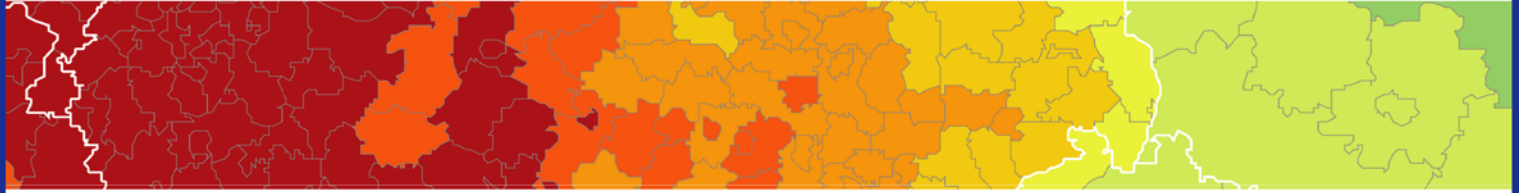


Inspire policy making by territorial evidence



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

Applied Research 2016-18

**Final Report - Additional Volume 7
Significance and role of European territorial
governance**

Final Report - Additional Volume 7 - Europeanisation

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Final Report - Additional Volume 7 - Europeanisation

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

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

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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 in this policy field 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, albeit with some differences in its application. The most relevant impacts are in the fields of Environment and Energy;
 - The impact of spatially relevant *EU policies* is more variegated. Cohesion Policy is the most influential, while other policies have more moderate impacts. Unsurprisingly, the higher the financial support associated to each policy or allocated to a country, the greater its impact on national systems;
 - The impact of *EU discourse* channelled through guideline documents, concepts and ideas is even more differentiated. In general, 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 influenced the EU governance process, albeit to a lesser extent. In particular:
 - The impact of *domestic discourses* within the EU arenas of debate has been mostly fluctuant and depending on how engagement and authoritative the individual domestic actors have been. In general, old member states exert a higher influence, but some eastern European countries are increasingly influential;
 - The impact of *domestic practices* as source of inspiration is sporadic. This influence appears limited by the intrinsic difficulty of spontaneous learning within a highly heterogeneous framework.
- Finally, 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.
- Overall, the institutional complexities and difficulties of European territorial governance depend on the high differentiation that characterise the national systems of territorial governance and spatial planning, presented in previous chapters.

1. Introduction

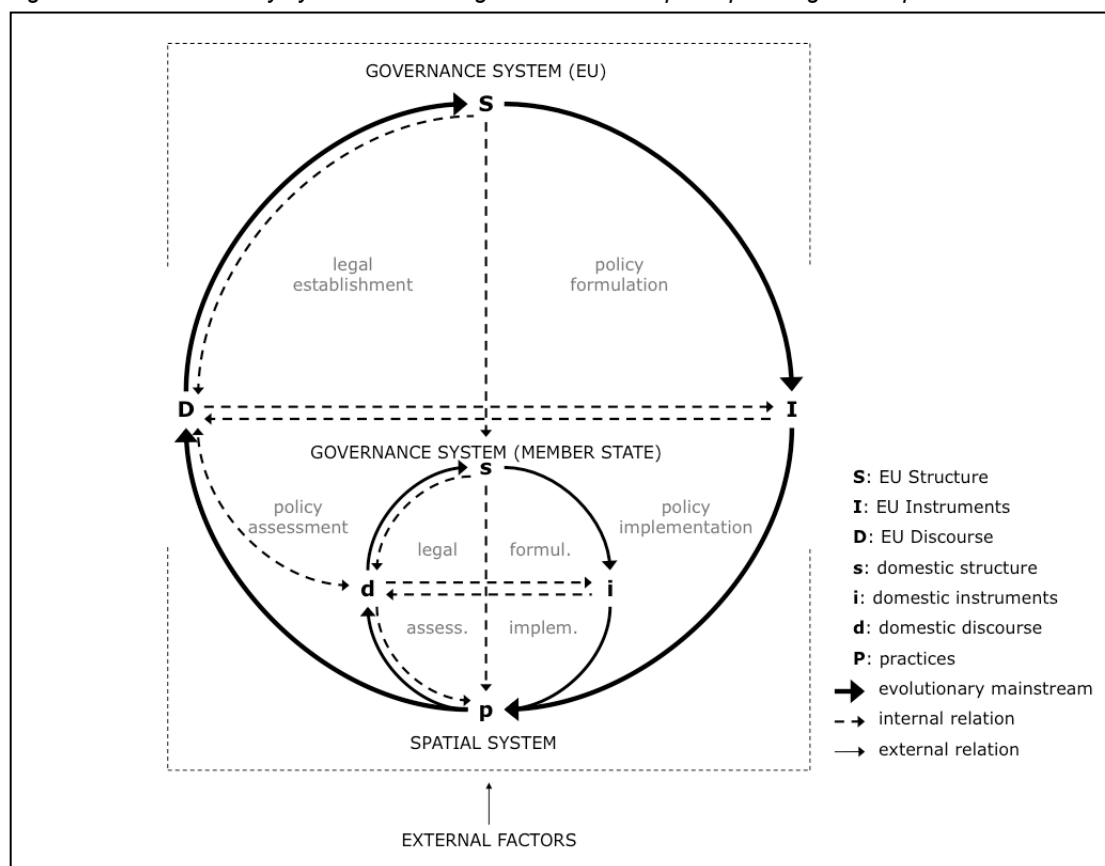
The ESPON COMPASS ToR asks for an 'in depth analysis of the role of EU Cohesion Policy and other macro-level European Union (EU) policies in shaping territorial governance and spatial planning systems and their impacts in concrete practice' (ESPON, 2015, p.4). In this light, this annex presents the conceptual and methodological framework developed by the ESPON COMPASS team for the analysis of the Europeanization of territorial governance and spatial planning, as well as the main results of this analysis. In particular, in the following sections:

- It proposes a dynamic view of the coevolution of EU and domestic territorial governance and spatial planning systems, upon which the conceptual and methodological framework for the analysis is developed (§2);
- It analyses the main commonalities and differences that characterise the top-down impact of the EU legislation, policy and discourse on domestic territorial governance and spatial planning systems (§3);
- It analyses the bottom-up influence that concepts and practices developed within the different domestic territorial governance and spatial planning contexts exerted upon the evolution of European spatial planning (§4)
- It explores the horizontal mechanisms through which domestic territorial governance and spatial planning systems influence each other in the framework of cooperation platforms put in place by the EU (§5);
- Finally, it synoptically analyses the impacts and trends of the various modes of influence explored in the sections above, and develops a typology of engagement within European territorial governance (§6)

2. Conceptual framework and methodology

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 (Janin Rivolin, 2010; Zonneveld et al., 2012) in which national systems currently operate. ESPON COMPASS goes beyond previous studies, by integrating a dynamic perspective into comparative spatial planning research design. In doing so, it recognises the existence of a complex interplay among the various components of domestic territorial governance and spatial planning systems – i.e. the structure, instruments, discourse and practices – as the concept of institutional technology adopted by the project suggests (Janin Rivolin, 2012, Cotella and Janin Rivolin, 2011, 2015). In particular, building on the literature on Europeanisation (Knill & Lehmkuhl, 1999; Börzel & Risse, 2000; Olsen, 2002; Featherstone & Radaelli, 2003; Radaelli, 2004; Lenschow, 2006) the project conceptualises 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 (Cotella & Janin Rivolin, 2011, 2015).

