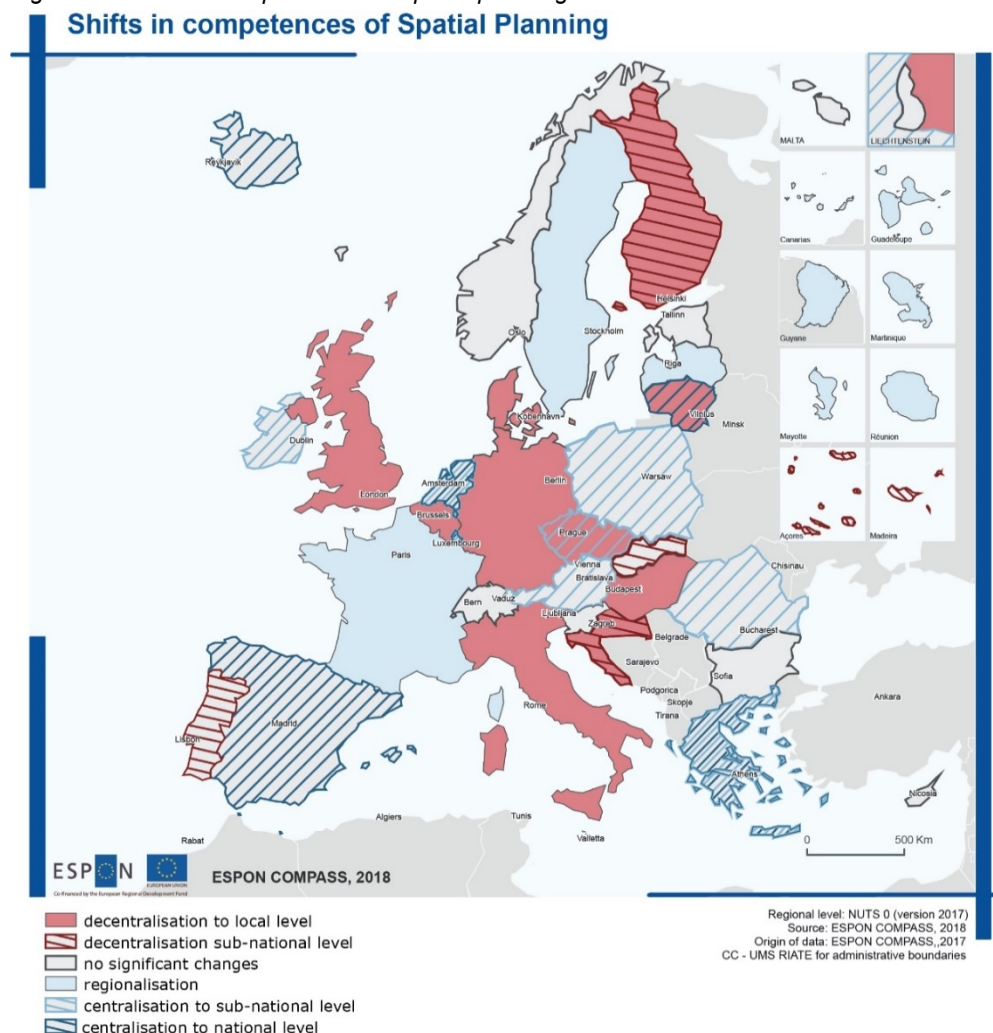
■ No major change

3.2.5 Functional planning regions

There is a range of pressing problems spatial planning seeks to deal with that do not express themselves locally but are situated at regional scales.⁴⁰ Traditionally, there has been a great emphasis on the interrelations between urbanisation and suburbanisation, on the one hand, and transport and infrastructure on the other (see for instance OECD³⁵). These relationships form the core of the concept of functional urban regions or FURs, addressed in a number of ESPON projects, especially in the 2006 programme.⁴¹ There is a tendency to address a much wider set of issues under the banner of functional integration at regional levels, which pushes commuting based interpretations and delineations of FURs into the background. Many of these issues are related to flows.⁴² Examples include the energy transition, water management and waste and circularity; issues obviously influenced by the rising societal and

political weight given to sustainability and climate change. These more novel, comprehensive interpretations of functional urban integration have found their way into more recent ESPON research using new sets of indicators to delineate metropolitan areas, like the ESPON SPIMA project.⁴³

Figure 3.2 Shifts in competences for spatial planning in the EU



The COMPASS project, but also the ESPON ACTAREA project,⁴⁴ put governance in spatial planning at the forefront, departing from an awareness of a mismatch between the statutory administrative structure for spatial planning (sub-section 3.2.4) and the variety of (regional) scale(s) of a wide set of spatially relevant societal problems. This loss of ‘territorial synchrony’ gives rise to an urgent ‘institutional void’.⁴⁵ The COMPASS project shows that there are different ways to come to terms with this void. However, evidence is, to a certain extent, incomplete. This is largely due to informal, non-statutory governance arrangements – addressed below – that are notoriously difficult to detect due to the almost ubiquitous absence of up-to-date, comprehensive national databases. Studies like ESPON SPIMA and ACTAREA but also studies like *Governing the City*³⁶ draw on examples provided by local experts which may or may not be complete.

Based on evidence provided by the COMPASS country experts, combined with the results of the ESPON SPIMA and ACTAREA projects, the following categorisation of regional governance arrangements is proposed:

- **Statutory rescaling in specified regions.** The necessary arrangements are provided by national government as this level is in control of the formal administrative system. In some countries – as Croatia, Hungary, Romania and Italy – the administrative level above the municipality within large urban regions is abolished, while planning competences are put in the hands of the cities. In the case of the first three countries this arrangement is only valid in the capital city, while in Italy it is valid in 14 so called *Cittá Metropolitana*. This arrangement is basically a simplification of the administrative system by taking out one level in designated (city) regions.
- The next category is also statutory but without abolition but addition of an extra administrative layer. The pathway creating an **extra regional metropolitan body** within the existing administrative system is rarely pursued though. An important exception is formed by the Greater London Authority established by the national government. The Dutch government abolished a quasi-fourth level of government in eight urban regions in 2014 which were created only six years earlier to simplify the administrative system.
- Formal arrangements: these mostly include regions established by municipalities which deal with spatially relevant municipal tasks and services which are difficult to provide by individual municipalities. They are based on legal arrangements between municipalities in such a way that the provision of services can be contracted. They can be regarded as a kind of spatially extended form of municipal government, but the created entities do not have an elected body. **Service regions** might be an appropriate name. Finland, the Netherlands and France have such bodies. Finland has 19 of such regions. In the Netherlands there are hundreds of them, which partially overlap with each other (there is no central register), while in France the pattern is quite complex because there are four categories of bodies, some of which deal with plan making. It is not clear to what extent these formal regions can be regarded as *planning* regions as their focus is on the delivery of services. Some planning systems like the Dutch system allow intermunicipal statutory plans but this seems to be an exception.
- The COMPASS project, but also the ESPON ACTAREA project, suggest that in terms of sheer numbers the largest category is formed by so called **soft territorial cooperation areas**.⁴⁶ They bring together actors concerned by a set of territorial challenges and opportunities and who are prepared to elaborate and implement strategies to address them jointly.⁴⁷ The relatively most simple form is **horizontal cooperation**: municipalities cooperating in the field of spatial strategy making. In that case there are boundaries but these are soft in the sense of being flexible in arrangements and voluntary – although there might be a strong political pressure to either participate or abstain. Sometimes horizontal cooperation stretches out to policy sectors – **diagonal cooperation** – as in transit-oriented development although this is not always the case. Sometimes soft territorial cooperation includes participants from the private sector or from non-governmental organisations.

Functional planning regions form a wide study area in itself as shown by, for example, various studies from the OECD and ESPON. The COMPASS project has provided evidence that these regions are widespread in terms of occurrence and that there is a large variety among them. The various studies suggest that labels like statutory, formal or soft certainly do not necessarily correlate with evaluation criteria like effectiveness, legitimacy or accountability. It

seems plausible to assume that, in particular, soft territorial cooperation is a response to some of the limitations set by statutory planning like intersectoral coordination, the necessity to follow multi-actor approaches as resources are (widely) spread, and functional integration at multiple spatial scales.

3.3 Spatial planning instruments

The term ‘spatial planning instrument’ denotes plans and other tools that are used to mediate and regulate spatial development. Spatial planning instruments are the main means through which spatial planning objectives are defined and pursued. These instruments are usually related to the legal planning framework and the various planning authorities in each country. Planning authorities are usually responsible for preparing these planning instruments or else commission other agencies to do so. Adoption or approval is often performed by directly or indirectly elected political governmental bodies such as parliaments, councils or committees (i.e. those that have a constitutional or legal right to take decisions for a certain territory).

It should be noted that the focus has been on those spatial planning instruments that are in accordance with the definition of spatial planning outlined above (i.e. instruments that mediate competition over the use of land and property, and regulate land use change and development to promote preferred spatial and urban form). In principle, more or less all of the reviewed spatial planning instruments are thus statutory, that is, created under the law. This means that planning acts, and regional development strategies are excluded, as well as legal and policy instruments that are only concerned with guiding the spending of Cohesion Policy (e.g. integrated territorial investment plans; sector plans, including for example transport and river basin management plans; and instruments that regulate the quality of building construction).

National experts have identified 251 spatial planning instruments across 32 European countries. Table 3.4 presents an overview of the spatial planning instruments according to the policy level at which the instruments are adopted or approved.

Table 3.4 Overview spatial planning instruments across 32 European countries at different policy levels

policy level	number of instruments identified	no instruments identified
national	73	BE, ES, LV, UK
sub-national	72	CY, DK, EE, LI, LU, MT, SI
local	106	MT

In order to analyse the function of the spatial planning instruments, national experts were asked to assess the extent to which they are visionary, strategic, framework-setting and regulative in general character (Figure 3.3). These are not exclusive categories and most instruments have multiple characteristics, e.g. they can be both visionary and strategic; both strategic and framework-setting in character; strategic, framework-setting and regulatory or any other combination even visionary and regulatory. A majority of the spatial planning instruments are thus expected to perform more than one function. Although there are a number

of instruments that are only regulatory in character (around 60), and a few that are either strategic (13 in total) or framework-setting (8 in total).

Figure 3.3 Definition of general character of planning instruments

visionary - setting out a normative agenda of principles or goals for a desirable future;
strategic - providing an evidence-based integrated and long-term frame of reference for coordinated action and decision making across jurisdictions and sectors;
framework-setting - establishing policies, proposals and other criteria for a territory that provide a non-binding reference for other plans and decision-making;
regulative - makes legally binding commitments or decisions concerning land use change and development

A majority of the planning instruments at national level are strategic and/or framework-setting in character but more than half of the national spatial planning instruments are regulatory in character. Sub-national level instruments are often strategic and/or framework-setting in nature. At the local level, more than 75% of the planning instruments have regulative character. Spatial planning instruments that are visionary, setting out normative agendas of principles or goals for a desirable future, are less common than those that are strategic, framework-setting or regulative at all levels, but particularly uncommon at the local level (Table 3.5 Share of general characters of spatial planning instruments across 32 European countries).

Table 3.5 Share of general characters of spatial planning instruments across 32 European countries

policy level	visionary	strategic	framework	regulative
national	38%	58%	56%	52%
sub-national	26%	64%	61%	46%
local	11%	41%	46%	76%

3.3.1 Spatial planning instruments at the national level

At the national level, 73 spatial planning instruments have been identified across the 32 countries. In general, the national spatial planning instruments are usually prepared by the ministry or respective authority responsible for spatial planning at the national policy level. In most cases, planning instruments are approved or adopted by the national government or in some cases by the national parliament. In four countries (e.g. BE, ES, LV and the UK), there are no national level spatial planning instruments. In other countries, four or five instruments were documented (e.g. DK, FR, HU, HR, LU, MT, NL, SI). In some of these cases, this occurs where there are few instruments at the sub-national level (e.g. DK, LU, MT and SI).

There are a few examples where the national level prepares and/or adopts spatial planning instruments at sub-national or local level. In Norway, *the Ministry of Local Government and Modernisation* has powers to make and adopt a legally binding local land-use plan. This means that this instrument belongs to the national level, despite being implemented at the local level. Another exception is the local plan in Malta, which is prepared by *the Malta*

Environment and Planning Authority and approved by its board and the responsible minister. In Greece, regional spatial planning frameworks are prepared by *the Ministry of Environment and Energy* for each region, after receiving advice from the relevant regional council, and are adopted by the same ministry. The *National Planning Directive for Greater Copenhagen* is prepared and adopted by *the Minister of Industry, Business and Financial Affairs*.

Most national spatial planning instruments are statutory. Of the non-statutory planning instruments, most are national spatial plans or territorial development strategies, which define principles and/or strategic guidance for spatial development and planning. More than a third (38%) of the spatial planning instruments at national level are visionary in character, but almost always also of a strategic and/or framework-setting character. Almost one fifth of the national spatial planning instruments, fall into the categories 'framework' and 'regulative'. Other frequent combinations are 'visionary-strategic-framework', 'visionary-strategic', 'strategic-framework'. In addition, there is a relative high frequency of purely regulative national spatial planning instruments.

Most of the national experts reported adjustments to planning instruments at the national level between 2000 and 2016. These changes were often justified in terms of simplifying planning procedures or else amending the scope and orientation of the planning process. In a few countries new planning instruments were introduced at the national level to replace ones which were considered to be outdated (e.g. CZ, IS, MT, SI). Overall the greatest changes can be seen in Greece (where three national spatial planning instruments were introduced) and Croatia (where amendments have been reported for all five national spatial planning instruments).

3.3.2 Spatial planning instruments at the sub-national level

A total of 72 spatial planning instruments were identified at the sub-national level. Six countries out of the 32 studied do not have any planning instruments at the sub-national level (CY, DK, EL, LI, LU and MT). Some countries (BE, DE, IT, PT, RO and the UK) have two levels that can be described as 'sub-national'. It should be acknowledged that the same instrument is developed differently within one country. This happens, for example, in Germany where no distinction is made in this report between the 16 state development plans and the 110 regional plans. In the cases of Belgium and the UK, spatial planning instruments were analysed according to the division of regions or countries, namely for Flanders, Wallonia and Brussels in Belgium and for England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales in the UK. It should also be noted that sub-national planning instruments are used only for the capital city region in some countries (e.g. HR, IS, FR, and SE).

The number of different instruments at the sub-national level varies between countries (mainly between one and three) but not as significantly as at the national level. Two exceptions are Belgium and the UK where there are 12 and eight spatial planning instruments at the sub-

national level. In the Netherlands and Italy, five sub-national planning instruments were identified whereas in Norway, four.

Most planning instruments at the sub-national level are statutory (84%). Of these instruments, two-thirds (64%) are 'strategic' in nature, almost the same amount can be characterised as 'framework-setting' (61%), whereas the share of 'regulative' instruments is somewhat lower (46%). The share of 'visionary' spatial planning instruments is the lowest (26%) (see Table 3.5). There is often more than one instrument at the sub-national level, which means that the instruments may complement each other in terms of character and content. Two types of instruments, namely 'strategic-framework' and 'regulative' are most prominent. In addition, there is a relative high share of sub-national spatial planning instruments that are 'visionary-strategic-framework' and 'strategic-framework-regulative'.

Compared to national planning instruments, there have been more changes between 2000 and 2016. The directions of change are multi-faceted. Some changes are due to the devolution of power, as in the case of UK and Denmark, which have weakened spatial planning at the sub-national level. In Denmark, spatial planning instruments at the sub-national level were abolished in 2007. At the same time, a number of countries have attempted to re-strengthen spatial planning at this level (e.g. BG, NO, CH, LV, SK; also IT and PL in metropolitan areas).

The introduction of new planning instruments at the sub-national level were justified in terms of establishing a new level of decision-making for spatial planning (in BG), replacing outdated policy instruments (e.g. FR, PT) or filling a 'policy gap' (e.g. in BE-Wallonia, PL, HR).

3.3.3 Spatial planning instruments at the local level

At the local level, 106 spatial planning instruments were identified. All countries have at least two planning instruments at the local level. An exception is Malta, where instruments that coordinate and guide spatial planning at the local level are prepared and adopted at the national level. In a few countries, two different plan-making and plan-approval local levels can be distinguished (BG, CZ, FR, IE, RO and the UK).

On average, there are three local level instruments per country. Outliers include Belgium (9), due to different local instruments in the three main regions Flanders, Brussels and Wallonia, Latvia (6), Hungary (5) and the Netherlands (5). It should be noted that variations within countries at sub-national territorial jurisdictions have not been recorded in the study.

Across all countries, most of the local spatial planning instruments are statutory. In addition, a number of larger municipalities have strategic-visionary urban development plans but these are not part of this study.

The responsibility for preparing and adopting local planning instruments provide a rather uniform picture across the 32 countries. In general, the local planning authority is in charge of preparing local planning instruments and the municipal council is in charge of adopting them.

Exceptions are Bulgaria, Czech Republic and Latvia where the preparation of some (or even all) of the local planning spatial instruments is assigned to other organisations by public procurement. However, this is a grey zone since the production of local plans in other countries is performed in concert with private consultancies. In other words, a clear statement about the extent to which the production of certain local spatial planning instruments is outsourced would require a study on its own. This would be necessary to reveal the variations within and across cities, regions and countries in Europe.

Local spatial planning instruments are frequently 'strategic' and/or 'framework-setting' in character (41% and 46% respectively). More than 75% of the local planning instruments are regulatory. Few local spatial planning instruments are of visionary character (11%). The relative frequency of local spatial planning instruments that are solely 'regulative' is rather high while the relative frequency of those that are solely 'strategic' or 'framework' is relatively low. Nevertheless, many instruments contain combinations of 'strategic' or 'framework' aspects.

Much change has occurred at the local policy level between 2000 and 2016. However, not all countries have experienced change in local planning instruments (e.g. AT, CH, CY, DE, ES, LI, LT, NL, SE, SK). In a few countries, a number of modifications or new instruments have been reported. One example is France, where two of the three local planning instruments were introduced since 2000, while a third has been modified significantly since then. Another example is the UK, where the introduction of the 'neighbourhood plan' can be seen as a fundamental shift in local spatial planning. In the Netherlands, two established planning instruments have shifted from being voluntary to mandatory. Meanwhile, in Greece new instruments were introduced in 2014. In many other countries, a number of rather modest modifications have been reported, often geared towards more flexibility and better alignment to other local planning instruments or other policy areas (e.g. climate change adaptation, landscape conventions, regional/Cohesion Policy). Examples can be found in Ireland, Norway, Portugal, Romania, and Slovenia. In Hungary, changes to speed up planning processes have been introduced (by shortening periods for consultation). The overall picture is rather diffuse, since neither a clear direction of change (e.g. in terms of deregulation or more regulation) nor a specific pattern of countries that tend to move in a specific direction can be observed.

3.4 Procedures for planning instruments and citizen engagement

Country experts provided a brief explanation of the steps that are required in the process of preparing a plan that allocates development rights (or provides a policy framework for this), and for the process of applying for and granting of rights. Special attention was given to the steps for stakeholder and citizen engagement. Volume 3 of the supplementary texts gives the full process for each country. This section briefly summarises the findings and in Chapter 4 there is further consideration of how practices are changing on citizen engagement.

All countries have established and clear procedures for the making of planning instruments or plans and decisions on development. The procedures are remarkably similar and, as a minimum, involve a decision or notification of intention to prepare a plan; preparation of a draft plan which is published for consultation with other agencies, stakeholders and the general public; consideration of the comments received, often through a public hearing; and preparation and approval of the final plan.

Figure 3.4 Moments of stakeholder and citizen engagement in the preparation of local planning instruments

	CZ	IR	SK	CY	DK	EE	ES	FI	FR	HR	HU	IT	LT	NO	RO	AT	DE	EL	IS	MT	NL	PL	PT	SE	SI	UK	BE	BG	LI	LU	LV
Issues	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○					
Draft plan	○	○	○											○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Proposed plan	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○																
DECISION																															

Figure 3.4 shows the formal opportunities for engagement of stakeholders, which varies between one and three. This excludes rights to appeal after the plan is adopted. In all cases, there is an open opportunity to comment on the plan, either at a draft stage or on the final proposal which lasts between four and ten weeks. In most cases this is followed by a public hearing where objections and comments in support are discussed. Planning authorities may do more than what is required by the formal procedure and there are points of informal ‘dialogue’. In all cases there is also formal consideration of impact statements, notably strategic environmental assessment which is required by EU SEA Directive, and sometimes referred to as a sustainability assessment.ⁱ There was no mention of a broader ‘territorial impact assessment’.

An example of extensive opportunity for citizen engagement in the plan making process is Ireland. The formal procedure includes a period of at least eight weeks when the notice of preparation is made, ten weeks after the draft plan is published, and four weeks on a preferred plan after alterations are made. In Latvia, for example, there is one formal opportunity when the municipality consults the public on draft proposals, although, as in other countries, there is a right to appeal against the plan on procedural grounds after it is adopted.

ⁱ Directive 2001/42/EC on the assessment of the effects of certain plans and programmes on the environment (SEA Directive).

Much innovation in public engagement in spatial planning processes occurred prior to 2000, but there have been further changes since 2000 by, for example, increasing publicity to the preparation of planning instruments alongside new opportunities for engagement (e.g. BG, PL), and the inclusion of public hearings in procedures (e.g. HR).

3.5 Reforms in structures and procedures

There have been many reforms in the administration of spatial planning between 2000 and 2016, many of which are related to 'simplification' – of procedures, of the framework of instruments, and in the scope of development regulation.

The formal procedures for plan preparation and permits have been reformed to simplify the process. Simplification of procedure takes four main forms:

- speeding the planning process by reducing the number of planning instruments or requirements of the process (e.g. NO) or lifting requirements for hierarchical plan conformity (e.g. LV), or special procedures for projects of national interest (e.g. HU);
- unifying regulation especially linking planning and building control (e.g. BG, CZ), or unifying plans for sectoral policies (e.g. NL);
- adopting statutory time limits in the process and giving incentives to planning authorities to make quicker decisions through, for example, granting 'tacit permits' where a decision is not made in good time (e.g. FR); and reducing opportunities for citizen engagement in the process (e.g. IE);
- reducing the scope of regulation by giving exemptions to certain forms of development (e.g. FR, HU), which has taken the form of 'deregulation' of territorial development (e.g. PL).

The reasons given for these simplification measures include a drive for more certainty in the planning process by, for example, reducing opportunities for negotiation (EE, UK); and/or to reduce the administrative burden on government by reducing the bureaucratic demands in the in a search for greater cost efficiency (EL, LI, NL, NO, UK). Other reasons for changing the planning process include: improving the quality of outcomes (which may be pursued alongside simplification); strengthening reasoning in the decision-making process; improving the enforcement of the regulation of development; extending the professional capacity of planning authorities; and increasing the transparency and citizen engagement in the planning process.

The administrative structure of planning instruments has been simplified in some countries to consolidate and reduce variety and complexity in the number and form of plans (DE, EE).

Changes to regulation are also being made to accommodate EU law (as discussed in Chapter 5), particularly in relation to the Habitats Directivesⁱⁱ which restricts the ability of member states to give exemptions to planning control in designated areas.

ⁱⁱ Directive 92/43/EEC 1992 on the conservation of natural habitats and of wild fauna and flora (Habitats Directive).

Reforms have been made to seek greater integration of sectoral policies (including land use) which is sometimes described as 'joined-up policy making'. This includes measures to improve cooperation across administrative boundaries through a requirement for engagement with neighbouring authorities (LV, PT, UK), between sectors of government (LU) particularly between spatial planning and regional development (Cohesion Policy) (BG); and between strategic environmental assessment and planning (DE).