Figure 1 The evolutionary cycle of territorial governance and spatial planning in Europe



(Source: adapted from Cotella and Janin Rivolin, 2011; 2015)

In this light, the ESPON COMPASS research team considers the relationship between territorial governance, spatial planning systems and EU policies as occurring through a 'dynamic perspective' of relations between domestic and EU systems, as shown in Figure 1. The proposed conceptual framework shows the coexistence of one supranational and various domestic territorial governance cycles and highlights the relations between them, which are relevant for explaining the nature of top-down and bottom-up influences. More in detail, the study conceives Europeanization as an iterative cycle of uploading and downloading influences that links the EU-level territorial governance with the territorial governance and spatial planning systems of the constituent countries.

This allows for a typological classification of the possible influences that link the EU and the Member states within the overall EU territorial governance environment. In particular, the project identifies three types of top-down influence from the EU to the country level, two types of bottom-up influence through which the European countries potentially influence EU policy-making, and one type of horizontal influence through which European countries potentially influence one another (Figure 2, Table 1).

These six types of influence are explored systematically in order to understand the mechanisms and impacts of Europeanization in the field of territorial governance and spatial planning. More in particular, when reflecting on the impact of the EU over domestic territorial governance and spatial planning systems, the country experts were required to collect data concerning the following types of influence, and to assess their significance and trend.

- A. *Structural influence* describes the adjustment of domestic legislation as a consequence of the EU legislation. Whereas the lack of a formal competence for spatial planning largely limits the overall impact of this influence, indirect impacts are however visible as the EU legislates in various fields that have implications for spatial planning, such as the environment, energy and competition.
- B. *Instrumental influence* occurs through the introduction of recursive incentives addressed overall to more 'cohesive' regional policy, to systematic territorial cooperation, and to widespread application of an EU standard of sustainable urban or rural development, that progressively modify the cost-benefit logics of domestic actors and stimulate variations in established spatial planning practices.
- C. *Top-down discursive influence* is embedded in a circular process of 'discursive integration' that 'can be successful when there are strong policy communities active at European and national levels and direct links between them' (Böhme, 2002, p. III), and occurs whereas EU concepts and ideas alter beliefs and expectations of domestic actors.

At the same time, when providing information concerning the actual influence of domestic contexts over the evolution of European spatial planning, the ESPON COMPASS country

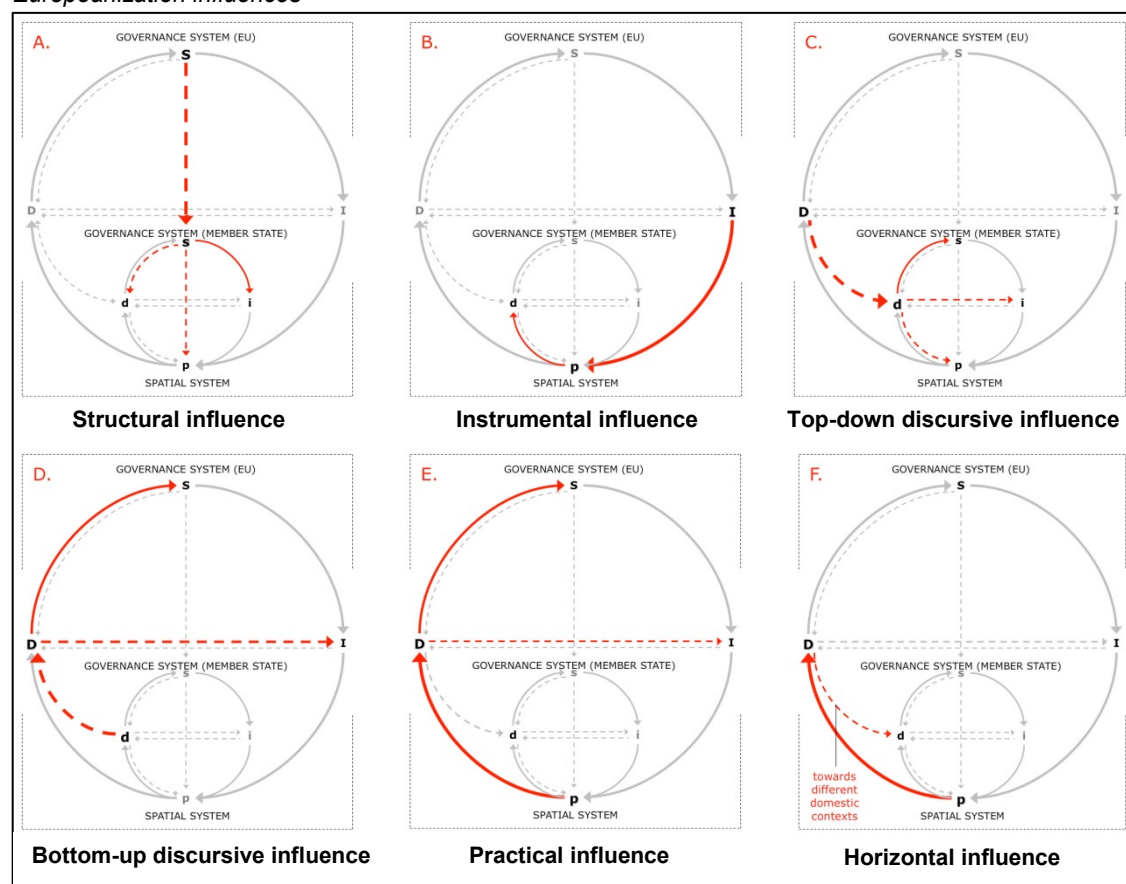
experts were required to collect data concerning the following types of influence, and to assess their significance and trend:

- D. *Bottom-up discursive influence* is framed within the 'discursive integration' process, but shifts the attention to a joint process leading to the selection of hegemonic concepts within the EU arena on the basis of various domestic perspectives.
- E. *Practical influence* builds on the belief that changing practices of territorial governance across Europe provide a relevant source of knowledge that may contribute to influencing the EU policy process.

Finally, efforts were dedicated to individuate those episodes of contaminations through which member states influence one another when exchanging knowledge within cooperation platform put in place by the EU:

- F. *Horizontal influence* concerns the influence of one or more specific elements of a country's territorial governance and spatial planning system over the territorial governance and spatial planning system(s) of one or more other countries, where the EU institutions serve as platforms for interaction and knowledge sharing.

Figure 2. Visual conceptualization of top-down (A, B and C), bottom-up (D and E) and horizontal (F) Europeanization influences



(Source: adapted from Cotella and Janin Rivolin, 2015).

Table 1. Typology of influences in EU 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 (M.State → M.State(s)) | Interactive knowledge | Social learning |

Source: Adapted on Cotella and Janin Rivolin (2011, 2015).

Overall, the proposed typology allowed to analytically differentiate the complex set of influences that compose the Europeanisation of territorial governance and spatial planning and, is so doing, to compare the impact, the trend and the mechanisms of the identified modes of influence in all the 32 countries under investigation. The results of the analysis are presented in the following sections, and form a preliminary basis upon which to reflect on the potential for cross-fertilisation between EU Cohesion Policy and domestic territorial governance and spatial planning systems.

3 Trends, commonalities and differences in the role of EU legislation, policy and discourse in shaping territorial governance and spatial planning systems

The comparative analysis of the role of the EU in shaping domestic territorial and spatial planning systems is proposed in the sub-sections below. In particular, the respectively focus the impact of EU sectoral legislation (§3.1), of EU policy and related funding instruments (§3.2) and of the various strands characterising the European spatial planning discourse (§3.3).