A number of country experts report that there have been attempts to strengthen the implementation of plans or their influence over spatial development either to control the planning of new development (HU) especially to address recognised problems such as urban sprawl (CH) or nature conservation (IS), and to engage in land value capture (UK). In specific places, the scope of spatial planning is also being strengthened or broadened to address substantive issues such as marine planning (EL, PT, UK), or coastal zone management (HR).

3.6 Conclusion

The overall formal structure of planning systems and territorial governance is consistent across Europe with governments managing rights to develop through a hierarchy of planning instruments and development regulation. Governments use spatial planning to manage spatial or territorial development and to engage stakeholders and citizens in that process. There is considerable variation in the precise arrangements of instruments and procedures which tends to reflect the legal and administrative structure of government. There are no other significant patterns in the variation of systems. There is strong consistency in the way that countries are reforming planning, particularly to reduce the administrative burden of decision making by simplifying plan and regulation procedures; and to provide more speedy decisions and certainty in the system.

4. Practices of spatial planning and territorial governance

Key points

- A large variety of planning instruments can be found in European countries: more than 250 instruments have been identified.
- The level of influence of planning instruments on the physical development of territory is highly variable: in approximately a third of European countries, planning instruments have a strong influence on physical development; in another a third of countries they only have a weak influence on physical development.
- Spatial planning is generally well integrated with policy sectors such as transport and environmental policy, and much less integrated with policy sectors such as retail, health and education.
- Transport and environmental policy have a strong influence on spatial planning but other related sectors such as energy and waste do not.
- The importance of policy integration in spatial planning and territorial governance is increasing across Europe.
- In many countries in Europe, spatial planning now engages with citizens and stakeholders more strongly than it did in 2000.
- In most countries, spatial planning instruments in 2016 were more robust and able to adapt to changing circumstances than they were in 2000.

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of changes in territorial governance and spatial planning systems and policies across Europe between 2000 and 2016. The chapter presents a qualitative analysis of the practice of spatial planning and territorial governance. The chapter directly addresses one of the key policy questions from the study's terms of reference, namely to identify the key changes in territorial governance and spatial planning systems and policies across Europe during the 2000-2016 period.

The information presented in this chapter is primarily based on questionnaire responses from country experts. The chapter is divided into seven sections: (i) the production of plans and their influence; (ii) the influence of spatial planning on sectoral policy-making and vice versa; (iii) the levels of coordination and integration across actors, (iv) institutions and sectoral policies; (v) the mobilisation of citizen and stakeholder engagement; (vi) the level of adaptation of territorial governance and place-based decision-making; and (vii) conclusions.

4.2 Production of plans and their general influence

4.2.1 The production of planning instruments

The term 'spatial planning instrument' is used in this report to denote plans and other tools that are used to mediate competition over the use of land and property, and regulate land use change and development to promote preferred patterns of spatial development. Meanwhile, the term 'territorial governance' refers to the wider coordination of policy and actions that have an impact on spatial development. Sector-specific planning instruments such as regional

economic development plans, together with building construction regulation tools are not included in the analysis. However, this distinction is not always clear-cut in some countries. The instruments that have been included in each country are listed in Volume 1.

In responses on the practices of spatial planning, experts identified 255ⁱⁱⁱ instruments in 32 European countries at national, sub-national and local levels. In all 32 countries surveyed, some types of local spatial planning instruments can be found. Most countries also have sub-national planning instruments, with the exception of DK, MT, GR, LI, LU and SI. National planning instruments can be found in all countries except for CH, BE, ES, LV and the UK. Many countries have several planning instruments at each level. At the sub-national level and local levels, the existence of five to six different type of spatial planning instrument is not uncommon.

The study investigated the extent to which planning instruments are kept up-to-date. The overall findings indicate that most statutory spatial planning instruments have been either produced or revised during the period between 2000 and 2016. Patchy or limited coverage of statutory plans was found in eight countries. Some new planning instruments have been introduced (or revised and amended) since 2000, while other planning instruments have been abolished (e.g. regional spatial strategies in the UK). The frequency of revising planning instruments varies according to the type of instrument and the country. For example, the *Austrian Development Concept* is revised every 10 years whereas the *Czech Spatial Development Policy* is revised every four years. The updating of planning instruments has been encouraged by new legal requirements and agreements such as environmental assessment and targets for renewable energy production.

4.2.2 The influence of planning instruments on spatial development

In order to understand the practice of spatial planning systems and territorial governance it is important to consider the relationship between planning and the physical development of territory (i.e. the degree of influence of planning instruments on guiding or controlling spatial development). These are difficult issues to investigate since there may be good reasons why physical development does not follow what is set out in a plan, or why development may be moving ahead of the plan which is only formally recording trends (see for example Faludi).⁴⁸ There is limited scope to explore these questions in depth but the findings are nevertheless instructive.

In general, spatial planning policies and proposals do often influence and guide the spatial development of territory. However, there is considerable variation in their influence. In the first group, planning instruments have a moderate or strong influence on physical development, and this situation has been constant from 2000 to 2016. Most of these countries tend to have

ⁱⁱⁱ This figure does not accord with the number of instruments reported for the formal system, because they seem to be have been counted differently.

a well-established planning system, mature governance processes and relatively stable economic and social conditions. However, there are also countries in this group where conditions are less favourable. In the second group of countries, planning instruments have a varied influence on physical development according to the level of application (e.g. national-level planning instruments may have a much stronger influence on physical development than instruments applied at the local level). The variation is related to local conditions such as government competences or the quality of the plans. In this second group, most countries report an increase in the influence of plans on physical development over the period 2000 to 2016. A third group of countries was identified in which planning instruments have very limited or no influence on physical development. The reasons for this include a lack of tradition of plan-led development or the effect of weak and/or changing governance conditions.

In general, statutory (compulsory) planning instruments have more influence on physical development than non-binding (non-compulsory) planning instruments. National-level planning instruments often have more influence on physical development than lower-level instruments.

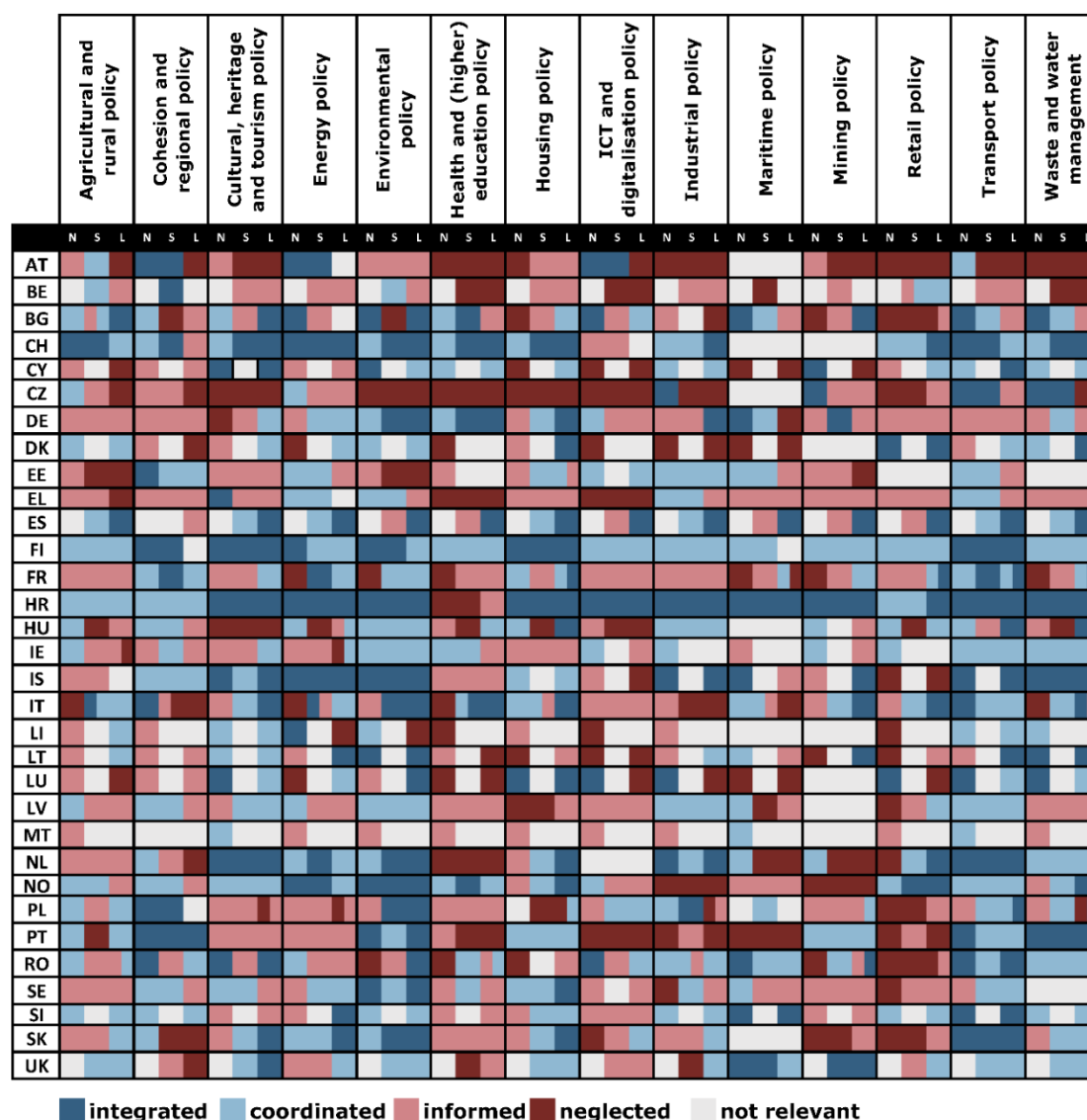
4.3 The role of spatial planning within sectoral policies

When analysing the role and performance of spatial planning, it is important to identify the extent to which spatial planning systems and the related territorial governance practices (see definition of the two key concepts in chapter 2) are able to coordinate or integrate with other sectoral policies. National experts were asked to make qualified judgements in relation to 14 spatially relevant sectoral policies:

- agricultural and rural policy
- cohesion and regional policy
- cultural, heritage and tourism policy
- energy policy
- environmental policy
- health and (higher) education policy
- housing policy
- ICT and digitalisation policy
- industrial policy
- maritime policy
- mining policy
- retail policy
- transport policy
- waste and water management.

For reasons of simplicity, some closely related sectoral policies were grouped together (e.g. cultural heritage and tourism policy; agricultural and rural policy). Clearly, some sectoral policies were not applicable in all countries since they do not exist (e.g. mining policy in MT or DK; maritime policy in SK and LU).

Table 4.1 The role of spatial planning within different sectoral policies at the national (N), sub-national (S) and local (L) level



National experts were asked to assess the degree of integration of spatial planning in other sectoral policies. The assessment required experts to use a four-point scale, ranging from high to low levels of integration:

- integrated (i.e. targeted at similar policy goals);
- coordinated (i.e. visible efforts to align policies and measures);
- informed (i.e. making references to in e.g. policy documents, but no further efforts towards coordination or integration);
- neglected (i.e. no tangible relations or recognition);
- not relevant.

Experts were also asked to identify the extent to which spatial planning is relevant in other sectoral policies at different policy levels (i.e. national, sub-national and local).^{iv}

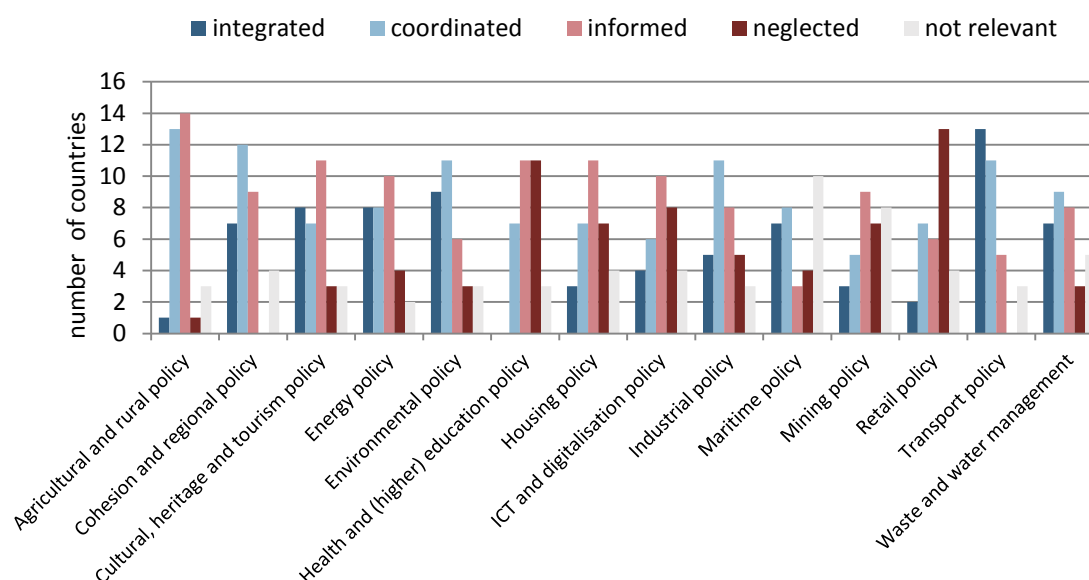
The sectoral policies that are frequently identified as most integrated with spatial planning include environmental policy and transport policy. Meanwhile, sectors such as health and (higher) education policy, ICT and digitalisation policy and retail policy are reported to be least integrated with spatial planning.

There are strong variations concerning the degree of integration between spatial planning and the 14 sectoral policies in individual countries, with the exception of a few cases where most sectoral policies are integrated (e.g. CH) or else ‘neglected’ (e.g. AT and CZ).

4.3.1 National policy level

At the national level, transport, environment, cultural heritage and tourism, and energy policies are reported to be most integrated with spatial planning (Figure 4.1). On the other hand, retail, health and (higher) education policies are the least integrated with spatial planning. Health and (higher) education policy are not considered to be integrated with spatial planning in any country. Agricultural and rural policy is considered to be integrated with spatial planning in only one country (CH).

Figure 4.1 The role of spatial planning within sectoral policies at national level



At the national level, spatial planning plays the strongest role within transport policy. In second place is environmental policy, followed by a large group of other policy sectoral policies that are considered to be ‘integrated’, ‘coordinated’ and ‘informed’ by spatial planning (cohesion and regional policy, cultural, heritage and tourism policy, energy policy, waste and

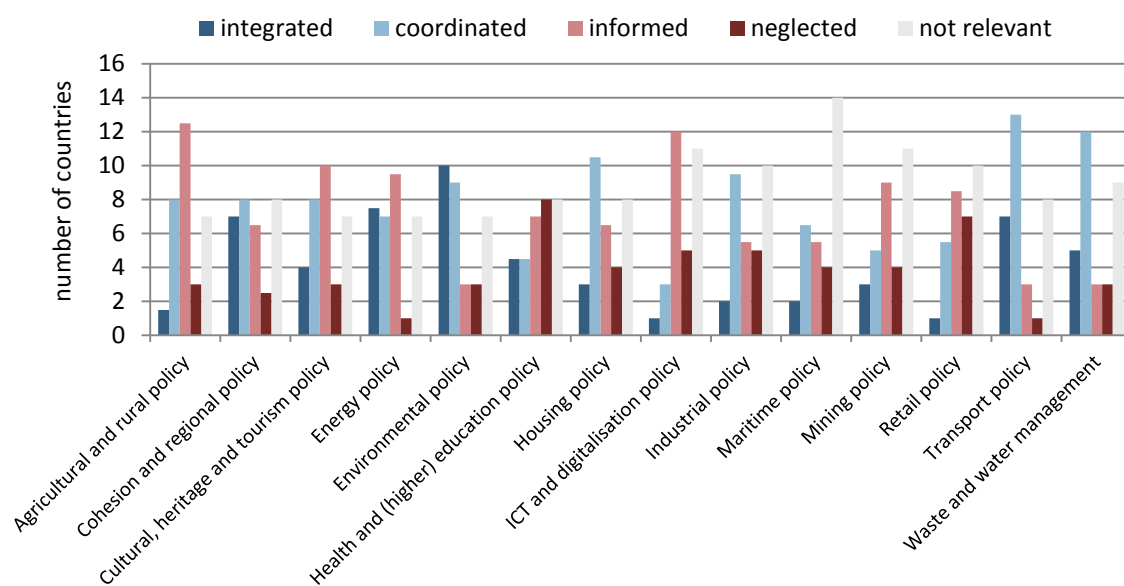
^{iv} National experts in some countries distinguished between different sub-national or local levels (see tables in section 6 in Volume 1).

water management and maritime policy). Comparing countries, the picture is heterogeneous. However, spatial planning plays a strong role at the national policy level in many sectoral policies in Switzerland and Bulgaria. On the other hand, spatial planning is considered to have weak influence on many sectoral policies in Germany and Austria.

4.3.2 Sub-national policy level

The situation at the sub-national level is different to the national level. For example, agricultural and rural policy in Italy is ‘neglected’ at the national level, but ‘integrated’ at the sub-national level (Figure 4.2). In Denmark, retail policy is ‘integrated’ at the national level but not at the sub-national level. In many countries, a large number of sectoral policies are considered to be ‘coordinated’ or ‘informed’ by spatial planning at the sub-national level. Spatial planning is considered to be ‘integrated’ or ‘coordinated’ in almost all sectoral policies in Switzerland and Croatia. Countries where spatial planning plays a less important role in other sectoral policies at the sub-national-level (i.e. considered to be ‘informed’ or ‘neglected’) include the Czech Republic and Greece.

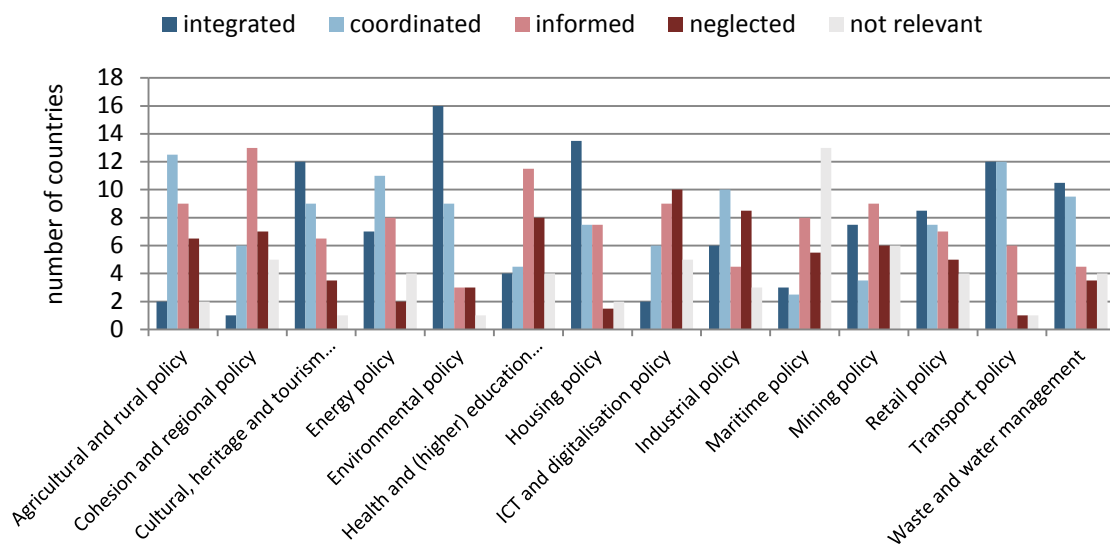
Figure 4.2 The role of spatial planning within sectoral policies at sub-national level



4.3.3 Local policy level

At the local level, spatial planning is considered to be integrated with a number of sectoral policies including cultural, heritage and tourism, housing, waste and water management, transport and environment (Figure 4.3). However, there are also a number of sectoral policies where spatial planning is not generally considered. These include agricultural and rural policy, cohesion and regional policy, health and (higher) education policy, ICT and digitalisation policy, industrial policy, maritime policy and retail policy.

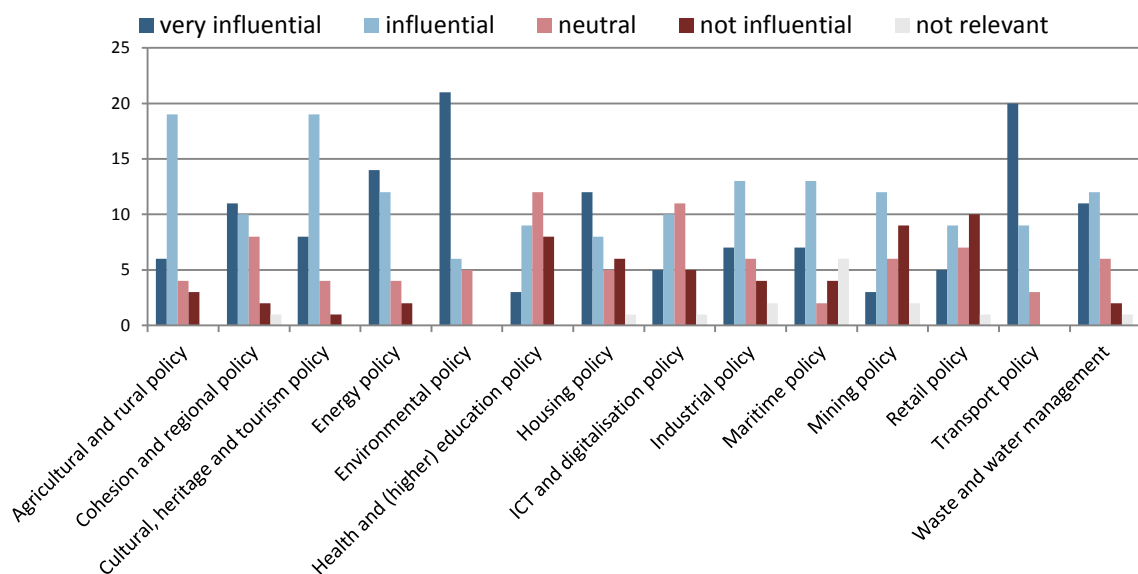
Figure 4.3 The role of spatial planning within sectoral policies at local level



4.3.4 Influence of sectoral policies on spatial planning in 2016

A key message is that spatial planning is receptive to most sectoral policies. Similar to the role of spatial planning within a number of sectoral policies (discussed in the previous subsection), sectoral policies such as environmental and transport policies have an important role within spatial planning (Figure 4.4). These two sectoral policies are considered to be ‘very influential’ or ‘influential’ within spatial planning in most countries. For other sectoral policies, the situation is different. For example, health and (higher education) policy and retail policy are often considered ‘neutral’ or ‘not influential’ in spatial planning.

Figure 4.4 The influence of various sectoral policies on spatial planning in 2016

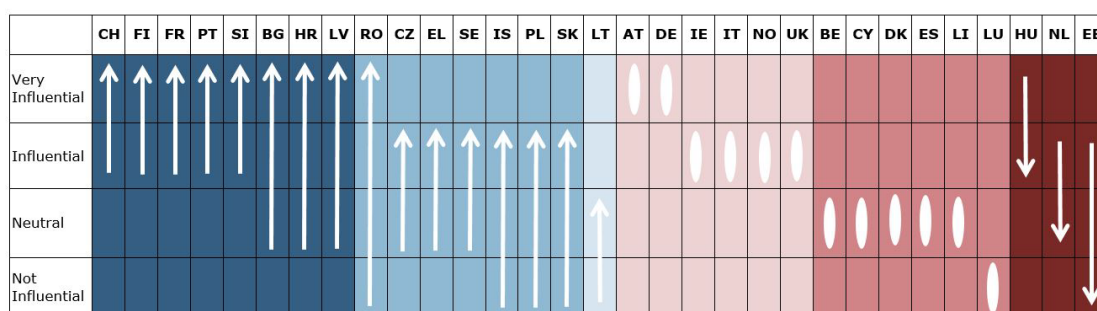


4.3.5 Trends of influence of sectoral policies between 2000 and 2016

Country experts were also asked to report the degree of change of influence of other sectoral policies in the debates on spatial planning between 2000 and 2016, by means of an arrow between the four categories of influence mentioned above. The results reported by the national experts across the 14 sectoral policies show an increasing influence of these sectoral policies on spatial planning debates (Figure 4.5). A decreasing influence was only reported in a small number of countries. Examples are NL (cultural, heritage and tourism policy), DK (environmental policy, transport policy), HU (cohesion and regional policy, health and (higher) education policy) and NO (agricultural and rural policy).