3.1 The impact of EU legislation (structural influence)

Despite the absence of a competence on territorial governance and spatial planning, EU legislation in other fields may produce indirect impacts on domestic territorial governance and spatial planning systems (Figure 3, Figure 4). The ESPON COMPASS questionnaires required the country experts to assess the impact of spatially relevant sectoral legislation over domestic territorial governance and spatial planning between 2000 and 2016. Experts were asked first to give a general indication of the influence on a scale from 'strong significance' (for example, leading to the creation of new planning instruments, procedures or organisations); 'moderate significance' (for example, leading to revisions of existing arrangements); 'low significance' (for example, where only minor changes can be identified) and 'no influence'. They were also asked to assess trends in the influence of legislation as 'increasing', 'constant', 'decreasing', or 'swinging', that is having variable influence from 2000 to 2016. Finally, they were required to give reasons for the indicated levels of influence and trends, by reporting relevant examples concerning both the occurred changes and their drivers.

The results of the analysis are summarised in table 2, 3 and 4. According to the respondents, environmental legislation appears to be by far the most influential. Its impact was evaluated as strongly or moderately significant by 28 of the 32 country experts. Energy legislation is also influential with 19 countries indicating a strong or moderate importance, followed by the competition legislation, with 10 countries noting a strong or moderate influence. A small group of respondents pointed out the more recent significance of maritime issues for territorial governance and spatial planning, and in particular of the Directive Establishing a Framework for Maritime Spatial Planning (Directive 2014/89/EU).

The following sub-sections highlight the main patterns of change that emerged in the national territorial governance and spatial planning systems, as a consequence of albeit indirect legal conditionality imposed by the EU sectoral legislation.

Figure 3. Perceived structural influence in European territorial governance (Source: Authors' elaboration).

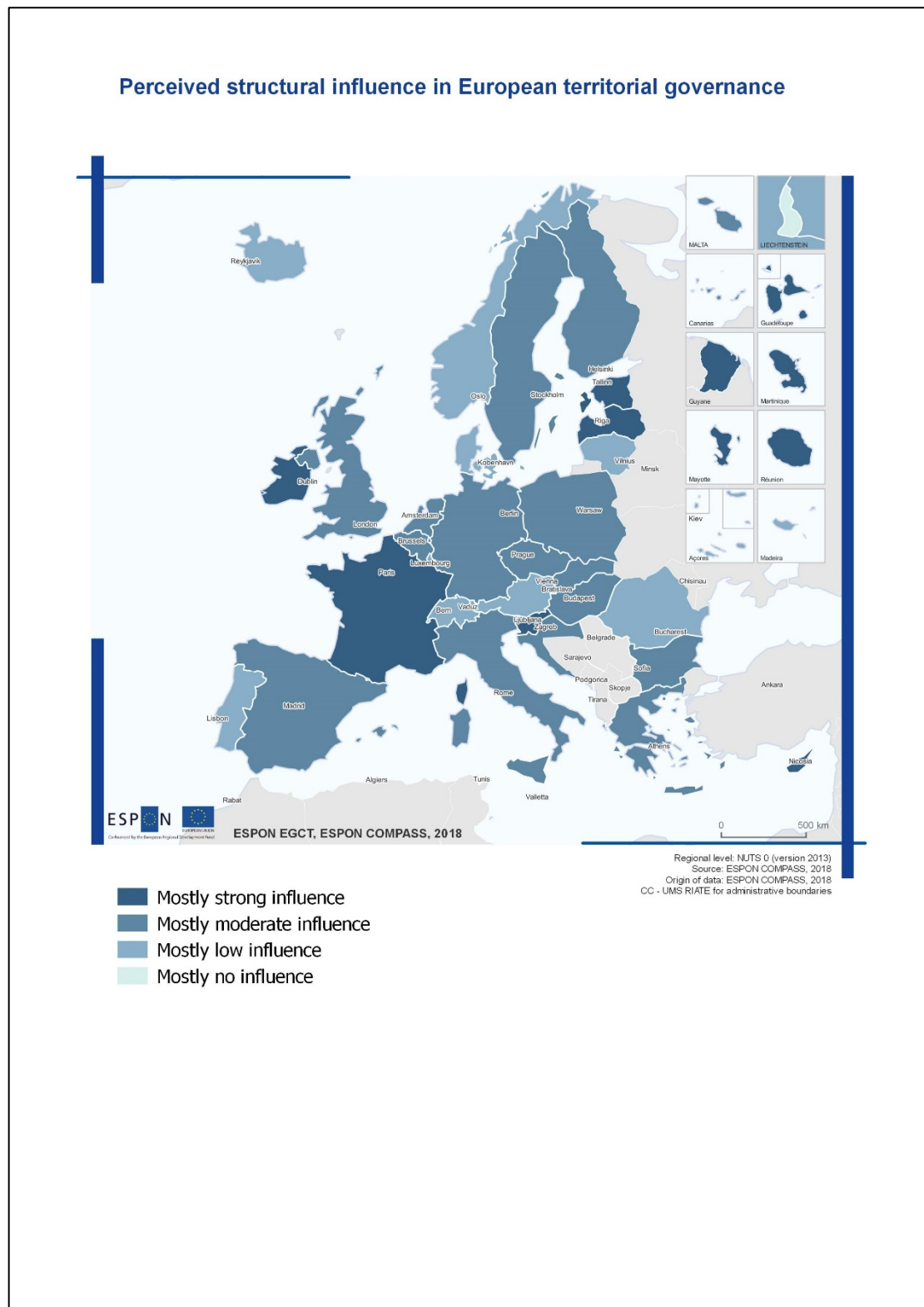


Figure 4. Perceived structural influence in European territorial governance – trend 2000/2016 (Source: Authors' elaboration).