In the specific case of the changes of influence of the cohesion and regional policy, an increasing influence was reported in around half of all countries. The influence between 2000 and 2016 was reported to remain unchanged in around one third of all countries. In only a small number of countries, the influence decreased during this period.

Figure 4.5 Change in the influence of cohesion and regional policy on spatial planning debates between 2000 and 2016



In many countries, it is reported that sectoral policies such as energy, environment and transport became increasingly influential on spatial planning debates between 2000 and 2016 (Figure 4.6, 4.7 and 4.8).

Figure 4.6 Change in the influence of environmental policy on spatial planning debates between 2000 and 2016

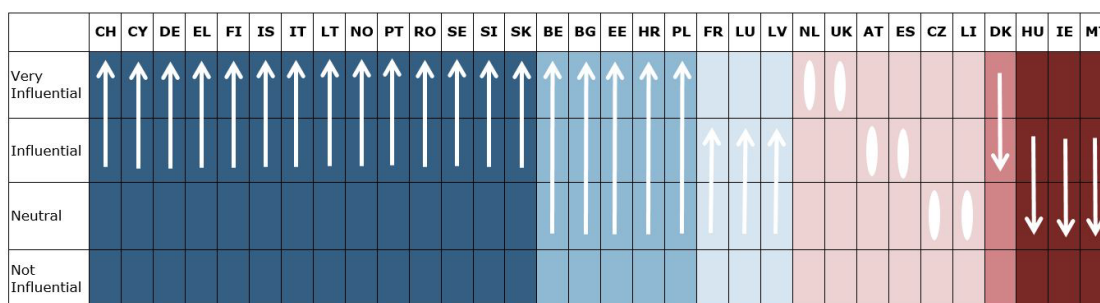


Figure 4.7 Change in the influence of transport policy on spatial planning debates between 2000 and 2016

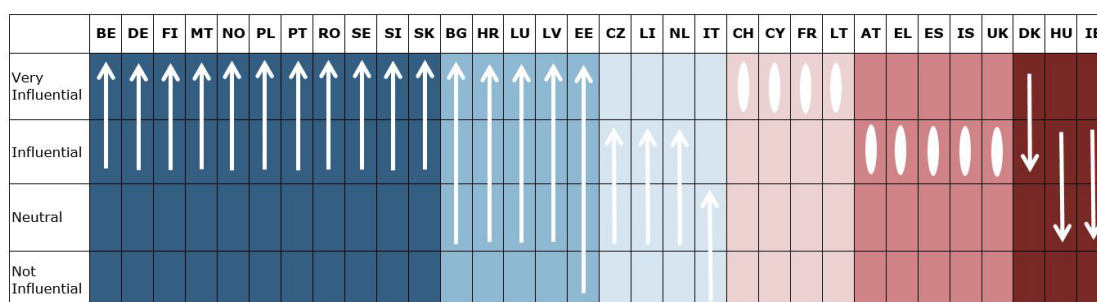
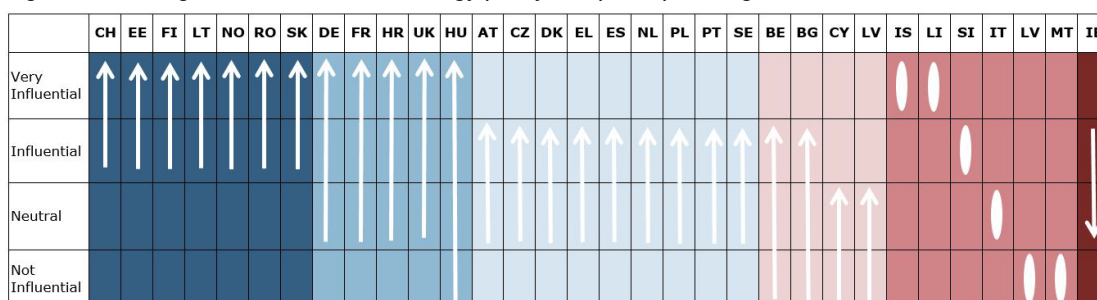


Figure 4.8 Change in the influence of energy policy on spatial planning debates between 2000 and 2016



4.4 Coordination and integration across actors, institutions and sectoral policies

Spatial planning can promote sectoral policy integration by playing an integrating role between sectors and by fulfilling an objective-setting role to guide or steer decision-making within different sectors.⁴⁹ Consequently, planning systems are increasingly being seen as mechanisms to improve policy integration, and policy integration is increasingly becoming part of the orthodoxy of spatial planning. To test this proposition, experts were asked to rate the general performance of spatial planning and territorial governance in integrating the territorial impacts of sectoral policies in their country, and the extent to which this has changed between 2000 and 2016. The assessment required experts to position spatial planning/territorial governance in 2000 and 2016 according to a five-point scale, ranging from low to high levels of policy integration.⁴⁶

- No contribution to integration (no integration)
- Information exchange only
- Cooperation on sectoral policies (moderate integration)
- Coordination of sectoral policies
- Integration of sectoral policies (high integration)

National experts were required to consider both horizontal and vertical dimensions of sectoral policy integration. The horizontal dimension concerns different professions, sectors or departments in the same organisation, while the vertical dimension concerns different tiers of government. In addition, experts were asked to consider inter-organisational dimensions and extra-territorial dimensions of sectoral policy integration, such as integration between the

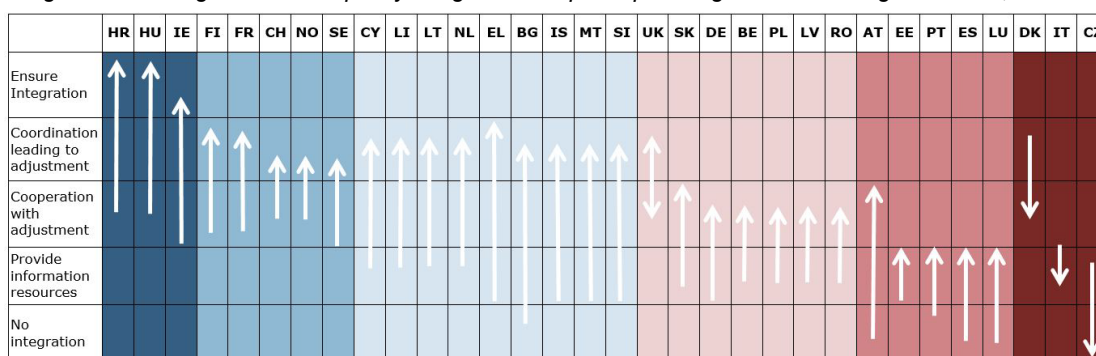
same sector in geographically adjacent agencies (e.g. the integration of policy between the agencies responsible for transport policy in neighbouring authorities).

Assessments about the extent to which spatial planning and territorial governance is contributing to sectoral policy integration were received from the 32 country experts. Their assessments reveal that, in the majority of countries (28 out of 32 countries), spatial planning took more account of the territorial impacts of sectoral policies in 2016 compared to 2000. In other words, there was a general increase in attention to policy integration during the period 2000-2016 (Figure 4.9).

The two most commonly reported shifts in policy integration between 2000 and 2016 were towards more integration: (i) from *exchange of information* to *cooperation on sectoral policies*; and (ii) from *exchange of information* to *coordination of sectoral policies*. These trends were reported for more than half of all countries (17 out of 32 countries).

On the other hand, a reverse trend was reported in DK, CZ and IT, which informed that spatial planning and territorial governance devoted less attention to policy integration in 2016 than in 2000. The Czech Republic (and partially Italy) reported little attention to sectoral policy integration in spatial planning and territorial governance in 2016; a substantial shift from 2000 when attention to policy integration was considered to be at a moderate level.

Figure 4.9 Change in sectoral policy integration in spatial planning and territorial governance, 2000-2016



4.5 Mobilising citizen and stakeholder engagement in spatial planning and territorial governance

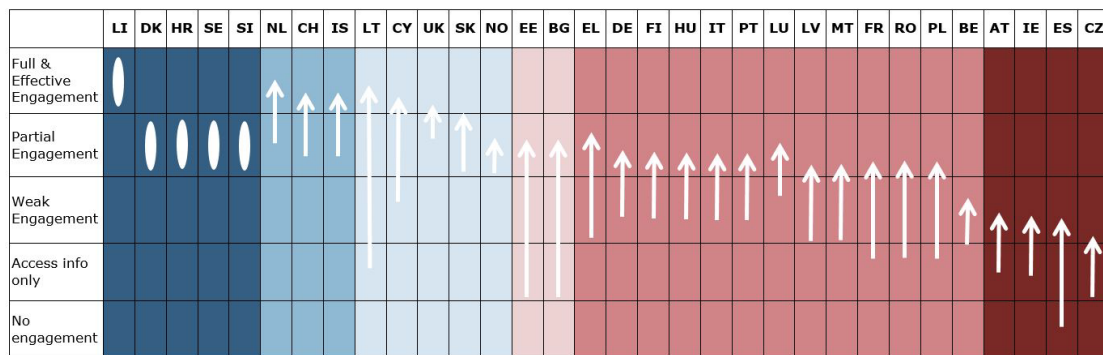
Spatial planning and territorial governance have important repercussions for the characteristics and quality of the built environment. In many countries, citizens are seen as having a legitimate *stake* in decision-making about the built environment.⁵⁰ Often the concept of *stakeholders* is widely defined. In many countries interest groups – often under specific conditions to limit the number of stakeholders – are seen as stakeholders to be included as well. To assess spatial planning and territorial governance systems and practices it is therefore critical to assess the level of engagement of citizens and stakeholders. A first assessment is on a broad level by assessing the degree to which citizens are generally engaged in spatial planning and territorial governance processes. For this purpose, a scale of five levels of engagement was used based on key literature about engagement:

- no engagement of citizens in spatial planning (SP) and territorial governance processes (*no evidence of citizen engagement*)
- access to information only
- weak engagement (*citizens passively engage in consultation with planning authorities*)
- engagement in certain aspects or stages
- full and effective engagement (*citizens actively participate in the preparation and adoption of planning instruments at all stages of the process*).

An assessment about the move towards improved citizens engagement between 2000 and 2016 was received from experts covering 32 countries. All of them were recognised as developing and strengthening citizen engagement in spatial planning and territorial governance (Figure 4.10). In nine countries (DE, EL, FI, HU, IT, LU, LV, MT, PT), experts rated it as moving from *weak* to *limited engagement*. According to experts, citizens engagement reached *full and effective* level in three countries (CH, IS, LI), by 2016. On the other hand, the lower levels of citizen engagement were reported in Spain (where the shift happened from *no citizens engagement* to *weak engagement*) and AT, IE, CZ (with a shift from *access to information only* to *weak engagement*).

The two most common shifts in citizen engagement between 2000 and 2016 were in the direction towards more engagement: (i) from *weak engagement* to *limited engagement*; and (ii) from *limited* to *full and effective engagement* (Figure 4.10). These trends were reported for more than half of all countries (18 out of 32 countries).

Figure 4.10 Change in citizen engagement in spatial planning and territorial governance processes 2000-2016



4.6 Adaptive territorial governance and placed-based decision-making

To understand the practice of spatial planning, country experts were asked to assess the degree to which territorial governance and spatial planning instruments are able to adapt to changing circumstances, and to consider changes in the situation between 2000 and 2016. To define the degrees of adaptation, an approach to ‘adaptation’ in territorial governance and planning was used drawing on the ESPON TANGO project report ⁴⁷ and its related guidance. ⁵¹

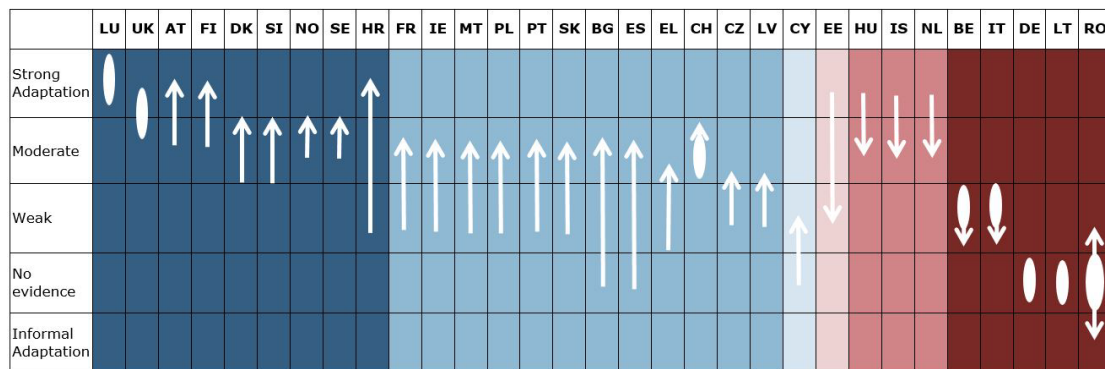
The question required experts to assess the topic using a six-point scale of adaptation:

- strong: Institutions systematically monitor societal changes and the impact of policies, learn from experience, and revise the form, content or processes of TG & SP
- moderate: some evidence of learning from experience; revision of limited aspects of TG & SP.
- weak: little learning from experience; mostly rigid instruments; not easily revised.
- no evidence of adaptation of TG & SP policy instruments; enforcement of rigid policies.
- informal: no evidence of adaptation although development adapts outside the formal governance regimes (informal development).

The results show a general trend in improving policy adaptation between 2000 and 2016 (Figure 4.11). The most commonly reported shift was in the direction from *weak* to *moderate* adaptation, although the extent of adaptation varied. Three countries (HR, BG and ES) increased their degree of adaptation at a higher pace during the selected period.

Despite the overall improvement, the assessments reveal that the degree of adaptation in a number of countries did not change much between 2000 and 2016 (LU, CH, BE, IT, DE, LT), or even showed trends towards less adaptation (HU, IS, NL, EE). In the case of Estonia, the degree of adaptation decreased strongly. Informal adaptation was reported in DE, EL and RO. The latter reported no evidence of adaptation in 2000, with opposite trends towards weak and informal adaptation. An effort to distinguish geographical patterns with the data from the adaptation trends, showed no significant pattern.

Figure 4.11 Change in degree of adaptation of territorial governance and spatial planning, 2000-2016



4.7 Conclusions

Focusing on the practice of spatial planning in Europe, this chapter has identified the most significant changes in territorial governance and spatial planning systems and policies between 2000 and 2016. The analyses have shown that the level of policy integration is generally increasing in spatial planning and territorial governance; that spatial planning now engages citizens and stakeholders more strongly than it did in 2000; and that in most countries, spatial planning instruments were more robust and able to adapt to changing circumstances in 2016 than they were in 2000.

The conclusions from this chapter are used in the analyses of the next chapter, whose main purpose is to examine whether the changes in the practice of spatial planning can be attributed to the influence of EU directives and policies.

5. Europeanisation

Key points

- The systems of territorial governance and spatial planning in Europe operate within a broader context of European territorial governance. Despite the absence of formal EU competence, Europeanisation takes place through various and simultaneous processes of influence: (1) the download of rules, approaches and ideas from the EU to national systems; (2) the upload of ideas and approaches from the national systems into the EU governance process; and (3) the mutual exchange of approaches between these systems through EU cooperation platforms.
- In the 2000-2016 period, the EU exerted significant influence on domestic systems of territorial governance and spatial planning. In particular:
 - the impact of *EU legislation* is rather uniform across the systems, especially in environment and energy, albeit with some differences in its application;
 - the impact of spatially relevant *EU policies* is more varied: Cohesion Policy is the most influential, while other policies have more moderate impacts; and, unsurprisingly, the higher the financial support, the greater the impact;
 - the impact of *EU discourse* is varied; EU mainstream development strategies (such as Europe 2020) have been more influential than specific spatial strategies (such as the EU Territorial Agendas).
- In the same period, the national systems of territorial governance and spatial planning have influenced the EU governance process, albeit to a lesser extent. In particular:
 - the impact of *domestic discourses* within the EU arenas of debate has fluctuated depending on the engagement and authority of actors have been; EU15 member states have had more influence, but some eastern European countries are increasingly influential;
 - the impact of *domestic practices* as source of inspiration is sporadic and limited by the difficulty of spontaneous learning within a highly heterogeneous framework.
- The exchange of ideas between territorial governance and spatial planning systems as part of European territorial cooperation offers interesting insights but remains difficult to detect.

5.1 Introduction

Conducting an ‘in depth analysis of the role of EU Cohesion Policy and other macro-level EU policies in shaping territorial governance and spatial planning systems and their impacts in concrete practice’ (ToR, p. 4) requires an understanding of the broader context of European territorial governance^{52, 53} in which national systems currently operate. The literature on Europeanisation^{54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59} allows for conceptualising European territorial governance as a set of simultaneous processes of (i) downloading of rules, policies and ideas from EU institutions to national systems; (ii) uploading of ideas and approaches from the systems to the EU level; and (iii) horizontal cross-influence of domestic systems through cooperation platforms set by the EU.⁵

With these considerations in mind, there are six possible forms of EU influence on the systems of territorial governance and spatial planning within the overall European territorial

governance framework: three types of top-down influence from the EU to the country level: two types of bottom-up influence through which European countries potentially influence EU policy-making: and one horizontal influence through which European countries potentially influence one another, as shown in Table 5.1. These six types of influence have been explored systematically in the project, to understand the mechanisms and impacts of Europeanisation in the field of territorial governance and spatial planning. (Table 5.2) .

Table 5.1 Top-down and bottom-up influences in European territorial governance between 2000 and 2016, by significance and trend

	Top-down influences			Bottom-up influences	Top-down influences (trend 2000 - 2016)			Bottom-up influences (trend 2000 - 2016)	
	Structural influence	Instrumental influence	Discursive influence (top-down)	Discursive influence (bottom-up)	Structural influence	Instrumental influence	Discursive influence (top-down)	Discursive influence (bottom-up)	Practical influence
	Environmental legislation Energy legislation Competition legislation Cohesion policy Rural development policy Territorial cooperation Urban policy Transport policy	Mainstream development strategies Urban agenda Spatial policy documents ESPON	Intergovernmental discourse Urban policy Territorial cohesion debate Mainstream development strategies Practical influence	Environmental legislation Energy legislation Competition legislation Cohesion policy Rural development policy Territorial cooperation Urban policy transport policy Mainstream development strategies Urban agenda Spatial policy documents ESPON	Intergovernmental discourse Urban policy Territorial cohesion debate Mainstream development strategies Practical influence	Intergovernmental discourse Urban policy Territorial cohesion debate Mainstream development strategies Practical influence	Intergovernmental discourse Urban policy Territorial cohesion debate Mainstream development strategies Practical influence	Intergovernmental discourse Urban policy Territorial cohesion debate Mainstream development strategies Practical influence	Intergovernmental discourse Urban policy Territorial cohesion debate Mainstream development strategies Practical influence
AT									
BE									
BG									
CH									
CY									
CZ									
DE									
DK									
EE									
EL									
ES									
FI									
FR									
HR									
HU									
IE									
IS									
IT									
LI									
LT									
LU									
LV									
MT									
NL									
NO									
PL									
PT									
RO									
SE									
SI									
SK									
UK									

Legend

	Mostly strong influence
	Mostly moderate influence
	Mostly low influence
	Mostly no influence
	No data

	Mostly increasing
	Mostly content
	Mostly decreasing
	Mostly swinging
	No data

Table 5.2 Typology of influences in European territorial governance

Type of influence	Direction	Driver of change	Mechanism of change
A. Structural	Top-down (EU → Member states)	Rules	Legal conditionality
B. Instrumental		Funds	Economic conditionality
C. Top-down discursive		Expert knowledge	Cognitive persuasion
D. Bottom-up discursive	Bottom-up (Member states → EU)	Expert knowledge	Cognitive persuasion
E. Practical		Interactive knowledge	Social learning
F. Horizontal	Horizontal (Member state → Member state(s))	Interactive knowledge	Social learning

Source: Authors' elaboration on Cotella and Janin Rivolin (2015).

The chapter is organised in five sections. Section 5.2 explores the influence of EU legislation, policy and discourse on domestic systems, resulting from the structural, instrumental and top-down discursive influences. Section 5.3 investigates the influence of domestic concepts and practices on the shaping of European territorial governance as a whole, resulting from the bottom-up discursive and practical influences. Section 5.4 summarises the findings on the horizontal influence across the domestic systems. Finally, section 5.5 proposes an overall typology of territorial governance and spatial planning systems with respect to European territorial governance and some concluding comments.

5.2 The influence of the EU on territorial governance and spatial planning systems

5.2.1 The impact of EU legislation (structural influence)

Despite the absence of EU spatial planning competences, the analysis shows that EU legislation in other fields indirectly affects domestic territorial governance and spatial planning. Environmental legislation has been by far the most influential. Its impact is evaluated as strong or moderate by 28 of the 32 country experts, and its significance increased over time in 22 cases. Eastern European countries show deeper and faster changes in terms of the adjustment to, or creation of, new spatial planning tools and procedures, and the modification of the governance structure and mechanisms. This mostly results from the transposition and adoption of the *acquis communautaire* during preparation for EU accession.

The actual changes in territorial governance and spatial planning systems are rather similar among the countries, as they have to follow the requirements of the EU legislation. The introduction of environmental impact assessment⁶⁰ and strategic environmental assessment⁶¹ procedures are the most important drivers of change. The introduction of specific impact assessment procedures in relation to Natura 2000⁶² sites is also often mentioned. EU legislation stimulated the introduction of a large number of different types of sectoral plans within or strongly related to the spatial planning system at all levels. The change of the territorial governance setting is one impact mentioned by the experts, for example, with the creation of new territorially-based public authorities (EL, FR, IT, NO, PT)

and/or the introduction of new administrative areas and boundaries, such as river basin districts and newly designated natural protection areas (FR, IE, IT, NO, NL, PT).

Experts also report indirect influence in the process of redistribution of competences among planning levels and between and within ministries (ES). They also reported the rise of community participation (EL, ES, SK); multi-stakeholder involvement in planning (BE, ES); and the growing importance of monitoring processes (EL, FR). The most significant reported challenge concerns the introduction of restrictions due to the designation of new protected areas, which may challenge development potential (EE, FR, HU). Similarly, difficulties emerge in the coordination of the implementation of different environmental policies e.g. 'wind turbines that endanger natural habitats' (FR). The implementation of EU environmental legislation may create disputes that require administrative solutions in which spatial planning plays an important role (EE, EL, FR).

Energy legislation is strongly or moderately influential in 19 countries, and growing significance is reported for the majority of contexts (23). Most experts from eastern European and Mediterranean countries (except HR, MT, LT and PT) describe the influence of EU energy legislation as, at least, moderately relevant and increasing. However, experts from north-western countries hardly acknowledge any impact of energy legislation (except DE, FR, IE, SE). Reported impacts concern the introduction or review of existing national energy plans and strategies; reshaping of national policy targets; and the devolution of energy related competences towards the sub-national and municipal/inter-municipal level.

The influence of competition legislation is assessed as strong or moderate only in 10 countries, and often reported as growing (12) or steady (16). It mostly concerns spatial planning at the local level, related to the integration of the public procurement directive⁶³ into domestic law. In eastern and Mediterranean countries, these requirements have an indirect influence on planning at all levels, particularly in practices involving public sector purchases of private services and products for planning and building. French and British experts report the creation of *ad hoc* agencies with important statutory, planning-related responsibilities and to which governments outsource operations. Finally, a small group of experts from northern Europe pointed out the significance of maritime issues and, in particular, of the Directive Establishing a Framework for Maritime Spatial Planning.⁶⁴

Overall, the collected evidence shows that EU legislation, especially in the sectors of environment and energy, has produced relevant impacts on domestic territorial governance and spatial planning and such influence has been increasing over time in almost all countries.

5.2.2 The impact of EU policy (instrumental influence)

The EU influences domestic systems through spatially relevant policies and funding instruments. Cohesion Policy stands out as the most significant driver of change; its influence is considered strong or moderate in 21 countries. Unsurprisingly, such influence is related to the amount of funding delivered: experts report low (5) or no influence (6) for north and north-

western Europe, while those from eastern European (except LT) and Mediterranean countries report a strong (7) or moderate (14) influence. The same holds for Ireland (major beneficiary prior to the eastward EU enlargement) and Germany (where EU funds are important for the eastern states). In most countries this influence is increasing (15) or constant (16); a diminishing influence is reported only in the UK.

The considerable leeway to choose the institutional arrangements for Cohesion Policy implementation left room for experimentation. Some countries delegated the responsibility for regional operational programmes' to the elected subnational authorities (ES, FR, IT, PL, BE, DE, UK). Others created 'statistical' or 'programming' regions and delegated implementation to special-purpose bodies, comprising representatives of multiple territorial units or to private or semi-public agencies (IE, NL, PT, SE, SK). Finally, a third group of countries manages cohesion funds only through National Operational Programmes, either due to their limited size (CY, EE, HR, LT, LU, LV, MT, SI) or political preference (AT, DK, FI, HU, RO).^v

Cohesion Policy has stimulated significant change where the 'goodness of fit' between its framework and domestic institutional settings was lower (eastern and Mediterranean countries). A key example is the creation of regional level bodies for implementing structural funds (e.g. BG, HR, HU, IE, PL, PT), the introduction of coordination and partnership platforms at national and regional levels, or of strategic, multi-annual regional development planning documents at all levels. In most eastern and Mediterranean countries Cohesion Policy has stimulated re-engagement with the practice of planning, although often limited to the purpose of managing EU funds (CZ, ES, IT, PL, SK). In some countries, this has triggered the introduction of national and regional strategic planning instruments to steer and coordinate the implementation of Cohesion Policy (e.g. PT). However, in most cases these instruments are not explicitly spatial, rather focusing on planning investment and technical assistance (IT), or specific planning tasks (e.g. urban regions in Austria).

Among the challenges, various experts reported that administering large allocations of EU funding within limited time requires significant institutional capacity. Where the latter is low, as in economically lagging regions, spatial planning concerns are marginalised in favour of more pragmatic approaches. Only in a few countries experts detected alignment between spatial planning and programming for Cohesion Policy (FR, PL, PT).

Concerning **rural development policy**, experts argued that it has been strongly (6) or moderately (12) significant in influencing territorial governance and spatial planning, especially in Mediterranean and Eastern countries (except EE, HR, LT and RO). North-Western and Nordic states' experts reported little or no influence (except BE, IE and DE). The influence is reported as increasing (10) or constant (19). The relevance of the agricultural sector in the various countries does not affect the identified trend, as the influence over

^v This outcome overlaps and further substantiates the results of the ESPON ReSSI overview of regional governance regimes in Europe (<https://www.espon.eu/ressi>).

spatial planning occurs mostly through the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD) ⁶⁵ and, to a lesser extent, through the European Agriculture Guarantee Fund (EAGF). ⁶⁶ ^{vi} Whereas a weak coordination between spatial planning and rural development policy was indicated, various experts reported the creation of new government bodies and new spatial planning tools. Rural development policy is reported to have had important spatial effects, for example, decreasing the share of unused land (LT), protecting agricultural areas (LV), introducing rural space issues in spatial planning (IT), supporting or restoring territorial diversity through specific financial tools, such as agro-environmental schemes (IE, PL). Finally, some experts stressed the impact of the LEADER community initiative ⁶⁷ in enabling cross-boundary working on rural development projects, and the potential for Community Led Local Developments ⁶⁸ to exert a similar influence.

As for **European Territorial Cooperation**, ⁶⁹ most experts reported only moderate influence (13) on territorial governance and spatial planning (strong only in FR, IT and LV and, surprisingly, rather low or not relevant in LU, NL and Nordic countries). The impact has been increasing (16) or constant (14) since 2000 and has contributed to 'reduce the distance' among bordering communities along the EU internal and external borders, and to shape transnational and inter-institutional partnerships. Moreover, some experts reported the introduction of cross-border planning tools: inter-institutional partnerships at national level (IT), functional areas (PL), general regional policy impacts (CH, HU) or sector specific policies on cross-border transport infrastructure (SI) and environmental cooperation (BG).

EU urban policy has had a moderate influence over domestic territorial governance and spatial planning in 13 countries and strong in only three (HU, IT, RO). Influence is increasing (16) or constant (12) almost everywhere, with most experts from 'old' member states highlighting the importance of the URBAN Community Initiative ⁷⁰ and the loss of momentum registered after its cancellation and the introduction of JESSICA ⁷¹ in 2007. Innovations related to spatial planning include the introduction of urban regeneration plans and programmes that either take advantage of EU resources or mirror EU programmes through domestic funds (EL, IT, PT). EU urban policy contributes to the widespread introduction in local development strategies of a number of issues: energy efficiency, sustainable mobility and sustainable urban development in general (CZ, EE, IE, IT, LV, RO), city compactness and reduction of soil consumption (CZ), heritage preservation (LV and other eastern countries). Overall, EU urban policy promoted a renewed interest in urban policies and projects in most countries. It also contributed to introducing a programming approach to urban issues, increasing the number and range of actors involved, promoting co-financing and the integration of resources for urban interventions.

^{vi} This is mostly a consequence of the fact that EAGF is directly subsidising farmers on the basis of the size of their farm and other criteria that do not have any 'spatial' dimension.

EU transport policy ⁷² has only had a moderate influence over domestic spatial planning systems (15 countries), with only Malta indicating a strong impact. Such influence is, however, either growing (15) or constant (14) in all countries, mostly as a consequence of the implementation of the TEN-T Networks. ⁷³ There are reports of a stronger involvement of strategic planning in transport issues, but overall spatial planning instruments have been affected only marginally. Examples include adjustment of the national infrastructure plan (IT), revision of the transport legislation (FI), and the adoption of the transport corridors by various levels of spatial planning strategies (HR). Challenges to infrastructure development related to EU transport policy have led to the introduction of new planning instruments (e.g. EE). Urban mobility planning has, in some cases, been added to local land-use planning (e.g. RO).

Finally, experts from most of the countries that joined the EU since 2004 reported the important role played by the **pre-accession process** in influencing their territorial governance and spatial planning systems. Whereas such impact is hard to distinguish from the one exerted by the transposition of EU sectoral legislation, the accession surely increased the pace of such transposition. Pre-accession negotiations catalysed regionalisation processes in the majority of countries, as the establishment of regional authorities was seen as a precondition for the implementation of the *acquis communautaire* and, especially, the future implementation of Cohesion Policy. The most relevant impact concerning spatial planning instruments was the introduction of new plans and development documents at the national and sub-national levels. Such proliferation of regional development documents resulted in the consolidation of a development-orientated attitude in line with the EU programming paradigm in the national and regional administration and in an increasing strategic planning activity at all territorial levels.

Overall, the impact of EU policies over territorial governance and spatial planning systems is more heterogeneous than that of EU legislation. EU Cohesion Policy is reported to have the highest influence. On that basis, a recommendation is made to emphasise the role of this policy as a planning tool (see Chapter 7) which could, in turn, make it more influential. By contrast, other EU policy fields tend to have a moderate impact. The impact is generally geographically differentiated and appears, at least partly, correlated to the magnitude of financial resources delivered to each country.

5.2.3 The impact of the EU discourse (top-down discursive influence)

Apart from the more direct impact of legislation and policies, the EU may influence domestic territorial governance and spatial planning systems by conveying concepts, ideas and guidelines related to territorial development within more or less structured arenas of debate. The study shows that the most relevant of these arenas is the high-level political negotiation among the member states. Over time, this negotiation led to the development of a set of EU development strategies. These documents are considered by experts as highly (7) or moderately (12) significant drivers of change for domestic spatial planning discourse, and their impact has been usually reported as constant (20) or increasing (10) since 2000. The

most frequently cited strategies are the Lisbon Strategy ⁷⁴ and the *Europe 2020 Strategy*. ^{vii} Generally, domestic policies seem to demonstrate a twofold relationship with the issues associated with these strategies, either through explicit reference (BG, MT) or by means of generic compliance in terms of aims and goals (NL). Direct influence is reported mostly on national policies (EL, MT, PT, SI). Whereas the impact mainly concerns the scope of strategic documents (FI, DE), in some countries it also led to changes in legislation (ES), in the overall territorial governance framework (LU), and in the definition of national planning strategies aiming at funding allocation (HU, AT). The latter could happen at the expense of regional or local specific needs (SK).

The progressive consolidation of the EU Urban Agenda ⁷⁵ was described as highly (3) or moderately (14) relevant, with an increasing (16) trend since 2000 (constant in 11 cases). Compared to the other discursive arenas, the EU Urban Agenda has more tangible local impacts (BE, BG, IT, SE, SI), through the inspiration of integrated urban regeneration plans, inter-municipal partnerships, or sustainable urban strategies. ^{viii} The EU Urban Agenda can impact upon national, regional and local spatial plans such as sustainable urban mobility, urban regeneration and social inclusion (PT). Most experts agree that the most influential document in this concern has been the *Leipzig Charter on sustainable cities*, ⁷⁶ followed by the *Thematic Strategy on the Urban Environment*. ⁷⁷

The EU documents with the most explicit spatial focus – namely ESDP², the Territorial Agendas of the European Union ^{78, 3} and the *Green paper on Territorial Cohesion* ⁷⁹ – are considered highly influential in only four cases (BG, HU, PL, RO). Moreover, their influence is decreasing (8) or constant (15) at best. Whereas the ESDP aims and options still inspire planning activities in various countries (e.g. IT, SK, RO, EL, FI, PT), the Green paper on Territorial Cohesion and the Territorial Agendas are generally less known. Despite being often referred to in strategic documents at all spatial scales, they have hardly produced any impacts (AT, DE, ES, MT, SE).

The ESPON programme is reported to have a growing (8) or constant (16) impact on domestic territorial governance and spatial planning, but this impact remains rather low (21 countries). ESPON is seen by many as a source of inspiration that, indirectly, led to specific domestic episodes of innovation (e.g. the introduction of Functional Urban Areas in CZ and HU). ESPON projects addressing the international, strategic position of countries are particularly appreciated for providing wider contextual information useful for governments in reshaping linkages with other countries (NL, CZ, PL).

^{vii} The Europe 2020 Strategy (https://ec.europa.eu/info/business-economy-euro/economic-and-fiscal-policy-coordination/eu-economic-governance-monitoring-prevention-correction/european-semester/framework/europe-2020-strategy_en) is generally considered to be more applicable for regional development approaches.

^{viii} However, it is hard to say if the influence depends more on the persuasion capacity of the discourse itself or on the funding instruments for urban intervention put in place by the EU.

A number of trends emerge on the influence of specific EU spatial concepts and ideas. Issues related to the strengthening of ecological structures and cultural resources as added value for development are reported as the most influential, having often being translated into concrete policy guidelines and regulations and in spatial plans (PT). Other issue of growing importance is the development of new forms of urban-rural partnership and governance (e.g. FI). Experts mentioned that some themes were already present in national debates and policies before they were consolidated in the EU spatial planning discourse. Polycentric development, for example, was (implicitly or explicitly) at the basis of several national and regional strategies (e.g. DE, EL, IT, NL, PL, SE). On the contrary, other concepts emerged and gained importance in the period 2000-2016, as territorial integration in cross-border and transnational functional regions (e.g. BG, FI, HU, ES), and trans-European risk management, which inspired new national policy documents on climate and adaption in most EU and partner countries (NO).

Finally, most country experts reported that, whereas the influence of the EU discourse over domestic academic spatial planning debates had been rather high (3) or moderate (16) and generally growing since 2000 (10), this had not been mirrored by relevant change in planning education or practice (with respectively 16 and 15 experts indicating low or no influence). Lower impact is visible in the Nordic and north-western states, while in Mediterranean countries, EU spatial planning has become an autonomous field of research.

Overall, the collected evidence shows that the domestic impact of EU concepts and ideas is highly differentiated. It mostly depends on the voluntary nature of the mechanisms behind this type of influence. EU mainstream development strategies are the most influential, having a direct impact on the development of EU policies and on funds distribution.

5.3 The influence of territorial governance and spatial planning systems at the EU level

5.3.3 The impact of domestic discourses (bottom-up discursive influence)

The ways in which domestic actors engage with the arenas where the EU planning discourse is developed matters for understanding how member countries influence the development of European territorial governance. The level of influence depends on various factors. One of them is a leading role of a country on specific issues or the themes prioritised by countries during their turn in the rotating Presidency of the EU. In some cases, the territorial focus during the presidency has been limited (DK, IT, LT, CZ, SK, EE), with the attention being on other priorities (for instance, DK and IT primarily focused on growth and jobs, CZ and LT on geopolitical and economics issues). When countries were more active on territorial issues, the main focus was on urban competitiveness (FI), the promotion of endogenous growth in peripheral (especially coastal) areas (CY, EL), circular economy (MT), urban-rural relations (ES), cross-border cooperation (FI, PT, LU), integrated territorial approaches (PT, NL), polycentrism (NL, DE), small and medium cities (LT) and the territorialisation of Cohesion Policy (PL).

The majority of experts indicated a strong (3) or moderate (12) influence of countries' actors over the EU intergovernmental discourse, this influence being either constant (14), decreasing (4) or swinging (11). Some countries were the most influential when hosting the EU presidency during the process elaboration of the Territorial Agenda (BE, DE, LU). On the contrary, other countries that had a great deal of influence during the ESDP process, were more passive in this process (AT, FR, NL). Mediterranean countries exerted a strong or moderate influence in the consolidation of insularity (EL) and climate change (PT) issues in the Territorial Agenda 2020, as well as a rather important role in the construction of the ESDP vision on the valorisation of cultural heritage (IT, ES, PT). Northern countries reportedly had a lower influence (except SE). Various Eastern countries actively participated in the Territorial Agenda 2020 preparation (CZ, SI, SK and especially HU and PL during their respective EU presidency) and tried to strengthen the territorial dimension of the EU main stream discourse (see: Böhme et al., 2011).

A number of experts reported a strong (2) or a moderate (12) influence of their countries' actors on the development of the EU Urban Agenda, and such influence has been generally increasing (5) or constant (18) over time. Three experts stressed that the debate on EU urban policy has concerned mostly the academic institutions rather than the government levels (ES, HU, RO). At the same time, in some national contexts not only the academia but also the government and the professional associations showed interest in engaging in the development of the document. Specific issues 'uploaded' by the countries into the Urban Agenda concern sustainable urban development (SE) and risk management (IT); poverty and urban exclusion (EL, BE, IE, IT), especially in southern Europe due to the economic and social crisis that has had its worst impacts in urban areas; multi-level governance (BE); financial instruments (LU); small and medium cities (LT); urban mobility, housing, or air quality (CZ).

When it comes to the debate on territorial cohesion, a total of 12 countries are reported to have had strong (ES, PL) or moderate influence (BG, FR, HU, IT, LU, LV, NL, SL, SK). The engagement with the territorial cohesion debate is generally constant, decreasing in some cases (NL, SE). Some countries (DE, BE, AT, ES) had been calling for a further detailing of the concept, to make it more operational and flexible in integrating domestic territorial objectives. Various north-western countries contributed to the discussion by emphasising the importance of economic competitiveness (FI, SE, NL), while southern and eastern countries stressed the importance of linking territorial cohesion to place-based policy (IT, HU, RO).

Only minor influence was exerted in the high-level EU political debate that lead to the making of EU mainstream documents, being politically driven and taking place in arenas where planning topics are rather marginal. Overall, the domestic actors in most countries are only marginally engaged with the development of the EU spatial planning debate, with some notable exceptions. Generally speaking, 'old' member states seem to play a stronger role, while at the same time some of the 'new' are catching up quickly (e.g. CZ, PL, SL).

5.3.4 The impact of domestic practices (practical influence)

Whereas domestic influence over EU policy-making may also come directly from practice, only 18 country experts assessed such influence as at least partly relevant. Admittedly, major problems may be related to the challenges of 'learning by doing' in weakly institutionalised contexts and in the episodic character of changes occurring only when a particular domestic practice gains attention in the EU discourse and eventually influences policy-making.

Only few experts report relevant examples of such influence. For instance, the Swedish expert highlighted the role played by the country's approach to functional regions in progressively contributing to the consolidation of the functional regions approach into the EU documents with a spatial focus and, then, as a basis for the delivery of EU policies. Similarly, the place-based approach that lies at the basis of the present EU Cohesion Policy programming period is reported as having taken inspiration from Belgian (and especially Flemish) practices. Similarly, the activity of Fabrizio Barca as special advisor for the then EU Commissioner for Regional Policy Danuta Hübner, had contributed to enrich such approach with the attention for local development conditions that had permeated the Italian development approach since the 1980s.

Whereas territorial cohesion clearly has its roots in the French *aménagement du territoire*, the French expert highlights that such approach had influenced the development of the integrated project management approach that lies at the basis of the EU urban policy, from the Urban Community Initiative until the recent Integrated Territorial Investments.⁸⁰ The latter is mentioned also by the Polish expert, as partly inspired by domestic practices brought forward by the former Ministry of Regional Development.

Luxembourg's approach to cross-border planning within the Greater Region⁸¹ is reported to have influenced the development of European Territorial Cooperation policies since the foundation of the FR-DE-LU spatial planning commission in 1971. Recent influence on European Territorial Cooperation is also reported in Slovakia, where domestic cross-border collaboration units are subjects of public law and served as an inspiration for the development of European Groupings of Territorial Cooperation.⁸² France had also lobbied in favour of this tool, and in particular of the formal inclusion of governments into the latter. That said, the Dutch set the basis for the development of Territorial Impact Assessment procedures at the EU level, as well as the shaping of the Habitat Directive through their domestic ecosystem approach centred on the relation between habitats and buffer zones surrounding habitats. The Czech experts reported influence of the country's territorial system of ecological sustainability, developed since the end of the 1980s, on the development of the Natura 2000 network.

Overall, the practical influence appears by far the hardest to assess. This may be due to the difficulty in understanding what specific elements were taken on board at what stage of the EU policy-making activity, and for what reason.

5.4 The horizontal influence between territorial governance and spatial planning systems

A last type of influence focuses on the impact that practices arising in one country may exert over territorial governance and spatial planning in another country. Here the EU plays a neutral role, mainly establishing cooperation platforms that allows for knowledge exchange among domestic actors, for instance through territorial cooperation initiatives. Evidence of this type of influence are only partially reported by the COMPASS experts and remains hard to identify. For example, a generally increasing influence of territorial Integration in cross-border and transnational regions is reported to favour an increasing transfer of know-how and practices among local policy-makers during the 200-2016 period.

Since the COMPASS data has brought little insight on the role of territorial cooperation for horizontal influence between national systems, it is relevant to mention here insights from previous research indicating the importance of territorial cooperation for facilitating knowledge transfer and exchange of 'good practice' in territorial governance and spatial planning. This potential of territorial cooperation to trigger learning points to the need to strengthen the role of spatial planning in this EU policy.

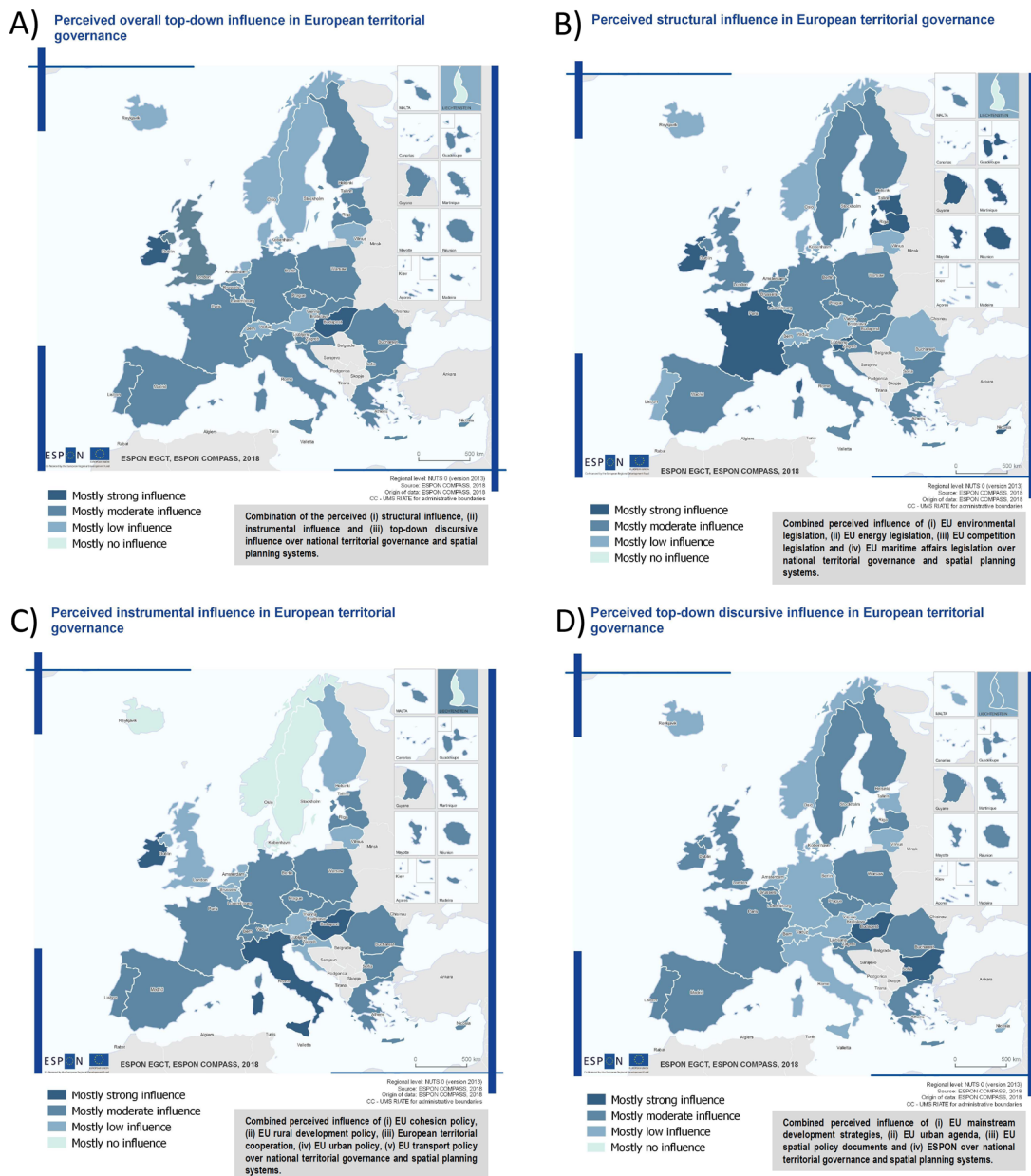
In particular, the ESPON TERCO project ⁸³ showed that the horizontal influence was strongest when territorial cooperation was based on simpler forms of collaboration contributing to trust-building (e.g. exchanging experience and sharing tools to tackle common problems). By contrast, more complex forms of cooperation, such as joint implementation of investment projects to solve local problems or joint implementation of a spatial strategy, seem to require more experience and time to produce the desired effects. Cooperation is more successful when the domains of cooperation are cultural events, tourism, economy or protection of natural environment. Moreover, the stakeholder initiating the cooperation is an influential factor, with higher probability if they are NGOs and local and regional governments, rather than Euroregions and other cross-border or national institutions. Popular domains of cooperation are culture, education, tourism, environmental protection and infrastructure development, whereas cooperation in spatial planning is less frequent.