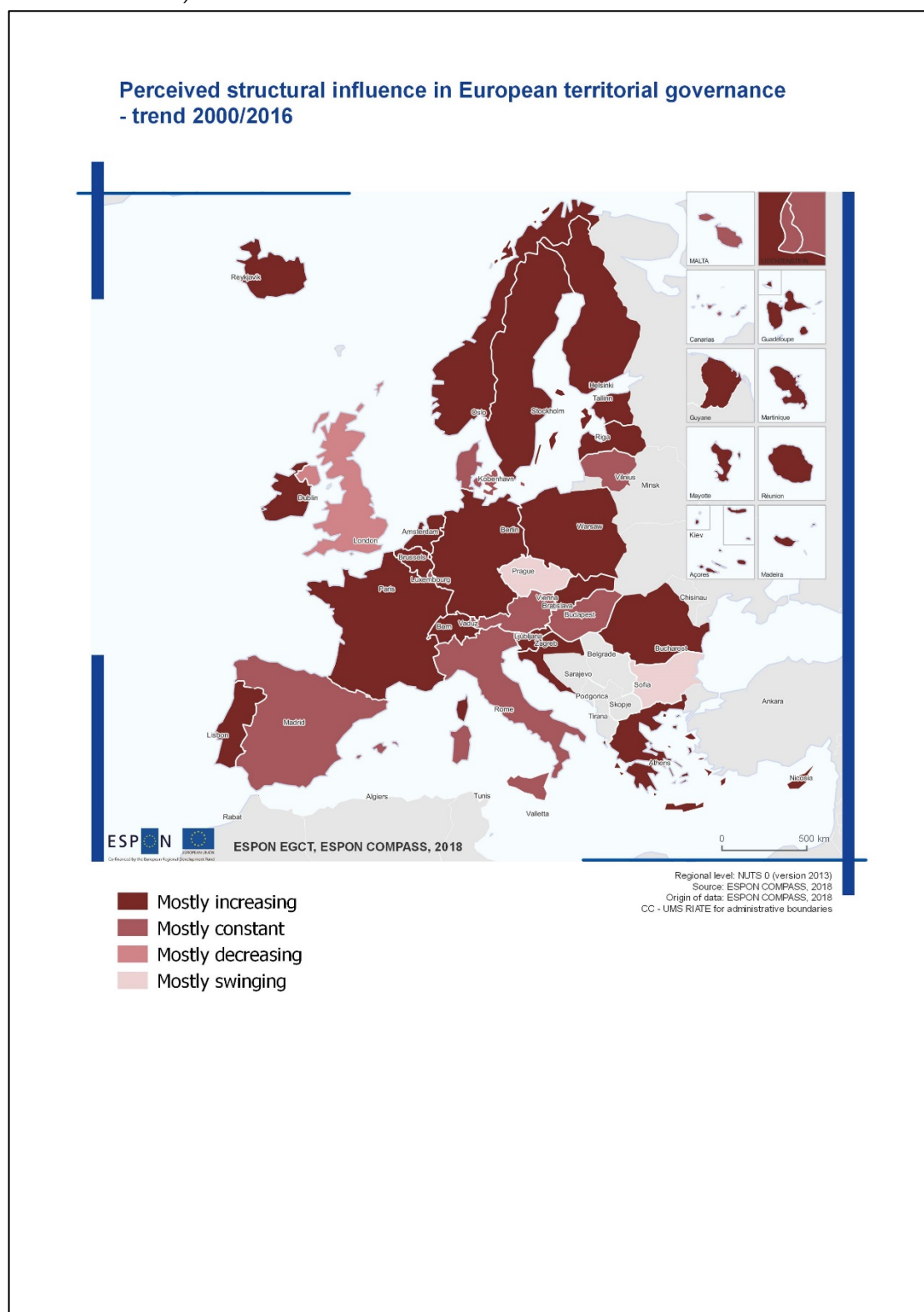


Table 2. Influence of EU sectoral legislation on domestic territorial governance and spatial planning systems between 2000 and 2016, by significance and trend.

| Influence of EU legislation (2000 - 2016) | Significance | | | | Trend | | | |
|--|--|--|---|------------------------------------|--|--|------------|----------|
| | Strong | Moderate | Low | No | Increasing | Constant | Decreasing | Swinging |
| Environmental legislation | AT, BE, BG, CY, CZ, DE, DK, EE, EL, ES, FI, FR, HU, IE, IS, IT, LV, MT, NL, PL, SE, SK, SI, UK | CH, HR, NO, PT | LT, LU, RO | LI | AT, BE, CH, CY, CZ, DE, EE, EL, ES, FR, HR, IS, LU, LV, MT, NL, NO, PL, PT, RO, SK, SI | DK, HU, IE, IT, FI, LI, SE | BG, LT, UK | |
| Energy legislation | CZ, CY, EE, FR, LV | BG, CH, DE, EL, ES, HU, IE, IT, MT, PL, RO, SE, SK, SI | BE, FI, HR, NL, NO, PT, UK | AT, DK, IS, LI, LT, LU | BE, BG, CH, CY, DE, EE, EL, ES, FI, FR, HR, HU, IE, IT, LV, MT, NL, PL, PT, RO, SE, SK, SI | AT, CZ, DK, IS, LI, LT, LU, NO, UK | | |
| Competition legislation^a | UK | DE, EE, ES, FR, IE, IT, LV, SE, SI | BE, HR, CH; CZ, FI, EL, HU, MT, NL, NO, PL, SK, | AT, BG, DK, IS, LI, LT, LU, PT, RO | CZ, DE, EE, IE, IT, HR, LV, NL, PT, SI, SK, UK | AT, BE, BG, CH, DK, EL, HU, IS, LI, LT, LU, MT, NO, PT, RO, SE | | ES, FR |
| Maritime affairs legislation | DE, FI, UK | | | | DE, FI, UK | | | |

^a No answers from CY experts. No answer concerning trend from FI expert.

Source: authors' own elaboration.

Table 3. Relevant EU legislation mentioned in the national experts' questionnaires, distributed per sectoral field

| | Environment | Energy | Competition | Maritime Affairs |
|-----------|--|---|---|------------------|
| Ante 2000 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Habitats Directive 92/43 EEC | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1995 General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) 1999 Bilateral Agreement between the European Community and the Swiss Confederation on certain aspects of government procurement | |
| 2000-2005 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Directive 2000/60/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council establishing a framework for the Community action in the field of water policy (Water Framework Directive - WFD) Directive 2001/42/EC on the assessment of the effects of certain plans and programmes on the environment (SEA Directive) Directive 2002/49/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 25 June 2002 relating to the assessment and management of environmental noise | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Directive 2004/18/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 31 March 2004 on the coordination of procedures for the award of public works contracts, public supply contracts and public service contracts | |
| 2006-2011 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Groundwater Directive 2006/118/EC Directive 2008/50/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 21 May 2008 on ambient air quality and cleaner air Directive 2008/56/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 17 June 2008 establishing a framework for community action in the field of marine environmental policy (Marine Strategy Framework Directive) Directive 2008/98/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 19 November 2008 on waste and repealing certain Directives 2020 Climate Change Package (2008) Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2020 Climate Change Package (2008) Directive 2009/28/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 23 April 2009 on the promotion of the use of energy from renewable sources and amending and subsequently repealing Directives 2001/77/EC and 2003/30/EC Directive 2009/72/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 13 July 2009 concerning common rules for the internal market in electricity and repealing Directive 2003/54/EC Directive 2010/31/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 19 May 2010 on the energy performance of buildings | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Regulation (EC) No 1370/2007 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 23 October 2007 on public passenger transport services by rail and by road and repealing Council Regulations (EEC) Nos 1191/69 and 1107/70 Regulation (EU) No 1227/2011 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 25 October 2011 on wholesale energy market integrity and transparency | |

| | | | | |
|-----------|--|---|--|---|
| | <p>Committee and the Committee of the Regions - Mainstreaming sustainable development into EU policies: 2009 Review of the European Union Strategy for Sustainable Development (2009)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Environmental Impact Assessment Directives: Directive 97/11/EC, Directive 2003/35/EC, Directive 2009/31/EC • Birds Directive 2009/147 EC • Decision No 406/2009/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 23 April 2009 on the effort of member states to reduce greenhouse gas emissions to meet Community's greenhouse gas emission reduction commitments up to 2020 | | | |
| 2012-2016 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Seveso Directives (Council Directive on the major-accident hazards of certain industrial activities) Directive 82/501/EEC(Directive 96/82/EC)Directive 2012/18/EU | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Roadmap for moving to a competitive low carbon economy in 2050 and EU Climate and Energy Policy Framework 2030 (2011) • Directive 2012/27/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 25 October 2012 on energy efficiency, amending Directives 2009/125/EC and 2010/30/EU and repealing Directives 2004/8/EC and 2006/32/EC • Regulation (EU) No 347/2013 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 17 April 2013 on guidelines for trans-European energy infrastructure and repealing Decision No 1364/2006/EC and amending Regulations (EC) No 713/2009, (EC) No 714/2009 and (EC) No 715/2009 • 2030Climate&Energy Framework (2014) • European Parliament resolution of 15 December 2015 on Towards a European Energy Union (2015/2113(INI)) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Directive 2014/24/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 26 February 2014 on public procurement and repealing Directive 2004/18/EC • Directive 2014/25/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 26 February 2014 on procurement by entities operating in the water, energy, transport and postal services sectors and repealing Directive 2004/17/EC • Directive 2014/61/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 15 May 2014 on measures to reduce the cost of deploying high-speed electronic communications networks | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Directive 2014/89/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 23 July 2014 establishing a framework for maritime spatial planning |

Source: Authors' own elaboration.