5.5 Conclusion

In order to understand 'what changes in territorial governance and spatial planning systems [can] be attributed to the influence of macro-level EU directives and policies' (ToR, p. 4), COMPASS systematically explored how national territorial governance and spatial planning systems are related to European territorial governance. To do so, it conceptualised the latter as a set of three simultaneous processes of (i) downloading of rules, policies and ideas from the EU institutions to national systems, of (ii) uploading of ideas and approaches from the national systems to the EU level; as well as of (iii) cross-influence between the national systems through cooperation platforms set by the EU.

The responses provided by the country experts indicated that the EU exerted a significant influence on all territorial governance and spatial planning systems in the period 2000-2016 (Figure 5.1 Perceived top-down influence in European territorial governance). Such influence has been exerted through: (i) EU sectoral legislation correlated to territorial governance and spatial planning; (ii) EU policies producing spatial effects; (iii) and EU concepts and ideas regarding territorial governance and spatial planning.

Figure 5.1 Perceived top-down influence in European territorial governance

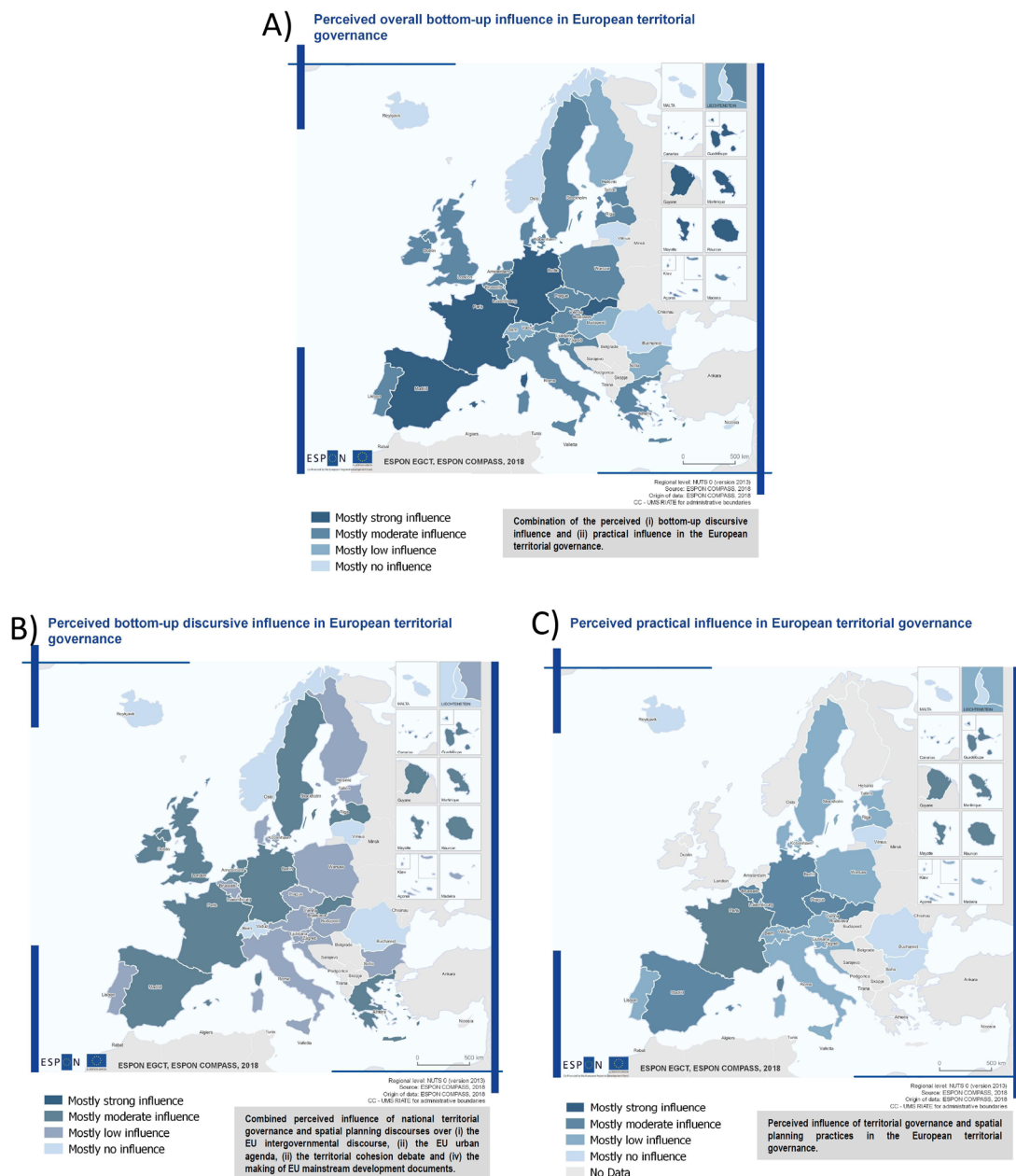


The findings show that the overall EU influence is neither homogeneous nor constant. It is highly variable by country, by sector and over time. The impact of EU legislation – in the fields of environment, energy and competition in particular – is more uniform. This is because of the compulsory transposition of legislation. That said, some variation was observed due to

differences in the application of that legislation. The impact of EU policies was more varied. It tended to be closely related to the magnitude of the financial support delivered to each country and policy area. Finally, the impact of the EU discourse on domestic systems was even more varied: in general, countries joining the EU after 2004 and Mediterranean countries appear more receptive to EU concepts and ideas, especially those conveyed through mainstream strategies, such as Europa 2020.

When it comes to the bottom-up influence through which domestic systems shape European territorial governance, no country experts noted a high impact, neither within the EU discursive arenas nor through exemplary practices (Figure 5.2).

Figure 5.2 Perceived bottom-up influence in European territorial governance



Generally speaking, bottom-up influence mostly occurs as a result of competitive processes in which certain national actors are more engaged than others or are able to find agreement on concepts or ideas within the main EU discursive arenas, such as the Network of Territorial Cohesion Contact Points, etc. An example of such a process was the gradual emergence of the territorial cohesion concept. Despite the progress of evidence-based surveys, such as those promoted by ESPON, inspiration from specific practices remain patchy. The reasons for this may be threefold. First, scarce attention can be directed at the European level to the practical experience developed at the local level. Second, there is an intrinsic difficulty in learning from practices developed across very different national systems (see chapter 4). The specific influence of particular practices (or their aspects) is by far the hardest to identify.

The horizontal influence between different territorial governance and spatial planning systems as part of European territorial cooperation programmes follows the same mechanisms of learning, and it suffers from similar difficulties. As the ESPON TERCO project confirmed, such influence is more likely in simpler collaborative forms that contribute to building trust, such as exchanging experiences and sharing knowledge on tools to tackle shared problems.

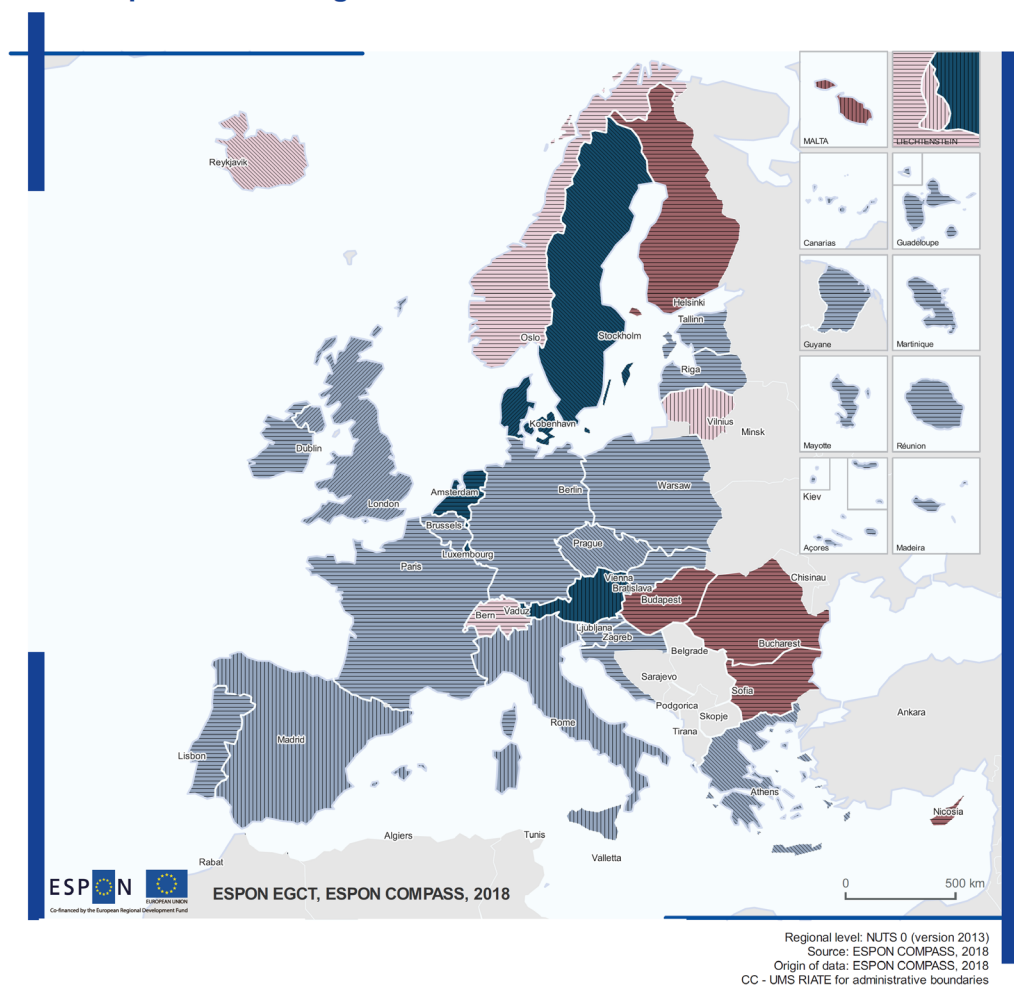
In a nutshell, the COMPASS evidence suggests that the institutional complexity of European territorial governance derives from the large variety of domestic systems, as shown in the previous chapters. Such complexity is also reflected in the typology of the (perceived) engagement of systems within European territorial governance (Figure 5.3).

The typology indicates:

- the prevalence of systems mostly 'engaged' within European territorial governance, i.e. inclined to influence it as to be influenced by it, mostly in western and eastern Europe as well as in the Mediterranean countries, although with less increasing tendencies;
- a small group of 'leading' systems, mostly from central (AT, LU, NL) or northern Europe (DK, SE) that are perceived as exerting influence on European territorial governance, rather than be influenced by it;
- a group of 'following' systems, found mostly among the new member states (BG, CY, MT, HU, RO, but also FI) which tend to be receptive to the influence of European territorial governance, but are hardly influential at EU level;
- a group of 'unengaged' systems, generally being non-member countries (CH, IS, LI and NO, with the exception of LT), which are not receptive to EU influence and do not have an influence on the European territorial governance.

Figure 5.3 Typology and trend of perceived engagement of territorial governance and spatial planning systems within the European territorial governance

Typology and trend (2000/2016) of perceived engagement within European territorial governance



All the above helps to understand European territorial governance as a complex and non-codified institutional process of vertical and horizontal interactions, contributing to strengthening the coherence between EU policies and domestic territorial governance and spatial planning. The outcomes of this process are, however, uneven across policy fields as well as between countries. This is because of the 'filtering' of the Europeanisation processes through the numerous substantive and procedural differences among the national systems.

This ultimately points to the need for formal clarification, in institutional terms, of the role of the national territorial governance and spatial planning systems with respect to European territorial governance and EU Cohesion Policy. After all, the shared competence between the

EU and the Member States of 'economic, social and territorial cohesion', which is established in the current treaties, would make it possible. The heterogeneity of systems and Europeanisation processes also require that any reform aimed at empowering spatial planning in relation to EU policies (see Chapter 7) would need to accommodate the differences in national settings.

6. Case studies of the relationship between EU Cohesion Policy and spatial planning and territorial governance

Key points

- Five in-depth case studies show that there are strong and multidirectional relationships between spatial planning, territorial governance and Cohesion Policy.
- EU-funded projects have a significant impact on physical development and indirectly on planning systems especially in eastern European countries. The spatial impacts of EU-funded projects do not necessarily follow the priorities of the TA2020.
- Planning systems in eastern European countries were not well-prepared to deal with the spatial and environmental impacts of the large number of EU-funded projects. The case studies highlight the need for the sound preparation of planning systems for external intervention (including EU programmes).
- The spatial impact of Cohesion Policy is more limited in the EU15 member states due to the lower availability of funds for infrastructure projects.
- Despite frictions between Cohesion Policy and spatial planning/territorial governance, examples of good practices show how Cohesion Policy tools can be used in spatial planning, and how innovative planning arrangements can assist in steering ESIF.
- These examples provide evidence that it is possible to achieve Cohesion Policy goals and also meet spatial planning and territorial governance objectives.

6.1 Introduction

One of the three aims of the COMPASS project is to study in detail how EU Cohesion Policy and national systems of spatial planning and territorial governance interact and to identify good examples of sound interaction on the ground. The focus is very much on the practice of national systems, which in general is already addressed in chapter 4 and the mutual relationship with a key area of European territorial governance: Cohesion Policy. The latter has already been discussed in general terms in chapter 5. This chapter takes a closer look at these issues in specific case studies. The main objectives of the chapter are:

- to investigate and analyse the relationship between Cohesion Policy and spatial planning systems and territorial governance in practice;
- to identify good practices in case study areas for cross-fertilisation of spatial and territorial development policies with EU Cohesion Policy.

The chapter is divided into four main sections. The first section identifies the case study areas, describes how they were selected and how the case studies were carried out. The second section presents an analysis of the relationships between Cohesion Policy and spatial planning systems and territorial governance in practice. The third section identifies examples of good practices while the fourth section sets out conclusions.

6.2 Case study areas

In order to study the interactions between the EU Cohesion Policy and territorial governance and spatial planning systems, the practice in 13 regions was studied. The selected regions are situated in Sweden, Ireland, Poland and Hungary, and in a cross-border area between

Spain and France. Table 6.1 presents the main characteristics of the case study regions. Their locations are shown in Figure 6.1.

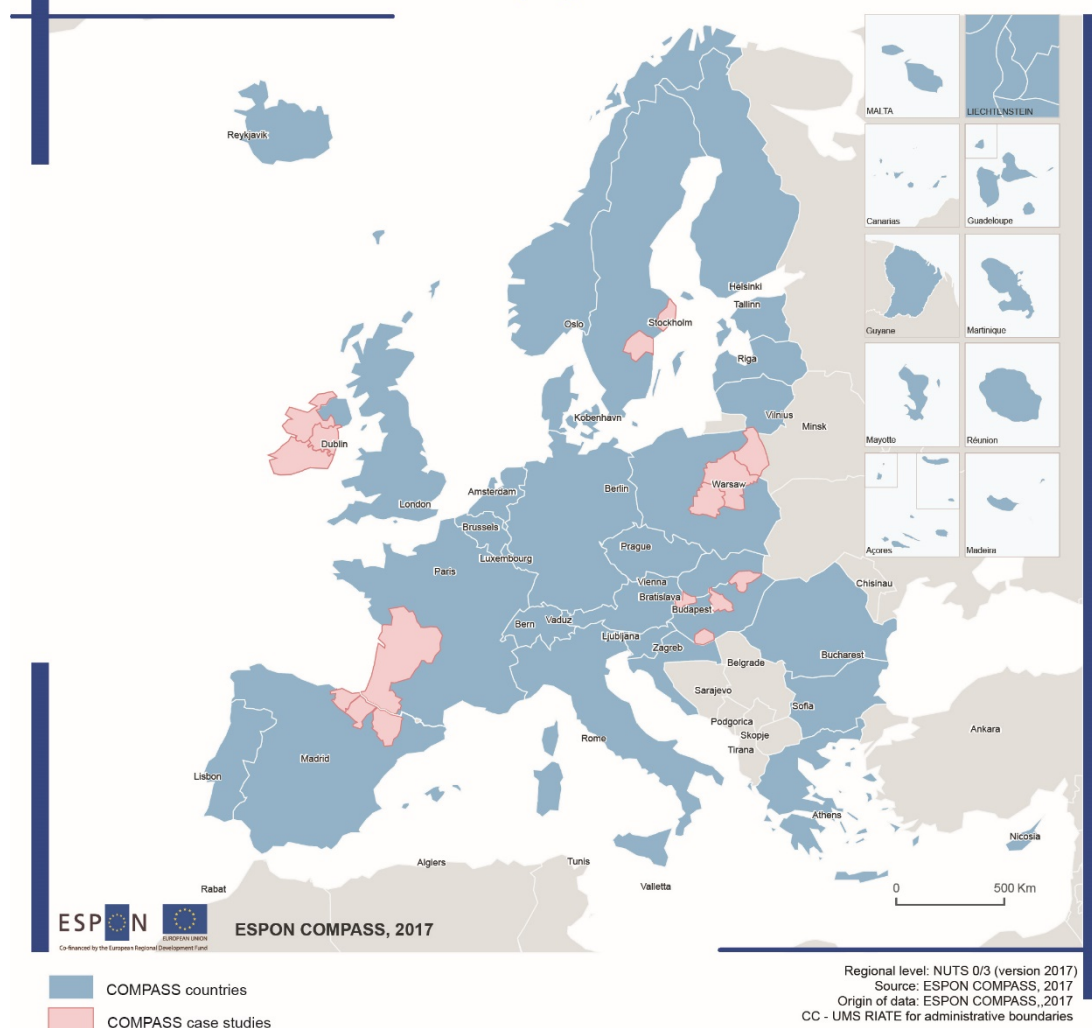
Table 6.1 Case study regions and their main characteristics

Country / case study regions		Main characteristics
Spain-France	Nouvelle Aquitaine, Basque Country, Navarra, Huesca	This cross-border regions include densely populated coastal areas, rural mountainous areas with low densities as well as surrounding large cities in the Piedmont. The territory faces diverse challenges: remoteness, isolation, low access and lack of basic services and infrastructures; vulnerability to the effects of climate change and natural hazards; high concentration of economic activities in the service sector which is dominated by small enterprises, often unstable and seasonal; large differences in population densities, both between urban and rural areas, as well as between different regions.
	Stockholm	The Stockholm region is quite prosperous in terms of economic activity, including a high employment rate, increasing population, high levels of innovation and a diverse economy. The northern parts experience economic growth resulting in a strong economic and transport corridor; whereas the southern parts, traditionally more dominated by consisting of a larger share of manufacturing, are vulnerable due to de-industrialisation and out-sourcing. This is strengthening the north-south divide. Planning challenges revolve around facilitating economic growth, transportation and housing supply along with improving environmental conditions.
Sweden	Östergötland County	Östergötland is a (semi) peripheral region in eastern Sweden, fourth largest in terms of population size. In terms of economic activity, the region is slightly above the EU28 average (GDP per capita in PPS). The region has a diverse economic structure although dominated by agriculture and forestry. There are two main cores, Norrköping and Linköping and a unique coastline in the east, including an archipelago. The region deals with issues of a more regional scope, such as urban-rural interactions, attracting people and enterprises, developing public transportation, strengthening the economic cores and developing outer regions based on their local assets.
Poland	Mazowieckie	Mazowieckie is the most diversified region in Poland in terms of socio-economic development. It has well-developed service, industrial and agriculture sectors; the metropolis of Warsaw is a pole of growth. The settlement system is unbalanced in terms of demographic potential and supply-demand on the labour market, resulting in strong commuting flows. Divergence increases as a result of the outflow of population to Warsaw metropolis, by-passing large and medium-sized cities, endangered with severe depopulation.
	Podlaskie	Podlaskie Voivodeship is situated peripherally in the north-eastern part of Poland. The region, characterized by the lowest population density in Poland, is bordered by Belarus and Lithuania; the agro-food industry is the main branch of its economy. The region is unique in terms of natural and cultural heritage which are of European importance scale. The region has experienced a very high emigration rate; rural areas are considerably depopulated. This is process is selective the demographic structure is becoming unbalanced, while further depopulation is expected.
	Łódzkie	Łódzkie Voivodeship is characterised by a medium level of economic development. The region is internally diversified and the diversification of the economy is increasing. There are several functional areas in Łódzkie which face different socio-economic problems. The economic potential of the Voivodeship comprises of a high level of industrialization (the highest share of industry in the GVA generation in Poland). Łódzkie is relatively well-served by the road network; a great advantage is its location on the crossroads of two TEN-T corridors. A major shortcoming of the existing road infrastructure is its bad condition.

Hungary	Közép-Magyarország	Region Közép-Magyarország lies in the central area of the Carpathian Basin. It is a crossing point of three TEN-T corridors. It is the most populated region of Hungary, it consists of two NUTS3 regions, the City of Budapest and Pest County. Both cities have experienced significant residential suburbanisation. Since 2000 this process has slowed down giving way to deconcentration of retail and industry, attracted mostly to the major transport corridors and hubs. The region is facing a possible split into two NUTS2 units, aimed at increasing possibilities for supplementary EU funding.
	Baranya	Baranya county has a fragmented settlement structure, based on small villages. With its sub-Mediterranean climate, the region provides excellent conditions for agriculture; development of the food sector is an explicit development aim. The region is characterised by unfavourable tendencies, lagging and stagnating economy and society. The activity rate of the available workforce is slowly increasing, unemployment is in a slight fall, however, in national terms Baranya county belongs to the three weakest performing counties.
	Győr- Moson-Sopron	Győr-Moson-Sopron, considered as the second most developed county in Hungary, has borders with Austria and Slovakia. Due to the proximity of Vienna and Bratislava, this trilateral border area is dynamically developing in Europe. However, cross-border interaction is rather asymmetric. Development disparities and a significant move of residents from Slovakia to suburban zones located on the Austrian and Hungarian sides of the border generate a steep increase in cross-border commuting.
	Borsod-Abaúj Zemplén	The county is located in the north-eastern part of the country, is one of the biggest and most populous counties in country. The narrower target area "Tokaj hills" is bordering Slovakia, and also shares a short border with Ukraine. The target area is considered as a periphery, from all (county, country, EU) points of view. The area is characterised by hills and lower mountains, is a famous grape production zone (UNESCO protected world heritage site).
Ireland	Eastern Midland Region	The East Midland region contains both 1) the global economic engine Greater Dublin Area, with 39% of the region's population and ceaseless expansion of its urban centres out into the countryside; and 2) the Midlands county Offaly, which is post-industrial, remote in terms of connectivity and investments. In general, it is a declining rural area, facing loss in population and related economic disadvantages, service provision is degrading while the population is aging.
	Northern and Western Region	Existing strengths of the Northern and Western region are natural resources and quality of life. However, there are many challenges including structural weakness, a lack of critical mass in urban size and population figures, dispersed settlements, the lowest per capita rates of projected population and jobs and poor accessibility. Factors such as poor access to large markets and low population density underpin socioeconomic problems and constrain business development.
	Southern Region	The Southern Region is characterized by a diverse settlement structure. Cork and its suburbs together are the second largest city in Ireland, it has a large urban centre, a tier 1 port, supporting the export led economic development of region and the country, and numerous industries within the county. On the other hand, Kerry is a rural, mountainous terrain, including remote villages and small towns with a tradition in tourism and agriculture; there is a loss of services and economic opportunities while access to services and amenities is decreasing.