Table 4. Main changes induced in domestic territorial governance and spatial planning systems and their geographical patterns, distributed per EU legislation field.

| Field of EU legislation | Geographic patterns | Main changes induced in the territorial governance and spatial planning systems | Implementation aspects and further remarks |
|---|---|--|---|
| Environment (general trend: increasing) | Western countries have experienced deeper and faster as a result of transposing and adopting the <i>acquis communautaire</i> during the pre-accession phase Non EU countries: EU Environnement policy instruments impact is traceable. Impact on SP & TG is swinging among countries: sometimes relevant on general policy targets, sometimes also relevant on SP & TG, sometimes not directly influencing them. | Planning procedures Introduction of EIA and SEA Introduction of impact assessment also in protected areas | |
| | | Planning instruments / issues Introduction of a large number of different types of sector policy plans within or strongly related to the spatial planning system at all planning levels (e.g. Natura2000 management plans) National strategies / plans on new issues (national adaptation strategies and national action plans on climate change; national air quality plans and national waste management plans) | Nature conservation has become binding in land-use planning and other legal instruments and procedures Difficulties in coordinating implementation of different environmental policies |
| | | Territorial governance New administrative bodies (e.g. river basin authorities) Alteration of the territorial governance setting: e.g. creation of new territorially based public authorities, introduction of new administrative areas and boundaries (river basin districts, newly designated natural areas...) Redistribution of competences among planning levels and between and within ministries Rising of community participation and multi-stakeholder involvement in planning Increased monitoring processes | In some cases, EU environmental policy targets and tools are considered less innovative than yet existing national praxis Importance of the Council of Europe's <i>European Landscape Convention</i> (whilst not relating to EU legislation) |
| | | Planning instruments / issues Introduction or modification of planning scope and contents at the national level: address new international power and gas connections And at sub-national level: planning of major wind energy plans etc. Introduction or review of national plans and strategies concerning energy issues and reshaping of national policy targets | Not always traceable impacts on SP & TG. Weak implementation of energy legislation at sub-national and local level, although the influence here is growing |
| | | Territorial governance Ceding of competences from the municipal to the regional level or the re-assignment of competences from one territorial level to another | Challenges: limited capacity of domestic authorities to transpose energy legislation in ways that pay more attention to local territorial specificities; requirements for creating and implementing new monitoring activities; need for |
| | | | |
| Energy (general trend: increasing) | Weak geographic pattern. Eastern and Mediterranean countries: moderately relevant and increasing Tends appear to be much stronger at the national level and low at the local level North-western countries: scarcely significant Non-EU countries: adoption of EU policy principles is due mainly to EEA agreement, bilateral agreements... Impact | | |

| | | | |
|---|--|--|--|
| | on SP & TG is swinging among countries, often not directly affecting spatial planning but only national sector policies. | Positive impact of the <i>Covenant of Mayors for Sustainable Local Energy Action Plans</i> | coordination of energy with environmental planning for their sometimes-competing objectives and combined impacts Combined effect of environmental and energy regulations becoming a structuring framework for domestic policy |
| Competition (general trend: increasing or steady) | Countries with relatively strong economies strongly or moderately significant impacts Central and eastern Europe countries indicating an increase | Planning procedures Impacts on planning procedures by procedures for the award of public works contracts also in relation to the planning and building | General influence of competition legislation over spatial planning is mostly at the local level, which is to do with public procurement |
| | | Integration of the directive concerning public procurement into domestic law with transposition of principles: non-discrimination, equal treatment, transparency, proportionality and mutual recognition for all public procurement | |
| | | Lengthening of the planning process | |
| | | Enhancement of competitiveness | |
| Maritime affairs (general trend: increasing) | Four experts mentioned the EU integrated maritime policy None of the Mediterranean countries raised this issue | Territorial governance Creation of new, <i>ad hoc</i> agencies, with important statutory responsibilities in relation to planning | |
| | | Planning instruments / issues Introduction of marine spatial and protection plans | |
| | | Territorial governance More requirements for cross-border coordination. | |
| INSPIRE Directive | Reported in one Country | Planning instruments / issues Influenced especially the national and sub-national level since administrative data had to be published and open data databases had to be installed. It also supports planning through standardized data and availability. | |

Source: Authors' own elaboration.

3.1.1 Environmental legislation

The majority of respondents indicate a strong (24) or moderate (4) influence of the EU environmental legislation over domestic territorial governance and spatial planning systems. They also report that this influence has been increasing (22) and that this mirrors the growing number of EU environmental directives throughout the 2000s. Seven respondents describe the trend as constant, and in three cases (BG and UK) a decreasing influence was highlighted. This may be explained by the perception of decreasing 'pressure' from the EU after the relevant changes were introduced (in the case of Bulgaria, with the adoption of the *acquis communautaire* until the accession of the country in 2007). It also suggests that the influence of environmental legislation has been constant as the early changes are now part of the domestic everyday planning activities.

There are patterns in the influence of environmental legislation in groups of countries in relation to geography, the form of adoption of the sectoral legislation within the domestic frameworks, and the general effect and value it has on spatial development. There is a general but clear difference between Western and Eastern countries in the implementation of EU environmental legislation. Eastern countries have experienced 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 was the result of transposing and adopting the *acquis communautaire* during the pre-accession phase. As an example, Bulgaria and Poland stress the importance of the *EU Strategy for Sustainable Development* (CEC 2001) which was widely used in the pre-accession period as basis for policy development at national, regional, municipal level.

Another general trend concerns the way in which directives on environment have been transposed in the Member states. Two general approaches are evident: some countries have implemented EU environmental legislation in a step-by-step approach (e.g. UK), while other countries have taken a comprehensive approach, and have transposed a body of EU legislation in an overall reform of national environmental codes in order to avoid a fragmented approach (e.g. IT). Such a difference may occur for different reasons; however, it appears to have implications on the effective implementation of the EU directives as shown below.

Country experts tend to take one of two views on the effect and value of EU environmental legislation. On the one hand, some see it as mostly introducing specific restrictive rules. On the other hand, some see a wider impact of the way that the territorial governance and spatial planning system operates as a whole. This emerges, for instance, in the case of the Habitats Directives (Habitat Directive 92/43 EEC) which are seen by some as establishing only development restrictions (e.g. RO, MT). Others identify a more general change in spatial planning procedures in the effect on the discretionary judgment of planning authorities and creating a new balance between ecological, economic and social spatial concerns (e.g. DE).

This differential perception may reflect the different modes through which specific directives are transposed into the domestic context.

The actual changes in national territorial governance and spatial planning systems are generally common among the countries as they have to follow the requirements of the EU legislation, although there is some variation. The introduction of environmental impact assessment (EIA) and strategic environmental assessment (SEA) procedures are, in the view of most experts, the most important drivers of change. The introduction of specific impact assessment procedures in relation to Natura 2000 sites is also often reported. EU legislation has stimulated the introduction of a large number of different types of sector policy plans within or strongly related to the spatial planning system at all planning levels. Notable examples are how the Habitats and Birds Directives (92/43 EEC; 2009/147 EC) fostered the introduction of new management plans (often focussing on newly created administrative areas); the Water Framework Directive stimulated the introduction of sectoral plans and new administrative bodies; some countries adopted for the first time national adaptation strategies and national action plans on climate change. The creation of national air quality plans and national waste management plans is reported less often, and so is the introduction of mandatory acoustic 'zoning' (2002/49/EC) for local regulatory instruments.

Undoubtedly, EU sector legislation has had a significant impact on wider territorial governance. The most recurrent changes mentioned by national experts concern the alteration of the territorial governance setting, for example, with the creation of new territorially based public authorities and/or the introduction of new administrative areas and boundaries such as river basin districts and newly designated natural areas for protection. Experts also report indirect influence in the process of redistribution of competences among planning levels and between and within ministries; or the rise of community participation and multi-stakeholder involvement in planning, and increased monitoring processes. These changes occurred as a consequence of the implementation of specific directives (e.g. Water Framework Directive 2000/60/EC, SEA Directive 2001/42/EC, Natura2000 92/43 EEC) and have affected all EU countries. An additional impression is that for countries with a strong level of sub-national government these changes have reinforced regional level competences.

Country experts have stressed that the implementation of EU environmental legislation presents many challenges, although there is little pattern in the particular issues mentioned. The most significant concerns the introduction of development restrictions due to the designation of new protected areas, which are controversial. Other issues concern the integration of new arrangements such as Natura 2000 planning, water basin planning and rural development planning. Similarly, difficulties seem to emerge when it comes to coordinating implementation of different environmental policies e.g. 'wind turbines that endanger natural habitats' (FR). The implementation of EU environmental legislation creates disputes that require administrative solutions for proper mediation, and in which spatial planning will play an important role (EE, EL, FR).

Whilst not relating to EU legislation, it should be noted that five countries mentioned the Council of Europe's *European Landscape Convention* as a significantly relevant document (BG, ES, LT, MT, PL).

3.1.2 Energy legislation

If environmental legislation is the one with the most widespread, consolidated impact, energy-related issues seem to be the very emerging themes of the period 2000-2016, with growing significance almost everywhere. More in detail, EU legislation in the energy sector is, in general, the second most important, with 19 experts reporting a strong (5) or moderate (14) influence; this is seen as increasing in the majority of countries (23), even in those for which it has not yet had a strong influence. Such trends appear to be much stronger at the national level and local level. Overall, experts point out the weak implementation of energy legislation at sub-national level, although the influence here is growing.

There is some (relatively weak) geographical pattern in the influence of energy legislation. The majority of experts from Eastern and Mediterranean countries (with the exception of HR, MT, LT and PT) describe the influence of EU energy legislation over territorial governance and spatial planning as moderately relevant at least, and increasing. At the same time, experts from North-Western countries give scarce significance to the impact of energy legislation, with some notable exceptions (DE, FR, IE, SE).

Actual influence of energy legislation mentioned are the introduction of (or review of existing) national plans and strategies concerning energy issues and reshaping of national policy targets. Twenty-two countries have introduced a national action plan for energy or similar documents. Various experts reported how the growing momentum of the EU energy legislation contributes to influencing domestic spatial planning discourse, with the introduction or modification of planning scope and contents at the national level (to address for example, new international power and gas connections) and sub-national level (for planning of major wind energy plans etc.). One country expert (FR) reports (with similar albeit less explicit views from other countries) that the combined effect of environmental and energy regulations are tending to become a structuring framework for domestic policy. This tends to influence decisions in spatial planning, and emphasise an increasing and combined relevance between the two sectors.

Also changes induced in territorial governance framework are underlined at all levels, especially at sub-national, municipal/inter-municipal level, with the shift of competences from the municipal to the regional level or the re-assignment of competences from one territorial level to another. The positive impact of the *Covenant of Mayors for Sustainable Local Energy Action Plans* is reported in some cases (CY, IT, SI).

The challenges that face countries in relation to EU energy legislation include the limited capacity of domestic authorities to transpose energy legislation in ways that pay more attention to local territorial specificities (EL); the requirements for creating and implementing

new monitoring activities (FR); and the need for coordination of energy with environmental planning, their sometimes-competing objectives and combined impacts (FR).

3.1.3 Competition legislation

Only ten country experts reported this sector of legislation as strongly (1) or moderately (9) significant. Most of the country experts reported little influence and in as many as nine cases they reported no influence at all (AT, BG, DK, LI, IS, LT, LU, PT, RO). In general influence of competition legislation over spatial planning is mostly at the local level, which is to do with public procurement. Influence is increasing (12) or steady (16), with most of countries indicating an increase that are located in central and eastern Europe, and with the notable exceptions of DE, IT, IE. With no country experts indicating a decreasing trend, two reported a swinging influence, often explaining how such result depends on the pace of transposition of relevant directives in the country context.

The change most reported by experts is the integration of the directive concerning public procurement (2004/18/EC) into domestic law with transposition of principles regarding non-discrimination, equal treatment, transparency, proportionality and mutual recognition for all public procurement. These requirements are highlighted by Eastern and Mediterranean countries. There is an indirect influence on planning procedures at all levels in practices that involve public sector purchases of private services and products in relation to the planning and building. In some cases (FI, SI) a direct influence is reported on architectural, spatial, urban and landscape planning competitions. Some experts detected effects in a lengthening of the planning process (BE), and the enhancement of competitiveness (IT).

The influence of competition legislation may be difficult to discern. Only experts in France and United Kingdom report the creation of new, *ad hoc* agencies, which have important statutory responsibilities in relation to planning and to which government outsources operations. This is likely to be also affecting other countries. Italy mentions procedures for the award of public works contracts has impacts on planning procedures.

Impacts recorded on actual implementation of the EU competition legislation concern the introduction of an integrated Single Market as a direct innovation. For example, single European railway area in Ireland, which creates a difference between transport services and transport infrastructure provider boosted competition in railway services.

3.1.4 Other legislation

Three experts (DE, FI, UK) added voluntarily the EU integrated maritime policy (more specifically, the Directive 2014/89/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 23 July 2014 establishing a framework for maritime spatial planning). Its relevance is reported as increasing in all the concerned countries, and its main impact into domestic spatial planning contexts is the introduction of marine spatial and protection plans, and more requirements for cross-border coordination. Curiously enough, none of the Mediterranean countries, having coastal areas, raised this issue.

One can finally note that the Austrian expert suggested a certain relevance of Inspire Directive in supporting spatial planning through standardised data availability.

3.2 The impact of EU policy

In addition to legislation the EU may exert influence through its spatially relevant policies and related funding instruments (Figure 5, Figure 6). Also in this case, the country experts were required to assess the impact of spatially relevant policies over domestic territorial governance and spatial planning between 2000 and 2016, first by choosing between 'strong significance', 'moderate significance', 'low significance' and 'no influence', and then assessing the trend of such influence from 2000 to 2016 as 'increasing', 'constant', 'decreasing', or 'swinging'. For each policy, they were also required to provide relevant examples concerning both the occurred changes and their drivers.