Figure 6.1 Location of case study areas

Case studies of the COMPASS project



Cross-border Region Pyrenees France and Spain: Nouvelle Aquitaine (FR61), Basque Country (ES21), Navarra (ES22), Huesca (ES241)
Hungary: Közép-Magyarország (HU10), Baranya (HU231), Győr-Moson-Sopron (HU221), Borsod-Abaúj Zemplén (HU311)
Ireland: Northern and Western Region, Eastern and Midland Region, Southern Region
Poland: Mazowieckie (PL12), Podlaskie (PL34), Łódzkie (PL114)
Sweden: Stockholm (SE110), Östergötland SE123

6.2.1 The selection procedure

The case study regions were chosen according to a careful selection procedure. The selection was not restricted to countries where Cohesion Policy plays a key role, but also included some where its importance is relatively lower. The case studies include a variety of spatial planning models. The analyses focused on two areas:

- the practice of spatial planning systems and territorial governance as a foundation for an efficient and effective absorption of resources;
- the influence of Cohesion Policy on planning systems and territorial governance.

In a first phase, 13 countries or cross-border regions were selected. An important criterion was the regions' implementation of Cohesion Policy objectives. In the second phase, a more detailed selection of regions was made. The main selection criteria were:

- the range of policy-making cultures;
- key governance characteristics using the typology proposed in the ESPON TANGO study;
- the regions' challenges in relation to the TA 2020 thematic issues (see Table 6.2); and
- their exposure to different objectives of the EU Cohesion Policy: convergence; regional competitiveness and employment; and European territorial cooperation.

The case studies are located in four countries and one cross-border area (Table 6.3).

Table 6.2 TA2020 priorities and challenges for spatial planning and territorial governance

TA 2020 thematic issues and priorities	Challenges
Polycentricity and suburbanisation: promote polycentric and balanced territorial development	Concentration of economic development in capital and 'core regions'; competition between cities and towns; suburbanisation
Peripheries and other specific regions: encouraging integrated development in cities, rural and specific regions	Development of peripheral, isolated and less populated areas
Cross-border regions: territorial integration in cross-border and transnational functional regions	Trans-border planning and governance
Support for local economy: ensuring global competitiveness of the regions based on strong local economies	Support for specific local assets (including renewable energy sources and tourism potential)
Transport infrastructure and accessibility: improving territorial connectivity for individuals, communities and enterprises	Relation between spatial and transport policy; spatial planning alongside transport corridors
Natural and cultural heritage: managing and connecting ecological, landscape and cultural values of regions	Planning in areas with natural environment protection

The information collected in each of the case studies included:

- a national profile and an overview of the selected thematic issues (across the country, or in a limited territory depending on the exact limitation of the case study area);
- two to six examples in different thematic issues (at least one for each of the selected issues) which are the most relevant in terms of the connection between Cohesion Policy and territorial governance/spatial planning;
- 'good practice' in cross-fertilising Cohesion Policy with spatial planning/territorial governance, including the level of support from the EU cohesion fund; and the potential to transfer practice to another country.

Three main methods were used to collect information about the case studies:

- desk research: review of policy documents connecting Cohesion Policy and sectoral policies closely related with spatial planning; and in-depth description of policy, project or programme according to a standardised format;
- semi-structured interviews with key-players, such as policy-makers, representatives of national authorities, non-governmental actors and practitioners;
- a focus group workshop in each region based upon a guidance note regarding the content of the topics to be covered as well as the desired composition of the focus group.

Table 6.3 Matrix for the selection of case studies

Case study areas	Geographical dimension (1)	Typology of territorial governance (2)	Case study regions and codes	TA2020 thematic issues (3)						Convergence objectives (4)
				Polycentricity and suburbanisation	Peripheries and other specific regions	Cross-border regions	Support for local economy	Transport infrastructure and accessibility	Natural and cultural heritage	
Spain - France	South/West	II/IV	Nouvelle Aquitaine (FR61)			Ex/P				E
			Basque Country (ES21)							
			Navarra (ES22)							
			Huesca (ES241)							
Sweden	Scandinavia	I	Stockholm (SE110)	Ex			Ex	Ex		R
			Östergötland County (SE123)		Ex/P		Ex		Ex/P	R, E
Poland	Central/East	III	Mazowieckie (PL12)	Ex/P				Ex		C
			Podlaskie (PL34)		Ex/P				Ex	C, E
			Łódzkie (PL114)				Ex	Ex		C
Hungary	Central/East	III	Közép-Magyarország (HU10)	Ex/P						R
			Baranya (HU231)		Ex				Ex	C, E
			Győr- Moson-Sopron (HU221)			Ex/P				C, E
			Borsod-Abaúj Zemplén (HU311)				Ex			C, E
Ireland	West/Atlantic	II	East Midland		P		Ex	P		R
			North and West		Ex		Ex			R
			South					Ex		R

Legend:

Ex - studied examples

P – good practices to study (all cross-border examples and good practices are treated as one)

C - Convergence

R - Regional competitiveness and employment






E - European territorial cooperation

Surveys were performed in all the case studies in October 2017. The data collected was used for the preparation of five case study reports, which are contained in Volume 6. The data was also used to assess the degree of importance and impact of the Cohesion Policy on the different thematic issues at national, regional and local level (Table 6.4).

Table 6.4 Degree of Cohesion Policy importance and impact of the Cohesion Policy

Thematic issue	Territorial level	Cohesion Policy importance (1)					Impact of the Cohesion Policy (2)				
		Sweden	Poland	Hungary	Ireland	Spain-France	Sweden	Poland	Hungary	Ireland	Spain-France
Polycentricity and suburbanisation	National	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	0
	Regional	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	0
	Local	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	0
Peripheries and other specific regions	National	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	0
	Regional	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	0
	Local	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	0
Cross-border regions	National	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Regional	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
	Local	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Support for local economy	National	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	0
	Regional	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	0
	Local	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	0
Transport infrastructure and accessibility	National	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	0
	Regional	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	0
	Local	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	0
Natural and cultural heritage	National	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	0
	Regional	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	0
	Local	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	0

Legend

	3 = strong importance/impact
	2 = moderate importance/impact
	1 = little importance/impact
	0 = no importance/impact
	na = not applicable

Cohesion Policy is recognised as important for the policy area of transport infrastructure and accessibility in almost all case study regions (except the cross-border case), especially at the national and regional levels (Table 6.4). The role of Cohesion Policy in supporting policy on peripheral and specific regions is also considered to be important in most countries. Cohesion Policy's role in supporting policy on natural and cultural heritage protection is also considered important, particularly at the regional and local level.

Assessments of the impact of Cohesion Policy on different policy areas is more variable (Table 6.4). The impact of Cohesion Policy on the policy area of transport and accessibility is considered to be high (especially in Poland, Hungary and Ireland) in comparison to other themes. The impacts of Cohesion Policy at the local level of decision-making across almost all policy fields is generally considered to be low.

6.3 Relationships between Cohesion Policy, spatial planning and territorial governance

Departing from the six TA2020 thematic issues, a number of critical issues in terms of relationships between Cohesion Policy, spatial planning and territorial governance are identified below.

Polycentric development is recognised as one of the major policy aims in all case study regions although settlement characteristics vary between regions. The following challenges are identified:

- suburbanisation is a significant issue in particular in the larger urban areas (Poland, Sweden, Hungary);
- balanced territorial development in those cases where the land development control system is not functioning strongly. This is especially true for eastern European countries (Poland, Hungary);
- a lack of critical mass in urban size and population, dispersed settlements and poor accessibility (Ireland, Spain-France, Poland).

The degree of Cohesion Policy impact on territorial development varies strongly between countries. In the case of Sweden, TA 2020 and EU Cohesion Policy are rather absent in planning documents in the Stockholm region, however, the EU discourse of promoting a balanced and polycentric territorial development is widespread in policy. The beneficiaries of the Cohesion Fund recognised the influence on the spatial planning system but did not receive a very positive assessment. New tools (supra-communal / regional / territorial development planning documents or agencies), compiled with Cohesion Policy support, were introduced aiming at harmonising projects' development and emphasizing the need for rational investing and economic efficiency. In practice, however, they only served for the preparation for the programming period. In the end, the development activities of local actors were not coordinated, resulting in local improvements instead of balanced, regional development. In Poland and Hungary, the structural and investment funds strongly influence spatial planning systems and territorial governance. In the case of regions with a higher GDP per capita, as Budapest or Warsaw; the available EU subsidies for the whole region have decreased. This leads to inner conflicts and a tendency of neighbouring municipalities to detach themselves from the central city.

A positive impact of Cohesion Policy on balanced and compact development results from land consolidation programmes, infrastructure projects and educational and sports facilities, which encourage increased settlement density in their vicinity. On the other hand, due to the abundance of available EU funds there is a tendency to invest heavily in infrastructure (e.g. sewerage, transport infrastructure), sometimes even beyond actual demand. If such an oversupply of infrastructure is located beyond the existing urban fabric, dispersion and suburbanisation are stimulated, especially in rural areas located in the vicinity of the urban agglomeration.

Peripheries and other specific regions. The development in peripheral areas is a common concern in the EU, which refers not only to ‘classic’ peripheral regions seen from a national perspective, but also peripheries within regions (even in metropolitan areas). Managing peripheries is strongly connected with thematic issues such as transport infrastructure and accessibility, support for the local economy, and natural and cultural heritage.

Basic challenges for peripheries – like depopulation, economic weaknesses and availability of public services – are unevenly distributed within regions. Territorial governance employs different approaches to address the diversity of complex problems relating to peripheral location and the specificities of particular areas. Territorial governance and spatial planning systems are particularly challenged by the following issues:

- the activation of local actors to participate in projects and the development of policy strategies (IE, HU);
- protecting areas of high natural value in spite of the need to stimulate regional economic development (SE, PL);
- the relatively high and burdensome overall costs of spatial planning for peripheral communes: the low flexibility of plans and the length of spatial planning decision-making processes make this policy domain less equipped to deal with tendencies of ad-hoc decision-making, especially when new investors manifest themselves (PL);
- striking a balance between a reduced demand for public services (like schools, childcare and transport) and delivering critical services to the public and ensuring accessibility of the region (SE, IE, HU, PL).

There is a very strong relationship between Cohesion Policy and spatial planning and territorial governance in relation to this thematic issue especially for human capital and sound management in terms of:

- the institutionalisation of effective communication between local actors (regular meetings; proper coordination of project generation and implementation);
- increased cooperation between territorial units (horizontal), although still insufficient in some cases (partly enforced by Cohesion Policy);
- improvement of strategic planning competences mostly at the regional, but also at the local level;
- implementation of integrated development of cities and regions along with regional development issues (for instance: integration of regional development programmes in municipal planning).

To address the issue of peripheries and other specific regions the policies stated that economic revitalisation and infrastructure development should be prioritised on the condition that they capture local development needs and ensure the required flexibility to determine how to comply with them. The Swedish case is an example of cross-fertilisation as it seeks to involve local stakeholders, aiming to develop new methods to support public-private-people partnerships in a brownfield development.

Cross-border regions. The extent and success of cross-border cooperation – which may include the coordination of spatial planning and territorial governance – is highly influenced by

natural similarities, the existence, or not, of common functional areas, as well as historic and cultural factors. On the other hand, the content of cross-border cooperation is widely influenced by regional geographical specificities, such as the presence of mountain areas and border rivers, as well as main features of the settlement structures which determine the specific territorial needs that are tackled by joint cross-border approaches. Thus, cross-border cooperation in Europe can have different intensities and dimensions. One can think of a country border in the vicinity of metropolitan areas – e.g. Vienna and Bratislava – or the presence of highly isolated rural settlements in mountain areas such as the Pyrenees.

The following problems have been identified in borderland areas:

- borderland zones are often areas of low population density, low industrial activity, but at the same time, high natural value. This poses particular challenges to spatial planning, which simultaneously is expected to stimulate development but also to counter threats to natural heritage;
- a low level of population density and larger distances to population cores may increase the demand for a fair access to services of general interest, while possible solutions can be cross-border services of general interest;
- regulations (mostly related to crossing borders) at the national level that indirectly influence the emergence of effective bottom-up cooperation between local administrative units or local population groups; this applies mostly to the external borders of the EU;
- cross-border areas sometimes are more exposed to environmental risks and natural hazards, as national (or joint cross-border) response to emergencies or disasters might be delayed through administrative obstacles.

EU support highly stimulates cross-border cooperation, mainly through Interreg Programmes, and through the formal institutionalisation of cooperation (e.g. through Euroregions and EGTC regulation). There is a danger that without a continuation of EU support, cross-border cooperation structures that have developed over the years may face an important lack of funds and operational/strategic frameworks, as they do not represent priorities in regional and national policies. This is likely to increase the negative effects of peripherality of vast areas. Regional organizations dealing with cross-border cooperation have an impact on allocation of resources under Interreg. In spite of this, cross-border cooperation affects different sectors (culture, environment, tourism, research, mobility, transport, economic development, rural development, emergency services etc.), but rarely it adopts an integrated approach to overall cross-border spatial planning (even within Schengen).

The priority axes of Interreg programmes concentrate primarily on local development sectors particularly affected by borders. Cross-border spatial coordination of different sector policies is not by its very nature the goal of Cohesion Policy, but in some cases, joint planning (e.g. for climate change adaptation or protected areas) might be an outcome of a long tradition of joint Interreg cross-border cooperation. Other discernible problems are the legal and administrative discontinuities and the lack of knowledge concerning planning competences of local authorities and other administrative units located on different sides of the border; although this can be regarded as an important condition for effective cross-border spatial planning.

Finally, there is the need for a better integration of cross-border projects supported by Interreg programmes and those (co-)financed by other EU operational programmes, as the latter frequently offer better financial opportunities, e.g. when it comes to create larger transport or service infrastructures. The priorities of these programmes sometimes do not match with those of Interreg cross-border programmes in the same region. Inside the EU, more integration can be expected as countries and regions increasingly cooperate also in strategies for larger territorial areas, such as macro-regional strategies or sea-basin strategies.

Support for local economies. This is an issue of moderate importance in European countries. It is also a rather general theme which might incorporate a number of different policy areas. Several problems and challenges are identified in different countries:

- the separation/division of responsibilities between economic development policies and spatial planning;
- the presence of a multiplicity of strategies created for overlapping areas in order to obtain European and other funds which does not contribute to strategic, integrative planning;
- unintended spatial consequences of interventions in local economies, especially if local land use plans are lacking or out of date;
- unpreparedness and inefficiency of spatial planning systems to deal with intensive development in new, dynamic sectors of the economy (e.g. wind energy).

There are differences between eastern European and north-western European countries. Member states introduce different planning instruments which facilitate support for local economies in areas with specific needs ('priority regions' in Hungary or 'functional regions' in Poland). Special development concepts and programmes are elaborated for such areas which are a basis for realising Cohesion Policy and raising European funds. There are several examples of revitalisation/regeneration processes in areas with specific needs, realised with European co-funding. The Polish case (city of Łódź) is a positive example of sound relations between Cohesion Policy, spatial planning and territorial governance. This is in contrast with a Dublin case – the regeneration of Ballymun housing estate (area of high deprivation). The example brought to light the fragile nature of top down master planning schemes delivered through public-private partnerships. Risks like the economic recession were not taken into account during the creation of the masterplan for regeneration. Finally, many key infrastructure investments relying on PPP were not realised once the economy crashed. Despite some improvements in housing and infrastructure the socio-economic situation in the area remains poor. On the other hand, the Ballymun study showed how EU LIFE programme facilitated the successful collaboration between NGOs and government departments in the field of support for local circular economy and education.

Transport infrastructure and accessibility. This theme has a very strong impact on the functioning of spatial planning and territorial governance systems. Key issues are:

- in countries being main beneficiaries of Cohesion Policy, a large part of transport investments gets support of the ESIF. Cohesion Policy then overlaps with transport policy

but spatial planning has often proved to be unprepared to effectively deal with such a significant availability of investments and related projects;

- the impact of Cohesion Policy on transport infrastructure development is clearly large in Poland and Hungary and – considering the difference between the national and the regional scale – also in parts of Ireland;
- the role of Cohesion Policy decreases while transferring from national and regional towards the local scale;
- in EU12 countries, the closing of some planning services and departments (particularly in the 1990s under the slogan of ‘breaking with a centrally planned economy’) severely constrained proper planning guidance of transport investments. Some re-establishment is taking place, particularly after 2004;
- comparing the case study regions, the distribution of competences in relation to the construction and maintenance of transport infrastructure shows highly different patterns that affect the transferability of good practices.

Generally, the impact of Cohesion Policy on transport network development and accessibility can be evaluated positively, in particular at the macro-scale. In eastern European countries funds have been made available for numerous projects leading to increased levels of accessibility of cities and regions. However, project implementation is sometimes slowed down by inertia in the policy system. There are examples of specific organisational and legal measures to ensure an effective and efficient spending of the EU funds. For instance, in Poland it would be almost impossible to accelerate the investment process without the help of special acts (e.g. on road, rail and airport construction) due to spatial planning procedures which could hold back investment decisions for many years due to objections at local levels.

Particularly in central-eastern European consultation and mediation procedures have been put in place which can be regarded as a significant, positive impact of Cohesion Policy on the process of spatial planning. Nevertheless, a significant constraint for the implementation of transport projects (particularly in public transport) is caused by a lack of cooperation between municipalities within a metropolitan area or within a functionally integrated area around medium sized cities. In this respect a tool like integrated territorial investment (ITI) clearly stimulates cooperation in such areas.

Although new transport infrastructure has often a positive influence on accessibility there are also potential negative aspects which often contribute to opposition from civil society and NGOs and slows down cooperation with and between local administrations. They may stimulate suburbanisation by an oversupply of infrastructure beyond the existing urban fabric; or increase pressure on the environment producing the fragmentation of valuable ecosystems, ecological corridors and landscapes. EU funds may divert government spending to large transnational transport infrastructure, while regional and local level connections remain not fully integrated within the TEN-T network.

Natural and cultural heritage. The management of natural and cultural heritage generally poses a number of difficulties:

- in practice these two policy fields are often separated from each other, competences are distributed over different territorial and sectoral units and legal regulations are different and usually dispersed;
- in cross-border areas there are usually different protection and development policies at both sides of the border which may lead to a lack of well-coordinated policies and projects.

Spatial planning and territorial governance form the policy domain which seeks to mitigate and overcome such inconsistencies and incongruities. The actual capacity to do so through regulative measures or policy strategies is highly dependent on whether integration is undertaken at the national, regional or local level. The latter two levels seem the most appropriate levels for practical policy integration while the integration of legislative frameworks is mostly in the hands of national governments.

Spatial planning and territorial governance are often confronted with programmes and projects which aim to improve accessibility. The majority of spatial conflicts is generated by transport investments that cut through valuable ecosystems and ecological corridors. Also plans to build or expand accommodation for recreation and tourism areas often conflict with the protection of heritage.

Cohesion Policy aims to support actions in favour of protection of natural and cultural heritage, as well as joining up these issues and making use of them through sustainable development. In principle, Cohesion Policy supports local development in areas characterized by high environmental, landscape and cultural heritage values. However, analysis of the situation in the Podlaskie region (Poland) and in Baranya (Hungary) indicates that the assistance measures for the protection of natural and cultural heritage within the framework of Cohesion Policy are not systemic – an essential part of operational programmes and projects – but rather isolated and dispersed in character. Also, spatial coordination is lacking. This problem also concerns agri-environmental programmes. Particularly important are a lack of integration between operational programmes and instruments of spatial planning and territorial governance as well as with protective regimes for certain areas. For instance, in Poland a particular example is formed by Natura 2000 areas which are not always well integrated in municipal policies and plans.

6.4 Selection of good practices

Good practices were identified in the case study regions, showing the extent to which territorial governance/spatial planning supports the implementation of operational programmes as well as individual projects and vice versa. The good practices were selected on their relevance to one of the following issues:

- spatial planning structure: introduction of new laws and regulations influencing spatial planning, administrative reform and introduction of new planning levels, introduction of new government bodies, and shift of competences from one body to another;
- spatial planning instruments: new plans at any planning level, monitoring procedures, environmental assessment procedures, and change of the role of existing instruments;

- spatial planning issues and contents: especially the introduction of EU priority issues in planning like energy, and territorial cohesion, polycentrism; and
- spatial planning practice: changes in the practice as the introduction of new modes of coordination or communication between levels and/or agencies at the same level, between public and private, increasing the importance of participation/consultation.

In most of the cases, it was hardly possible to reveal practices of direct cross-fertilisation of Cohesion Policy with spatial planning/territorial governance. At the same time, good practices were identified, associated with spatial planning which facilitate the effective implementation of projects pursued under Cohesion Policy (e.g. monitoring territorial processes). They can be defined as the examples of good preparation of the planning system for external intervention. Other good practices reveal projects that turned out to be successful, whose accomplishment would not have been possible without the favourable institutional planning environment. The presented practices are therefore additional demonstration of a close correlation between the accomplishment of Cohesion Policy goals and systems as well as practice of planning and territorial governance. To a limited degree, they confirm the existence of direct cross-fertilisation. Eleven good practices were identified, some of which covered several thematic issues (see Table 6.5).

Table 6.6 gives a broader description of four selected examples, considered as the most adequate in terms of the specified criteria, and the most useful to draw recommendations for the future development of Cohesion Policy. They all involve the successful performance of new planning instruments and planning practices, whose establishment was enabled by Cohesion Policy. Additional examples of good practices, and the rationale for the selection of these four examples are presented in the case study summary report in Volume 6.

Table 6.5 Cross-fertilisation: Good practices identified in case studies regions

No	Case study regions	Good practice
1	Sweden	<p>Encouraging integrated development in cities: the example of Inner Harbour in Norrköpin.</p> <p>This practice shows how EU policy through the Interreg programme contributes to the development of new spatial planning instruments, and enhanced citizen participation and communication between public and private sectors.</p>
2	Sweden	<p>Managing and connecting ecological, landscape and cultural values of regions in the Östergötland Archipelago</p> <p>This practice is a combination of utilising different regional and spatial planning instruments to coordinate different policy fields, and to use EU programmes to explore innovative ways of addressing specific problems of spatial and territorial planning.</p>
3	Spain-France	<p>Cross-border strategic planning in the Euroregion Aquitania-Navarra-Euskadi</p> <p>This strategy is a new instrument for strategic planning, that allows for the involvement of a large array of stakeholders and multi-level approach to development issues.</p>
4	Spain-France	<p>Intelligent Territorial Monitoring in Navarra</p>

		A successful example of introducing a territorial perspective in regional policies, through the recommendations of the European Territorial Agenda 2020 and adding relevant territorial goals.
5	Spain-France	Pyrenean Climate Change Observatory Example of an Interreg programme's input for new forms of monitoring and relevant analytical work, as well as for a cross-border perspective in territorial monitoring.
6	Poland	Regional Territorial Investment: Mazovian rail/road transfer node in Siedlce A new instrument of a territorial approach to the region development through regional cooperation.
7	Poland	Managing tourist products at The Augustowski Channel An example of consistent implementation of a coherent vision for the cross-border development and revitalization, in cooperation with units at local and provincial level, bottom-up initiatives, and inter-institutional cooperation between two countries.
8	Hungary	Spatial planning at the level of the Budapest agglomeration The implementation of the instrument gives an example of a wide and stable cooperation and may serve as role model for later cooperation at the agglomeration level.
9	Hungary	Cross-border transport system A good example of joint, inter-institutional venture aiming to provide cross border transport for local inhabitants.
10	Ireland	Dublin Airport Terminal 2 expansion ('T2') The example illustrates a spatial planning practice in terms of complexity of delivering capital investment and negotiating large scale projects, facilitating stakeholder consultation, public participation and compliance with national and EU environmental impact and planning legislation.
11	Ireland	Ferbane Development Plan in Offaly Inclusive partnerships as part of good governance. An example of new modes of coordination or communication between local levels, public and private, and increasing importance of participation.