The results of the analysis are summarised in table 5, 6 and 7. The sub-sections below synthesise the collected evidence highlighting emerging general trends and behaviours among the analysed countries in adapting their domestic territorial governance and spatial planning systems as a more or less direct consequence of various EU policies and related funding instruments: Cohesion Policy, Rural development policy, European territorial cooperation, Urban policy and Transport policy¹. Among them, EU Cohesion Policy stands out as the most significant reason of change for domestic territorial governance and spatial planning systems, as its influence is considered strongly or moderately relevant by 21 country experts. Rural development policy, European territorial cooperation, urban policy and transport policy follow closely, respectively with 18, 16, 16 and 16 country experts assessing them as strongly or moderately influential.

¹ Although these EU policies are often formally interrelated (as it is, for instance, the case of Cohesion Policy and European territorial cooperation or the Urban policy), they have been addressed separately in the questionnaire in the awareness that they constitute quite distinct contexts of implementation.

Figure 5. Perceived instrumental influence in European territorial governance (Source: Authors' elaboration).

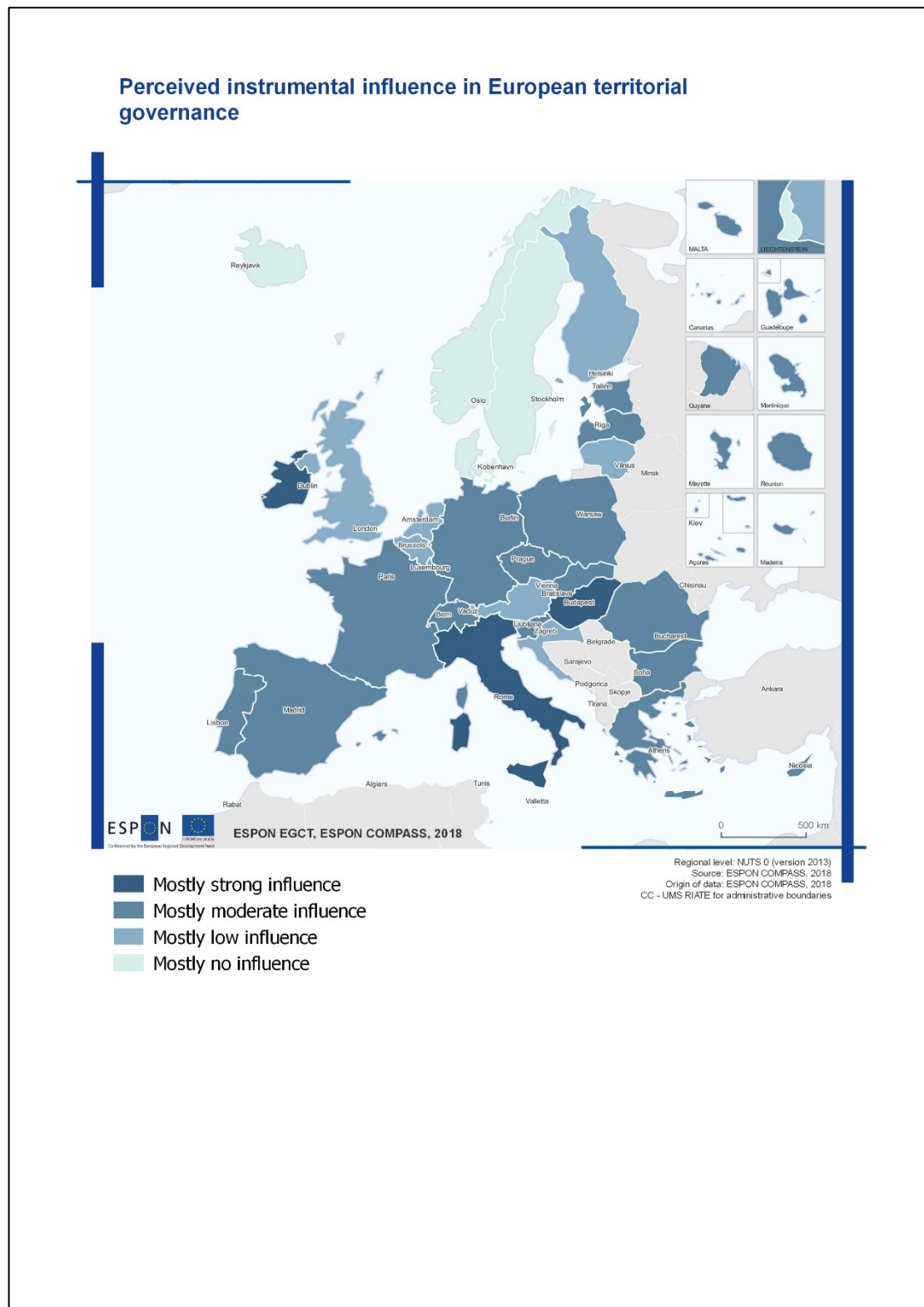


Figure 6. Perceived instrumental influence in European territorial governance – trend 2000/2016
(Source: Authors' elaboration).