Table 6.6 Prime examples of good practices of cross-fertilisation

No	Prime examples of good practices
1	<p>Case study: Poland, Mazowieckie Region</p> <p>Name: Regional Territorial Investment: Mazovian rail/road transfer node in Siedlce</p> <p>The Regional Territorial Investment (RTI) is a new instrument of territorial approach to regional development. RTI aims to inspire local governments to jointly implement a series of investments, creating a functionally coherent project. The planned operations are implemented by either local governments or partnerships formed to tackle common challenges; with the requirement of enacting a collaborative vision of development.</p> <p>The 'Integrated Multifunction Passenger Exchange Node' in Siedlce includes the expansion of the telecommunications infrastructure in the vicinity of the existing railway station in Siedlce; the construction of a bus interchange centre; the modernization of the telecommunications system in the adjacent districts; and the establishment of the transfer centre.</p> <p>The successful introduction of an RTI in the Mazowieckie Voivodeship was based, among others, on the good level of cooperation between the partner cities and on the strong relationship between the project design and the strategic planning documents.</p> <p>The RTI mechanism is supposed to inspire local governments to jointly implement a</p>

	<p>number of investments that together will create a systemically (functionally) coherent project. Given example proves that under certain conditions available incentives strongly enhance cooperation between local actors.</p>
2	<p>Case study: Ireland, Eastern Midland Region Name: Ferbane Development Plan, Offaly</p> <p>The main function of LEADER has been the facilitation of community-based planning and development of a 'place based' approach. The good practice presents an example of new modes of coordination, communication and participation between local levels (public and private), achieved with the use of LEADER programme funding.</p> <p>After terminating the main employer of Ferbane (the Turf Board), funding through the LEADER programme set the scene for a Local Action Group called 'West Offaly Partnership' and establishing 'Ferbane Development Plan 2001' to support community and economic development in the area. The LEADER delivery mechanism, by a partnership of voluntary – state – private sector, facilitated linking the real community needs, the economic situation and the planning legislation. The results of the Plan include the strengthening of the local community, as well as developing the enterprise centre; a child care facility; a community centre; a community school; and a bus service.</p> <p>In the making of the Ferbane Community Plan there was a strong collaboration i.e. between the officials, community groups and the Electricity Supply Board; including the involvement of an external expert. Furthermore, significant emphasis was placed on the participation process.</p> <p>Presented practice of inclusive partnerships gives an example of good governance. Its effectiveness in Ferbane comprises a significant impact on the tourism infrastructure, agricultural communities and craft food industry. Example shows that supporting rural and peripheral communities may help to maintain viable populations.</p>
3	<p>Case study: Spain-France, Navarra Region Name: Intelligent Territorial Monitoring in Navarra</p> <p>The Territorial Monitoring System is an example of linking objectives for territorial development with concrete proposals on sectoral and territorial policy, taking into account the relationship with on-going projects and the cross-border situation.</p> <p>The 'Territorial Strategy for Navarre 2025' (TSN), formulated in 2005, establishes six major socioeconomic and territorial development objectives (competitiveness, social cohesion, environmental conservation, polycentrism, accessibility, natural and cultural heritage), in line with European strategies, namely Europe 2020 and the Territorial Agenda of the European Union 2020. The comprehensive monitoring and evaluation system aims to evaluate the territorial development of the region in the dimensions proposed by the TSN, as well as the degree of implementation of strategic options and of its model of territorial development.</p> <p>Territorial monitoring supports the implementation of sectoral policies, and thus, of ESIF Operational Programmes in Navarre, i.e. ERDF Programme, ESF Programme and EAFRD Programme. Also, some elements of the territorial monitoring are used within the RIS 3 Smart Specialization Strategy of Navarre. Moreover, Territorial Observatory regularly participate in EU projects (e.g. Interreg, LIFE, ESPON etc.) in order to exchange experiences and to generate relevant knowledge.</p> <p>The whole monitoring process reflects a process of comprehensive and intelligent territorial evaluation. This facilitates an effective 'territorial evaluation' and the definition of recommendation concerning sectoral policies, current policy strategies and programmes as well as of new projects.</p>
4	<p>Case study: Sweden, Östergötland Region Name: Encouraging integrated development in cities: the example of Inner Harbour in Norrköpin.</p> <p>The Inner Harbour project is a pilot test site in the Interreg project Baltic Urban Lab, which aims to develop and test a variety of new methods to support public-private-people partnerships in brownfield development.</p> <p>The municipality of Norrköping, a medium sized city in the region of Östergötland, is aiming to develop its inner harbour area close to the railway station into an attractive urban neighbourhood and increase its transport accessibility. This brown field urban</p>

	<p>redevelopment project requires remediation of the contaminated soil in the area. A new tool, established with the use of Interreg project funding, that enables 3D visualisations of below ground level is developed that makes underground pollution visible.</p> <p>Testing of the tool gave good results with over 400 participants representing wider demographic coverage than usual. The new tool can in similar manner be used in planning and decision-making process as a platform for communication between different stakeholders (citizens, planners, developers, politicians).</p> <p>The example shows soundness of developing new spatial planning instruments, facilitating new spatial planning practices, including innovative possibilities for enhanced citizen participation and communication between public and private actions.</p>
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In summary, the good practices aim to overcome barriers in the effective implementation of programmes and projects supported by the Cohesion Policy. They indicate the need to search for new instruments (to modify and innovate the use of existing ones), facilitating cooperation between territorial units (such as RTI), public and private entities (such as PPP) and between different stakeholders operating in a given area. In addition, they highlight the key role of information (monitoring), as well as support for small units and local groups in proper planning and identification of objectives based on a place-based approach. Some of the collected examples also gives an example of reducing the institutional barriers that exist in individual member states and in the cross-border arrangements.

6.5 Conclusion

Analysis of case studies and good practices provides a more precise identification of problems at the interface between Cohesion Policy and national planning systems and formulating recommendations (further details are given in Volume 6). A key conclusion is that more emphasis needs to be placed on the functional diversification of regions, territorial complexity and complementarity of interventions. In addition, clear guidelines need to be developed for the rational allocation of EU funds and the evaluation of real needs strengthening the strategic dimension of spatial planning, as well as integration of economic development policies and spatial planning. There is also a need for a mechanism encouraging bottom-up cooperation and cooperation between neighbouring spatial units. Adoption of the thematic development programmes and integrated regional investments can be assessed as a good example for a bottom-up approach. Areas valuable from the point of view of natural or cultural heritage could be the addressees as a specific part of the Cohesion Policy support.

Various policy areas can also prove useful in influencing polycentric development. Above all, integration of transport policy with spatial planning systems needs to be strengthened. Use of innovative communication tools can enhance the involvement of citizens and stakeholders in the planning process.

In the case of lagging regions, it is possible to observe a strong need for a change of approach to a systemic one. In peripheral areas it is important for instruments and procedures in spatial planning to be simplified, in order to increase flexibility as development processes are stimulated. The Ireland case study showed the importance and effectiveness of the

LEADER programmes in supporting rural communities. It is important to utilize EGTC and other cross-border entities as knowledge-pool and soft-cooperation facilitators. Under Cohesion Policy, support needs to be forthcoming for instruments and projects providing the basis for spatial planning in the cross-border dimension. However, areas affected by ongoing spatial processes in a neighbouring country may require greater and more diverse support and cross-country coordination than the current funds offer.

7. Conclusions and Recommendations

7.1 Conclusions

The COMPASS project has asked 'what changes in territorial governance and spatial planning systems and policies can be observed' since 2000, and can they 'be attributed to the influence of macro-level EU directives and policies?' 'How can spatial and territorial development policy be better reflected in sectoral policies at the EU level?'

In sum, we have found that systems of spatial planning and territorial governance in Europe are well established and maintained. There is a huge amount of energy expended on 'planning' as demonstrated by the multiple types of plans at all levels. These tools are used to pursue a common objective to steer spatial development to achieve a wide range of economic, environmental and social objectives. They increasingly engage with citizens in that task. We have found that 'plans' are usually multifunctional, dealing with a combination of visionary, strategic, policy and regulation tasks.

Awareness of the potential of more integrated place-based approaches to sectoral policy making is increasing and spatial planning is playing a role in making this happen in many countries. This is especially so in joining up land use with transport and environmental policy. Spatial planning is much less concerned with policy sectors such as retail, health and education. Increasingly important sector policies such as energy, waste and ICT are not generally well connected with spatial planning. Regarding Cohesion Policy specifically, there are clearly multidirectional relationships with territorial development, spatial planning and territorial governance. EU-funded projects have a significant impact on physical development especially in eastern European countries where there are big investments in infrastructure. But the spatial impacts of EU-funded projects do not necessarily follow the priorities of the local policies of spatial planning. Whilst experiences vary, it is reasonable to conclude that whilst Cohesion Policy may well help in the implementation of spatial planning policy and vice versa, the relationship is often coincidental.

Spatial planning instruments and their policies are too often detached from Cohesion Policy and other (EU) sector policies. Mainstream spatial planning systems are not steering Cohesion Policy investments but come into play mostly in the regulation stage. In particular, planning systems in eastern European countries were not well-prepared to deal with the spatial and environmental impacts of the large number of EU-funded projects. National and sub-national actors are addressing this inconsistency and novel mechanisms are being used to improve joining up. Whilst it is possible for projects to realise both the investment priorities of Cohesion Policy and spatial planning policies, it is clear that more concerted action is needed to effectively use the capacity of planning systems to gain added value in the design and implementation of projects.

There have been many multifaceted reforms of spatial planning, and more is underway. The structure of planning instruments and procedures in most places is under constant revision, mostly concerned with simplification to reduce 'the burden' of regulation. There is a tendency towards decentralisation of competences for planning. There is innovation in planning for functional regions. Cooperation across administrative boundaries is very common, much of which is for administrative convenience but it seems increasingly linked to more strategic and joined-up approaches for policy making for spatial development. Reforms have also been made to strengthen implementation, and 'regularize' development; to facilitate value capture from development and to adapt to digital technology. The effects of such reforms have not been evaluated in this project, but they tend to be incremental with few radical changes. The fundamentals of planning remain broadly the same as they were 20 years ago.

However, the direction of change through reform is very positive. We note in particular a strong move towards increasing transparency and citizen engagement in the planning process; improved sectoral policy coordination; and formulation of planning instruments that are adaptable, less rigid and robust in the face of uncertainty, and able to adapt to changing circumstances. These favourable trends need to be balanced with more difficult findings on the influence of plans in the reality of spatial development. This is a difficult question to address which raises many further questions. Having said that, it seems clear that in only about a third of countries is spatial planning really steering development. In about one third of countries, planning is having very limited or even no influence. This is perhaps to be expected given the turbulent and critically weak conditions for investment in some countries from 2007.

The EU has played a part in the evolution of spatial planning systems since 2000, but this is mostly because of formal requirements and there is not much evidence of deep mutual learning in multi-level governance. Unsurprisingly, the EU exerts most influence on domestic systems of territorial governance and spatial planning through legislation, especially in environment and energy. The impact of EU policies is more varied. Cohesion Policy is influential, but mostly restricted to places that are more dependent on the funding. What was not anticipated is the relatively low impact of EU discourse. Documents that have an explicit territorial focus, notably the EU Territorial Agenda are not influential in mainstream spatial planning. Similarly, despite its value in other ways, European territorial cooperation (Interreg) is not having a notable influence on domestic mainstream spatial planning and territorial governance. The uploading of ideas from experience of domestic spatial planning into EU policy making is very limited, though more apparent for the EU15 and increasing for the new member states.

Territorial governance and spatial planning systems in Europe are diverse. Their characteristics reflect the differences in planning traditions in Europe arising from their administrative, legal and cultural roots. On the one hand, this means that there is no one-size-fits-all solution to territorial governance and spatial planning in Europe. On the other hand, the diversity of territorial governance and spatial planning systems needs to be better recognised

by EU and national decision makers. Raising awareness of the value of considering the particularities of places could contribute to better policy integration and place-sensitive policy making.

7.2 Policy recommendations for empowering territorial governance and spatial planning

This section presents recommendations for policy makers that address the questions of the Terms of Reference on ‘the role of spatial planning in shaping future Cohesion Policy and how national spatial and territorial development policy perspectives could be better reflected in Cohesion Policy’. They provide insights on what practitioners and decision-makers at all levels can do to increase the strategic fit between spatial planning, territorial governance and Cohesion Policy. In the next section we present recommendations on further research in this field and starting points for establishing a framework for ‘dynamic analysis’ to monitor changes and adaptations in systems of territorial governance and spatial planning.

The recommendations for policy makers are presented in five key pointers that have been developed based on the research evidence presented in this report and additional volumes; internal discussions and feedback within the project consortium; the outcome of a one-day workshop with policy makers and planning practitioners in Brussels (March 2018); and reflections from the Monitoring Committee and the Project Support Team. Each recommendation is followed by more concrete pointers for specific levels of governance.

7.2.1 Strengthen the strategic and visionary dimension of spatial planning and territorial governance

The analysis has revealed that many planning instruments have a strategic as well as a regulatory dimension, and that this is increasing. Strategy and visioning are especially valuable for coordination across sectors of government and between private and public interests. A strategic approach will address the longer-term transformation and development of territories, as do regional and cohesion policies. A strong strategic and visioning approach in spatial planning and governance can influence sectoral policy making at the stage of policy formulation, that is in the early stage of the policy cycle. The strategic approach can join up and inject the place-based approach if it formulates its territorial concerns in a way that addresses the objectives of other sectors and which suits the formulation of sectoral policies.

Thus, the trend towards strategic approaches should be encouraged and reinforced, so as to enable planning systems to more effectively engage with sectoral policies at the EU level. This does not replace the importance of the regulatory dimension of spatial planning, but this comes later in the policy cycle, during policy implementation. If spatial planning is concentrated too much on the regulative role, it runs the risk of failing to be able to join up with sectoral policies – to be by-passed – and left with only the task of delivering development rights in accordance with other sectoral policies. It is important to value and to empower the strategic and visioning functions of spatial planning and territorial governance, at all levels, so

that spatial planning can meet (EU and national) sectoral policies on a level playing field. This will entail an increase in institutional capacity to facilitate dialogue with other sectoral policies in the early phases of their respective policy cycles. More specific pointers are:

- **ESPON – promote the use of tool kits at all levels:** The tool kits developed by ESPON offer a wide range of resources to support the strategic dimension of spatial planning from the local to the international level. Yet, the potential is not exploited at all levels. The tools could be better promoted especially towards planning practitioners at local and regional level, where the regulatory character of spatial planning instruments is most dominant.
- **EU level – develop an EU level narrative as a framework for strategic planning:** A narrative explaining the meaning of ‘one Europe today’ – and its territorial dimension – would provide an essential context for a stronger visionary and strategic orientation in spatial planning. Such a narrative would bring together various existing initiatives such as the Urban and Territorial Agendas, and EU sectoral policies in a collaborative approach. Furthermore, it could be linked to the on-going debate about the future of Europe launched by the European Commission and thereby strengthen the territorial dimension of the Juncker scenarios, for example. Inspiration can be taken from the ESDP which – at least in planning circles – has been relatively influential as explained in chapter 5.
- **National and sub-national levels – develop a narrative as framework for strategic planning:** The EU-driven narrative on Europe – and its territorial dimension – should be brought together with domestic (sub)national and local concerns. National ministries and responsible authorities should therefore promote the idea of complementary narratives and visions. To develop a strong strategic dimension, they should ensure that the national process (a) involves policy makers and planning practitioners from the ground, (b) is supplemented by local and regional initiatives and (c) aims at both developing the vision and actions for implementation at different levels.
- **Local level – make the most of the regulatory function of spatial planning:** The regulatory dimension of spatial planning remains important because of its impact on actual territorial developments and land use. Therefore, it is important to ensure a strong link between visions, strategies and regulation, e.g. through planning instruments of framework character, so that development rights are used to achieve visions and strategic objectives, including those of Cohesion Policy, but not at the cost of well thought out planning strategies.
- **All levels – strengthen the critical monitoring of developments:** Alongside the strengthening of the visioning and strategic dimensions of spatial planning, there is a critical role of monitoring spatial development and its relation to strategies and narratives, particularly by assessing and raising awareness of the territorial impacts of non-spatial policies. Planning policies should critically monitor developments and report regularly about the territorial consequences. For this, indicators and tools are needed, such as territorial impact assessment. Such tools should be further promoted among, and further developed with planning practitioners.

7.2.2 Strengthen the integration of sectoral policies

The diversity of policy sectors that need to be taken into consideration and the influence of sectoral policies on spatial planning have increased since 2000, led in part by EU interventions. This leads to increasing complexity of the requirements to be met by spatial

planning and territorial governance. Therefore, we recommend that the efforts of strategy-making and policy integration should be concentrated in policy fields with high influence on territorial development such as environment, energy and transport. Here the highest potential exists to develop synergies at the level of policy formulations and implementation. More specific pointers are:

- **EU level – for their own good, sectoral policies need to take spatial planning seriously:** Territorial governance and spatial planning players have to work on their capacities to meet other EU policies on a level playing field. At the same time, EU policies need to address the requirements of spatial planning more seriously. Indeed, territorial governance and spatial planning have a lot on offer which might help sectoral policies to increase their consistency and acceptance among citizens. As shown in chapter 3, planning procedures entail extensive engagement with citizens on many topics such as environmental, economic and social concerns. Spatial planning and territorial governance offer closer contact with citizens, participatory processes, increased democratic legitimacy, and long-standing experience and tested approaches to balance conflicting objectives, for example, with regard to environmental, economic or social concerns.
- **EU level – support capacity building through staff mobility programmes:** There is a need to increase the administrative capacity required for better policy integration across Europe and at all levels of governance. Given the wide range in capacities of spatial planning across countries and regions it would be valuable for the EU level to facilitate learning through staff exchange between public spatial planning authorities at different levels of governance and in different policy sectors (not just between member states but also with neighbouring non-EU countries and within member states). This initiative could be linked to TAIEX, the Technical Assistance and Information Exchange instrument of the European Commission, a new Erasmus initiative for civil servants, or integrated in territorial cooperation programmes.
- **National level – strengthen national exchange arenas:** More support for dialogue platforms and capacity building through national exchange arenas would also be valuable. They could bring together planning practitioners with sectoral policy staff to explore and raise awareness of the territorial dimension of policy making and establish better coordination. National ministries, regional and/or local stakeholders could initiate projects, for example through ESPON's targeted analyses, that bring together various stakeholders in case study regions and work on regional or local challenges in functional areas.
- **National and sub-national levels – strengthen the use of territorial impact assessments:** Tools like territorial impact assessment can help practitioners better assess the territorial impact of sectoral policies. More activities to raise awareness, promote and possibly also adjust these tools to relevant (national or sub-national) conditions could assist better integration of policies. This might also include the training of relevant players, which should address not only the usual suspects in the planning communities but also attract policy makers from various sectoral policies so that they can contribute with their detailed expert knowledge. Similarly, spatial planning instruments should also be tested whether and in how far they deliver on objectives of sectoral policies, and what needs to be improved so that they better contribute to formulating and implementing sectoral policies.
- **Sub-national and local levels – empower spatial planning players:** The standing of territorial governance and spatial planning players at local and sub-national level

varies across Europe. However, in many cases the focus is on land use planning and regulatory issues with limited capacity to engage early on in policy cycles of other sectoral policies (in particular at higher administrative levels). Capacity building measures to empower officers and spatial planners to engage in policy development processes of various sectoral policies and EU Cohesion Policy would be helpful. This can include training measures to gain in-depth knowledge of the concerns and priorities of sectoral policies. In the context of cross-border development or sectoral policies with a high level of European integration it can also refer to complementary knowledge about planning and sectoral policy systems in neighbouring countries or at the EU level.

7.2.3 Enhance functional areas and territorial cooperation

Cooperation in functional planning regions is becoming more popular, but it is not an end in itself. In whatever way it is organised, it should be needs-based and flexible, and not establish new rigid structures. However, to address the many interconnections in territorial development it is increasingly recognised that spatial planning must work across administrative boundaries. This is (territorial) cooperation that is based on soft or flexible geographies or functional areas which also brings together stakeholders from relevant sectoral policies and administrative levels. Territorial cooperation has a long history in EU policy in terms of projects crossing national borders, but this report finds that it has not had the impact on domestic spatial planning that might have been expected. Efforts to promote territorial cooperation should be redoubled to ensure that it has a lasting impact on domestic spatial planning processes. This must recognise that important functional relationships exist in many forms: in city networks and clusters of neighbouring municipalities, in larger functional areas including rural, urban, rural-urban areas, as well as in classical cross-border or transnational regions. More concrete pointers for policies are:

- **EU regional and urban policies – strengthen approaches to needs-based functional cooperation:** In many cases local and regional players could benefit from an EU policy framework which encourages them to consider inter-municipal cooperation around existing planning instruments and not additional ones. EU policies in the field of regional and urban development (but also in other policy areas such as maritime, environment, or transport) should provide a framework for functional cooperation stimulating discussions about needs-based functional areas, their characteristics and delineation. Such policy approaches could also be complemented with platforms for exchange and mutual learning about functional areas. This could, for example, be a special category on inter-municipal cooperation under RegioStars.^{ix}
- **ESIF regulations and programmes – mainstream territorial cooperation and make it mandatory:** Within ESIF regulations cooperative planning in functional areas could be supported by making territorial cooperation on functional areas a mandatory element of every regional and national funding programme, again relating to existing planning instruments. Every ESIF programme should include considerations and

^{ix} See http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/de/regio-stars-awards/

proposals on functional geographies within the programme area to be developed in concrete projects as national and/or regional investment initiatives.

- **ESIF regulations – strengthen European territorial cooperation (Interreg):** While expanding territorial cooperation into national and regional ESIF programmes, also Interreg should also be strengthened. As has been shown by various ESPON studies producing territorial evidence for Structural Funds programmes and confirmed in this study, territorial cooperation is important to territorial development but has only limited impact on domestic spatial planning. Since the first Interreg programme in 1989, the focus has shifted away from integrated territorial development and become more focused on cooperation in different sectoral policies. European territorial cooperation programmes nevertheless bring an added value by providing platforms for exchanging experience and knowledge, learning about other planning systems and tools, and developing new innovative planning approaches. In short, the Interreg approach is important for capacity building and integration at the level of functional regions in the field of spatial planning and territorial governance. Still, the relevance territorial cooperation has for spatial planning and interlinkages with planning practitioners should be further strengthened, for example, by fewer sectoral investment priorities and thematic objectives.
- **National spatial planning – provide a framework and incentives for functional cooperation:** This can include a specific national policy for functional areas (e.g. metropolitan regions or functional rural regions) or national planning frameworks emphasising the need for inter-municipal cooperation for effective spatial planning and development. Incentives can include specific funding programmes for inter-municipal cooperation, as well as showcasing of examples or exchange of experience platforms for inter-municipal cooperation. This may not only concern cooperation of municipalities within the own countries, but also cooperation with municipalities in neighbouring countries, if they are part of a functional area.
- **Functional area cooperative planning – strengthen the focus on functional cooperation:** Also, at local and regional level, planning practitioners could promote the idea of functional cooperation and cooperative planning where there are gains in efficiency or effectiveness, that is focused on need as identified for the ESPON Territorial Review.⁸⁴ Spatial planners could be the drivers behind cooperative planning, bring together key persons to identify the most relevant topic, describe the function as the core of cooperative planning, work on the delineation of the functional area and ensure that all relevant players are brought on board. Most importantly they need to develop a strong narrative about the cooperation, its needs and processes in a participatory approach.
- **Local spatial planning – strengthen engagement in functional cooperation:** Engaging in needs-based functional cooperation and cooperative planning where there are gains in efficiency or effectiveness, is important for meeting territorial development challenges. Therefore, spatial planners must appreciate the added value and convey the message to local decision makers why a certain challenge can be tackled better by means of functional cooperation, despite the costs and political contexts. Hence, it is especially important to ensure strong political backing of the cooperation among local politicians.

7.2.4 Encourage practitioners to use Cohesion Policy as a planning tool at the programme level

Spatial planning and territorial governance tend to be viewed from the Cohesion Policy perspective as implementation steps for certain actions funded, focusing on the regulatory dimension of planning. It is time to turn the tables. Indeed, spatial planning and territorial governance offer a visionary and strategic view on the territory which should support ESIF programmes to make better informed investment decisions. ESIF programmes become increasingly weaker in the SWOT analysis of the programme area and the visionary and strategic view on how to develop the programme area. In many cases spatial planning could fill the gap and help policy instruments and funds play together. In that sense, spatial planning and territorial governance hold the key to making ESIF investments more effective.

As well as guiding ESIF programmes, territorial governance and spatial planning could more regularly employ a number of specific instruments. Cohesion Policy does not only provide financial support but offers a wide range of tools to support territorial governance and spatial planning at regional and local levels, including tools for policy integration and territorial cooperation. Instruments such as Community-Led Local Development (CLLD), LEADER, integrated territorial investments (ITI) and European groupings of territorial cooperation (EGTC) are still underused in the field of spatial planning and territorial governance. This potential of Cohesion Policy as a planning tool could be better exploited at all levels. More specific pointers are:

- **ESIF regulations and programmes – strengthen the territorial dimension of Cohesion Policy programmes:** EU Cohesion Policy offers the potential to develop and test initiatives that consider local and regional preconditions, and therefore promote place-based policy development and acknowledge the European diversity of regions and cities. Making better use of existing features, ESIF programmes can further strengthen their territorial dimension.
 - **SWOT analysis and programme strategy.** Post-2020 ESIF regulations are expected to be lighter on the development of (a) partnership agreements covering all ESIF in a country, (b) the SWOT analysis in the operational programmes and (c) the development of the detailed strategy in the operational programmes. Still for effective and efficient investments of public money and a concerted action towards the (territorial) development of the programme areas, these elements play an important role. Visionary and strategic spatial planning can help to close the gap and offer member states and programme bodies an analysis of the programmes, a strategic view on how the programme area could develop and how different funding mechanisms can contribute.
 - **Place-relevant programme objectives.** A stronger relationship between priorities and measures of an operational programme and local and regional planning documents and instruments could help to strengthen the territorial dimension of ESIF.
 - **Territorial impact assessment of programmes.** Assessing the territorial impact as part of the ex-ante evaluation of a programme could help to anticipate future implications of funding decisions. Tools like the territorial impact assessment developed by ESPON or a 'spatial planning test' for programmes and projects

could be used to guide the decision-making process or to define the focus of the programme, both during programme preparation and in implementation.

- **Technical Assistance and exchange of experience on territorial European ‘tools’.** ESIF and also other EU policies offer various ‘tools’ supporting place-based development. Mutual learning about how to best use these tools would help to promote the territorial dimension of ESIF and other policies. Initiatives similar to the European Investment Bank (EIB)’s *fi-compass* on supporting ESIF financial instruments could be considered focusing on CLLD, LEADER, ITI, urban earmarking (Art. 7) and EGTC in the context of local and regional spatial planning.
- **Higher co-funding rate for place-based actions.** Besides making integrated tools mandatory or obliging programmes to allocate a minimum share of the budget to use such tools, financial and other incentives can be put in place, for example, through higher co-funding rates if certain criteria are fulfilled such as participatory processes, bottom-up development and involvement of various sectors. In this regard, Cohesion Policy could be used as a tool to promote more strategic spatial planning approaches.
- **Bringing on board local and regional planning bodies.** Especially for economically lagging regions it is challenging to administer large ESIF allocations without marginalising spatial planning concerns. Consequently, initiatives and tools encouraging the engagement of local and regional planning bodies in the debate and implementation of Cohesion Policy could be strengthened. This could involve the idea of platforms promoting across Europe tools like CLLD, LEADER, ITI and EGTC to local and regional (planning) practitioners.
- **National spatial planning – empower planning to use Cohesion Policy:** To allow for a better interplay between spatial planning and regional and cohesion policies and enable spatial planning to influence (or even inspire) regional and Cohesion Policy, we have argued that the trend towards a more strategic dimension of spatial planning needs to be strengthened. Future-oriented tools like territorial foresight (as developed by ESPON) can help spatial planners to develop a stronger visionary and strategic dimension.
- **NTCCP – linking a possible future Territorial Agenda closer to Cohesion Policy:** The approach presented above – seeing Cohesion Policy as one of many tools to be employed by spatial planning – can be extended to spatial planning for Europe. Accordingly, it would make sense to link a possible future Territorial Agenda both in timing and governance processes closer to Cohesion Policy, allowing for mutual benefits. It is important that the Territorial Agenda follows the same rhythm as Cohesion Policy programme periods and has its key messages and arguments ready in due time to enter a dialogue concerning the European regulatory framework and the development and formulation of operational programmes. Furthermore, there could be also a dialogue about which implementation actions of a future Territorial Agenda could be co-financed by Cohesion Policy.
- **National and sub-national spatial planning – increase adaptability of planning instruments:** Spatial planning instruments and plans are often rather static, even when they do not exert a regulative function, but this report points to increasing interest in more adaptive approaches. To respond to new framework conditions, it is important for spatial planning, especially at wider scales, to produce more flexible and living spatial plans that can be further developed over time more easily and are more responsive to future changes. At the same time, the plans must be more specific in what policies need to be addressed or rigidly enforced, for example for the protection

of critical environmental assets. In this sense, spatial planners need to be more ambitious and bolder, i.e. willing to provoke and stimulate discussions proactively.

- **All levels – strengthen capacity building:** Often practitioners lack experience with (relatively) new instruments and hence do not know how to make best use of them. This lack of knowledge and experience needs to be addressed, especially by engaging practitioners to get more tuned into Cohesion Policy and all facets of ESIF. Capacity building therefore is an important element to make practitioners more familiar with the tools at hand. This also includes sharing knowledge about the added value of the tools and potential synergies with other policies.

7.2.5 Develop a strong Territorial Agenda for Europe post-2020 – and apply it

Although the Territorial Agenda (TA 2020) is widely considered to address relevant topics, the application or implementation is rather weak. This seems mainly due to the poor connection established with the main players in domestic systems of territorial governance and spatial planning (see chapter 5). Even today most of the objectives are generally still considered to be relevant. The main weaknesses are rather seen in the relation to the implicit governance and implementation system. For the Territorial Agenda post-2020 some of the following reflections might help to strengthen its governance and implementation.

- **NTCCP – develop a strong narrative:** A renewed Territorial Agenda should have the ambition to play in the league of a European version of The New Urban Agenda⁸⁵ or the Sustainable Development Goals.⁸⁶ However, to do this the Territorial Agenda needs to identify a new and timely narrative which attracts high level politicians and media. It needs a European forum for spatial planning and should link its narrative to clear targets and overarching key principles which can be monitored through a set of indicators (including by ESPON). To ensure attention by national policy makers, the focus should be on influencing European policies and at the same time be more specific in the objectives so as to reflect local concerns. The ESPON study on a European Territorial Reference Framework will have potential to contribute to such a narrative.
- **NTCCP – focus on co-creation and co-application of the Agenda:** A good narrative will however, not be sufficient. To ensure a large buy-in on the Territorial Agenda, it will be necessary to actively involve a wider range of key players in the creation process. This ranges from representatives of different EU sectoral policies to high level national representatives (also covering different sectors) to regional and local representatives, for example, from major metropolitan areas. This may help to reach more political attention. In any case, it will also make it easier to ask each and everyone involved in the co-creation to take on the application of the Agenda. The partnership approach currently used for the Pact of Amsterdam might be a model to follow. To support the partnerships, they could be mirrored through ESPON's targeted analyses. Implementation partnerships might take the following forms.
 - **Partnership topics:** For every objective of the Territorial Agenda, two or three concrete topics for implementation partnerships could be identified. One example: under the objective of polycentric development, players from several countries (say Romania, Finland and Spain) come together to develop and test policy measures on how to combat the centralisation trends towards the capital region through a functional approach, i.e. rather than approaching territorial

patterns and demographic developments, the focus is on tools strengthening the functional importance of other cities vis-à-vis the capital region.

- **Partners:** The partners coming together in such a partnership involve players from the NTCCP and line ministries relevant for the topic, as well as DG REGIO and other relevant DGs and most importantly also regional and local representatives. Where appropriate also civil society organisations or business can join.
- **Coordination:** Driving the implementation processes and coordinating the various partnerships (including cross-fertilisation and reporting) requires some coordination resources. The coordination or secretariat role could, for example, be taken on by the ESPON EGTC, or run as an Interreg Europe project (with the NTCCP as project owner). The coordination could also be in charge of monitoring the application of the Territorial Agenda.
- **NTCCP – be as visionary and concrete as the ESDP:** The ESDP has left a much stronger mark in spatial planning than the Territorial Agenda (see chapter 5). One reason for this might be that the ESDP was more concrete in its proposal and at the same time more visionary than the Territorial Agenda. Furthermore, it comprised both concrete and soft recommendations. A Territorial Agenda post-2020 which can reproduce this mix of visioning and concrete proposals might reach the same level of influence.
- **NTCCP – strengthen the outgoing dialogue:** In the past there have been some efforts by the Territorial Agenda community to engage in dialogues with sectoral policies at the EU level. This was the case in 2010 during the Belgian and Spanish EU Presidencies. Also, the French EU Presidency in 2008 made ambitious moves in that direction. These efforts should be revisited, and new attempts undertaken to approach sectoral policies which are spatially highly relevant.
- **NTCCP – consider advocating a Council working group:** The organisation of a Working Group under the EU Council could be revisited. The idea of such a working group or even Council meetings on spatial planning or territorial cohesion has been around for more than a decade but not implemented.
- **NTCCP – national homework:** Despite all the focus on activities at the European level, the main effort needs to be made within the Member States. Indeed, the dialogue with various national sectoral policies and the information about the Territorial Agenda to the regional and local level remains an essential pre-condition for the recognition of a future Territorial Agenda. The support of evidence-based practices, in shaping the arguments for a wider application of the Territorial Agenda might support this.
- **All levels – develop incentives for applying the Agenda:** However strong the narrative and buy-in from a wide range of players, a powerful wide application will require incentives. This can in the form of funding, and/or attention or easier access to information and decision-making processes. Which incentives can be provided in what way at national level depends very much on the planning system. One idea might be an annual national award for the best planning document applying Territorial Agenda objectives. Something similar could also be possible at European level – which does not necessarily mean that it needs to be from the European Commission or the European Committee of the Regions. The award could possibly also be organised by a European wide association such as the European Council of Town

Planners ^x, or the Association of European Schools of Planning ^{xi}, or an ESPON or Interreg Europe project. Besides awards, certainly also funding incentives for implementation actions are helpful. At national level, the available instruments differ between countries, at European level ESIF could be envisaged to include thematic objectives fitting the Territorial Agenda.

- **Planning education – prepare the next generation:** Looking towards the future, also the planning education system has some responsibility to increase the awareness and level of knowledge about the Territorial Agenda. It should no longer be possible to obtain a university degree in spatial planning or geography in Europe without having studied and internalised the Territorial Agenda. If the Territorial Agenda is important for a well-planned spatial development of Europe, it should go without saying that it should be discussed in planning education – and resources should be prepared to assist.

7.3 Recommendations for further research and on-going monitoring

Besides policy recommendations, the COMPASS project also sees potential avenues for future research. The following section focuses first on ideas for further research activities complementing the work carried out by ESPON COMPASS, and secondly provides some proposal for the development of a framework for monitoring spatial planning in Europe.

7.3.1 Further research needs

The research carried out for this study provides a wide range of interesting results but also raises new questions which require further research:

- **Widen the geographic coverage of ESPON COMPASS:** To gain a complete understanding of spatial planning in Europe and relations with EU policy, the analysis ought to cover more countries. This includes in particular, EU accession and candidate countries as well as important EU neighbourhood countries. More concretely, the Balkans, Moldavia, Ukraine, Belarus, Turkey, Russia and possibly also Northern African countries could be included.
- **Impact of planning on territorial development:** More research is needed on assessing how spatial planning responds to new (territorial) challenges and the impact on actual territorial development, including effects on the urban structure like fragmentation and suburbanisation. This would need to be evaluated with regard to specific criteria such as efficiency, effectiveness and sustainability.
- **Strategic dimension of spatial planning:** More research on spatial planning tools with a clear visionary and strategic dimension would identify possible pathways and good practices and practical methods to increase the visionary and strategic capacity of spatial planning.
- **Interrelation between spatial planning and territorial governance:** More research is needed to understand how the regulatory side of spatial planning and the visionary and strategic side of territorial governance interact. This would also help to understand when to employ regulatory versus strategic planning tools in the scope of territorial governance aims.

^x <http://www.ectp-ceu.eu/>

^{xi} <https://www.aesop.com/>

- **Interplay between territorial governance / spatial planning and sectoral policies:** This study has shown which sectoral policies take on board planning concerns and which policies are taken on board in planning. However, more research is needed to understand the processes behind this. How is policy integration actually working in specific cases? What mechanisms are most useful in joining up sectoral policies?
- **Territorial cooperation (beyond Interreg):** Research needs to further explore territorial cooperation in functional areas (urban regions, rural regions, cross-border regions, regions with high concentration of natural and/or cultural heritage), including the territorial impacts and governance processes. Here, ESPON has already some on-going studies but they do not cover all cases.
- **Spatial planning for Cohesion Policy:** Research on the linkages and mutual influence of Cohesion Policy and spatial planning addressing specifically successful cases and identifying tools that link spatial planning and Cohesion Policy can be strengthened.
- **Projects on the strategic position:** Projects supporting local and regional players in identifying and developing their strategic position in a wider territorial context are most appreciated by planning practitioners. Such projects should be strengthened as they help policy makers and stakeholders learn more about their territory's embeddedness and relationships with other territories in Europe.
- **European planning glossary:** Planning for Europe is an intercultural activity. But do planning practitioners actually talk about the same thing when they discuss planning issues with practitioners from other countries? What is the common basis (terms, values, concepts) they share? What is the added value of planning? One starting point must be to raise awareness for the terminology used and illustrate differences in languages and national systems as well as to promote a better trans-national and trans-disciplinary understanding. This objective could be achieved by tools for exchange and inspiration, for example, wiki-like platforms, glossaries, and collections of good practices. New initiatives could build on previous experience.

7.3.2 Spatial planning monitoring framework

This study provides a snapshot of the state of play of territorial governance and spatial planning in 2016, and latest development trends. The results show that territorial governance and spatial planning are highly dynamic and change constantly reacting to new developments and needs. Consequently, a regular monitoring of territorial governance and spatial planning is needed.

A framework for dynamic analysis of spatial planning could build on the work carried out in this study and turn it into an interactive web tool which periodically updates information. It would be accessible by country or by type of planning instruments and allow for comparison between countries and planning instruments. The basic features of such a tool could comprise the following elements:

- **Country-by-country web-based inventory or compendium:** The data collected under COMPASS could be further elaborated to provide an updated compendium of spatial planning systems.
- **Planning instruments and players by country:** This section would contain a list and short description and characteristics (following the one developed in this project) of all planning instruments and the main planning bodies in the countries involved. It

could furthermore also include links or files of concrete examples for each planning instrument. This part of the framework would probably need to go through a quick check and updating about once a year to ensure changes in the planning systems are taken on board.

- **Overview and benchmark on trends and changes:** Following the approach developed by this study, this section would provide updates on the latest changes in spatial planning and territorial governance. Each of the changes could be assessed with regard to a number of critical issues. This would allow comparison and benchmarking of spatial planning and territorial governance in the participating countries. Critical issues to be addressed may include (again based on the features used in this study) citizen participation, functional territorial cooperation, links to EU policies or links to other policies. In the same way as for ESPON COMPASS the assessment should contain both quantitative and qualitative information.
- **Exchange platform:** The analysis framework should not be static but allow for interaction between different players, to raise questions, support mutual learning and allow for discussion and exchange between practitioners, policy makers and researchers. For this purpose, an online discussion platform should be part of the tool.
- **European spatial planning day:** An annual event can supplement the online tool for key players in spatial planning and territorial governance to meet, update each other and discuss latest developments and innovations. Such an event could be organised as part of the European Week of Cities and Regions (also known as Open Days) and might even be an occasion for the award for the best planning document applying Territorial Agenda objectives (see section 7.2.5).

List of Annexes

Annex 1: Countries with associated country experts

Annex 2. Spatial planning instruments

Annex 3. Glossary

Annex 4. COMPASS workshop on policy recommendations, Brussels, 20 March 2018

Annex 1: Countries with associated country experts

Table A.1 EU members states and institutions/individuals responsible for the expertise

EU members states	Institutions/individuals responsible for the expertise
Austria	Österreichisches Institut für Raumplanung (ÖIR)
Belgium	OMGEVING sCRL
Bulgaria	Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (NIGGG, BAS)
Croatia	Hungarian Academy of Sciences (RKI)
Cyprus	University of Thessaly (UTH)
Czech Republic	Czech Technical University in Prague (CTU)
Denmark	Nordregio
Estonia	University of Tartu (Utartu)
Finland	Nordregio
France	Anna Geppert
Germany	Research Institute for Regional and Urban Development (ILS)
Greece	Gina Giannakourou
Hungary	Hungarian Academy of Sciences (RKI)
Ireland	University College Dublin (UCD)
Italy	Politecnico di Torino (POLITO)
Latvia	South Bank University
Lithuania	Lithuanian Social Research Centre (LSRC)
Luxemburg	Spatial Foresight
Malta	Architecture Project (AP)
Netherlands	Delft University of Technology (TUD) with Planbureau voor de Leefomgeving
Poland	Polish Academy of Sciences (IGSO PAS)
Portugal	University of Lisbon (CEG-UL)
Romania	Hungarian Academy of Sciences (RKI)
Slovakia	Slovakian Academy of Sciences (GgU SAV)
Slovenia	Institute for Spatial Policies (IPoP)
Spain	MCRIT
Sweden	Nordregio
United Kingdom	Delft University of Technology (TUD)

Table A.2 ESPON partner countries and institution responsible for the expertise

ESPON Partner Countries	Institution responsible for the expertise
Iceland	Nordregio
Liechtenstein	Österreichisches Institut für Raumplanung (ÖIR)
Norway	Nordregio
Switzerland	Politecnico di Torino (POLITO)

Table A.3 Additional countries and institutions responsible for initial feasibility testing

Additional countries	Institutions responsible for initial feasibility testing
Albania	Politecnico di Torino (POLITO)
Bosnia Herzegovina	Politecnico di Torino (POLITO)
Kosovo under UN Security Council Resolution 1244	Politecnico di Torino (POLITO)
FYR Macedonia	University College Dublin (UCD)
Montenegro	University College Dublin (UCD)
Serbia	University College Dublin (UCD)
Turkey	Istanbul Technical University (ITU)

SK	1					1					2					4
UK	0					8				2						10
Total	73	28	42	41	38	72	19	47	45	33	106	12	43	49	80	251

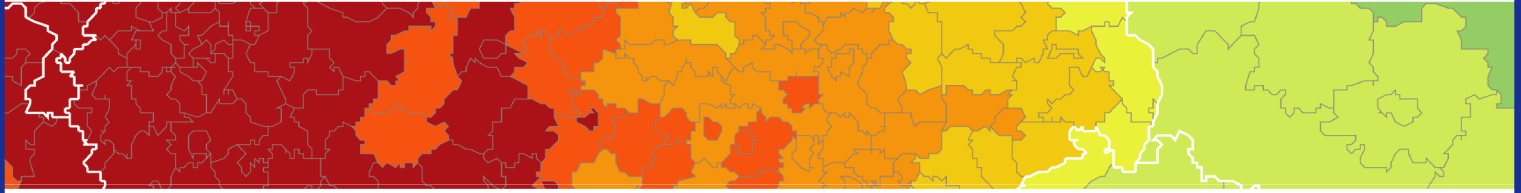
Annex 3. Glossary

Spatial planning system	A collection of institutions that mediate competition over the use of land and property, and regulate land use change and development to promote preferred spatial and urban form.
Territorial governance	Active cooperation across government, market and civil society actors to coordinate decision-making and actions that have an impact on the quality of places and their development.
Level of government	A separate level of government administration having directly elected bodies with decision-making power in relation to spatial planning competences.
Functional planning regions	A common administrative arrangement for a special body created to deal with functional areas, such as metropolitan regions, polycentric urban forms and urban corridors.
Planning instruments	Plans and other tools that are used to mediate and regulate spatial development.
Visionary instruments	The setting of a normative agenda of principles or goals for a desirable future.
Strategic instruments	An evidence-based integrated and long-term frame of reference for coordinated action and decision making across jurisdictions and sectors.
Framework-setting instruments	Policies, proposals and other criteria for a territory that provide a non-binding reference for other plans and decision-making.
Regulative instruments	Legally binding commitments or decisions concerning land use change and development.
Statutory	Stipulated or provided for in legislation related to spatial planning, that is enabled or required by the law.

Annex 4. COMPASS workshop on policy recommendations, Brussels, 20 March 2018

Table A.5. Participants of the workshop on policy recommendations

	Last name	First name	Institution
1	Böhme	Kai	Spatial Foresight
2	Clotteau	Marie	Euromontana
3	Carbalán	Alfredo	Brussels Planning Agency - perspective.brussels
4	D'hondt	Frank	Territorial Capital Institute
5	de Bruijn	Martijn	Flemish Government, Belgium
6	Fernández Maldonado	Ana Maria	Delft University of Technology
7	Godon	Michelle	Academy for Spatial Research and Planning (ARL)
8	Gustedt	Evelyn	Academy for Spatial Research and Planning (ARL)
9	Lecourt	Gaëlle	CPMR-CRPM Conference of Peripheral Maritime Regions
10	Komornicki	Tomasz	Institute of Geography and Spatial Organization, Polish Academy of Sciences
11	Liepa	Baiba	Interact
12	Lüer	Christian	Spatial Foresight
13	Martin	Derek	Institute for Studies
14	Matko	Marton	EUROCITIES
15	Mynarikova	Romana	Federal Ministry of Transport and Digital Infrastructure,
16	Nadin	Vincent	Delft University of Technology
17	Rydykowski	André	Metropolitan Region Frankfurt-Rhein Main European
18	Scholze	Jonas	German Association for Housing, Urban and Spatial
19	Smas	Lukas	Stockholm University
20	Sommernes	Pål A.	City of Oslo, Department of Urban Development
21	Takacs	Peter	European Commission, DG REGIO
22	Zgaga	Zeljka	European Commission, DG REGIO



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