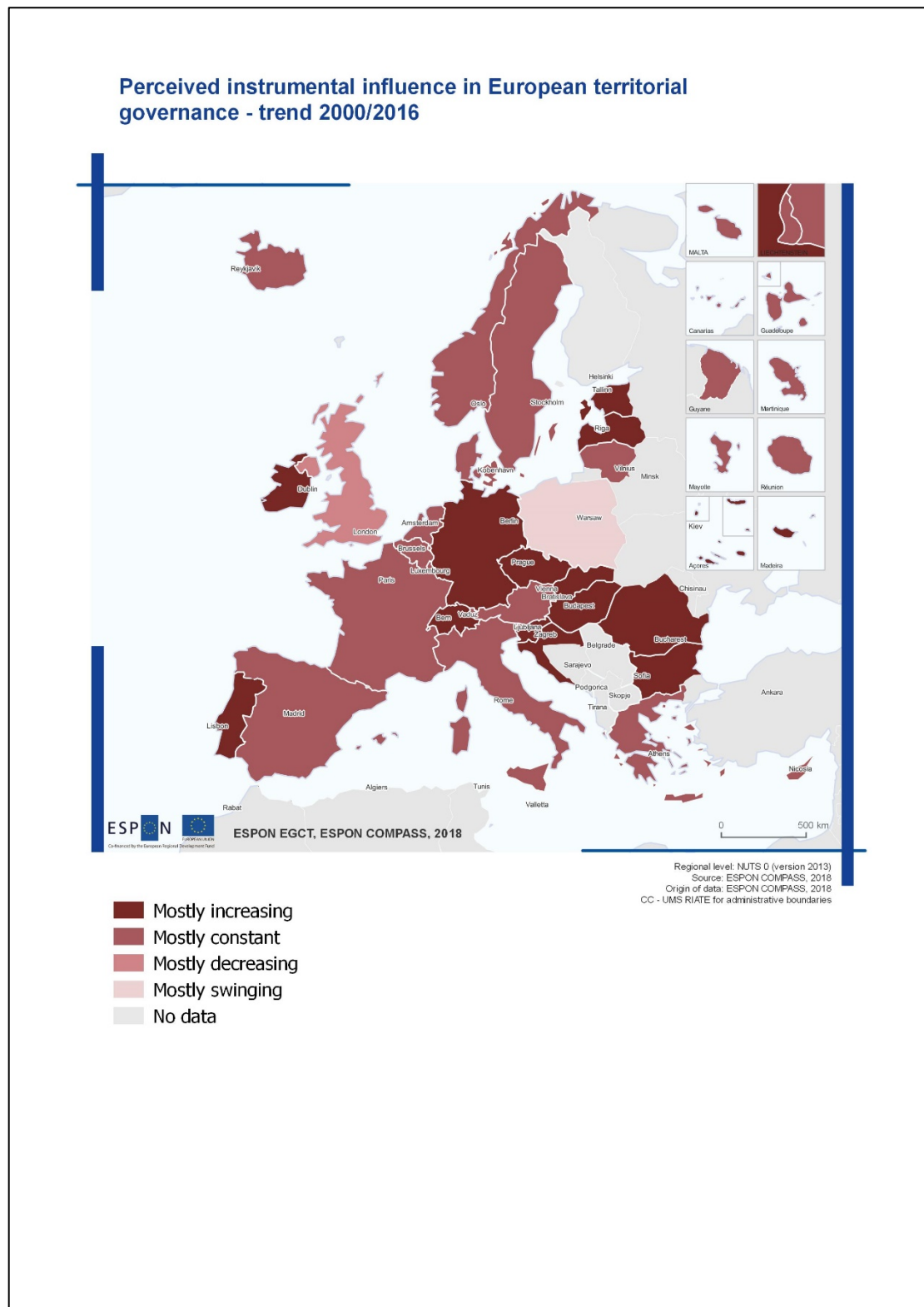


Table 5. Influence of EU spatial policies on domestic territorial governance and spatial planning systems between 2000 and 2016, by significance and trend.

| Influence of EU policies (2000 - 2016) | Significance | | | | Trend | | |
|--|----------------------------|---|--|----------------------------|--|--|------------|
| | Strong | Moderate | Low | No | Increasing | Constant | Decreasing |
| Cohesion Policy | BG, ES, HU, IT, PL, RO, SI | BE, CY, CZ, DE, EE, EL, FR, HR, IE, LV, MT, PT, SK, UK | AT, FI, LT, LU, NL | CH, DK, IS, LI, NO, SE | AT, BG, CY, CZ, DK, EE, HR, IE, LT, LV, MT, PL, PT, RO, SI | BE, CH, DE, EL, ES, FI, FR, HU, IS, IT, LI, LU, NL, NO, SE, SK | UK |
| Rural development policy ^(a) | BG, CZ, ES, IE, IT, PL | BE, CH, CY, DE, EL, FR, HU, LV, MT, PT, SK, SI | EE, HR, LT, LU, NL, RO, UK | AT, DK, IS, LI, NO, SE | BE, BG, EE, HR, IE, MT, PL, RO, SK, SI | AT, CH, CY, DE, DK, EL, ES, FR, IS, IT, HU, LI, LT, LU, LV, NO, PT, SE, UK | CZ, NL |
| Territorial cooperation ^(a) | FR, IT, LV | BE, BG, CH, CY, DE, EL, ES, HU, IE, PL, PT, SK, UK | CZ, EE, HR, LT, LU, MT, NL, NO, RO, SI | AT, DK, IS, LI, SE | BG, CH, CZ, DE, DK, EE, IE, FR, HR, HU, LT, LV, PL, PT, RO, SI | AT, BE, CY, EL, ES, IS, IT, LI, LU, MT, NL, NO, SE, SK | UK |
| Urban policy | IT, HU, RO | BG, CH, CY, CZ, DE, EL, FR, LV, MT, PL, PT, SK, SI | BE, DK, EE, ES, FI, HR, IE, NL, UK | AT, IS, LI, LT, LU, NO, SE | BE, BG, CH, CZ, DE, DK, FR, HR, MT, NL, LV, LT, PL, PT, RO, SI | AT, CY, EL, FI, IE, IS, LI, LU, SE, SK, NO, UK | IT |
| Transport policy ^(b) | MT | BG, CH, CY, CZ, EE, EL, FR, IE, HR, HU, LV, PL, PT, RO, SK, | AT, BE, DE, ES, IT, LT, SE, SI, UK | DK, IS, LI, LU, NO | BG, CH, CY, CZ, DE, EE, FR, HR, IE, LV, MT, PL, PT, RO, SK | AT, BE, DK, EL, HU, IS, IT, LI, LT, LU, NO, SE, SI, UK | ES |

^(a) No answers from FI expert. ^(b) No answers from FI and NL experts.

Source: authors' own elaboration.

Table 6. EU funding instruments mentioned in the national experts' questionnaires, distributed per policy fields and territorial levels

| | Cohesion | European territorial cooperation | Urban Policy | Rural development policy | Transport Policy |
|---------------------------|--|--|---|---|---|
| National level | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> European Regional Development Fund Operational Programme | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> CBC Black Sea Basin Program CBC Mediterranean Sea Basin ESPO European Grouping for Territorial Cooperation Interact I, II, III Interreg (<i>Interreg IIIA, Interreg IIIB Interreg C, INTERREG IV, Interreg B Baltic Sea Region, INTERREG V-A, INTERREG V-B MED, INTERREG V-B Balkan-Mediterranean</i>) INTERREG EUROPE 2014-20 PHARE CBC URBACT Transnational and cross-border cooperation programs | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) Europe's Urban Knowledge Platform (EUKN) JASPERS JESSICA URBACT III URBAN Community Initiative I, II Operational Programme 'Competitiveness and Sustainable Development' of Cohesion Policy 2014-2020 for 'Sustainable urban development' | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD) Agricultural Guarantee Fund (EAGF) Rural and Fishery Development Promotion | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Trans-European Networks – Transport |
| Sub-national level | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> European Regional Development Fund Operational Programme European Social Fund | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> CENTROPE EUSALP INTERREG V (A-B-C) European Cross-border Cooperation programmes European Transnational Cooperation programmes INTERREG EUROPE European Neighbourhood Policy | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> European Structural and Investment Funds (general) JESSICA URBACT III Urban Pilot Projects | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> LEADER + | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Trans-European Networks – Transport |
| Local level | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> European Regional Development Fund Operational Programme European Social Fund Integrated Territorial Investments | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> European Territorial Cooperation Programmes INTERREG IVC Pre-Accession Assistance IPA Transnational and cross-border territorial cooperation programmes | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Regional Operational Programs European Structural and Investment Funds (general) URBACT I, II URBAN II Urban Pilot Projects | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> LEADER LEADER + | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> TEN-T |

Source: Authors' own elaboration.

Table 7. Main changes induced in domestic territorial governance and spatial planning systems and their geographical patterns, distributed per EU funding instrument

| EU funding instrument | Geographic patterns | Main changes induced in the territorial governance and spatial planning systems | Implementation aspects and further remarks |
|---|--|--|---|
| Cohesion Policy (general trend: increasing) | North and north-west Europe reporting low or no influence / eastern European and Mediterranean countries + Germany reporting strong or moderate, mostly depending on the amount of funding received Regional levels are more affected Impacts limited at the regional level in fairly centralised countries Increase in 'strategic attitude' at local level in some eastern and Mediterranean countries | Planning instruments / issues Introduction of strategic, multi-annual regional development planning documents at national, regional and local levels New concepts or principles structuring planning activities: territorial cohesion, partnership or integrated and cross-sectoral approach Re-engaging with the practice of planning, although often limited to regional policy planning for the purpose of structural funds | In most cases these instruments are not explicitly concerned with spatial issues, rather focussing on planning investment, technical assistance funding and urban regions planning tasks Growing focus on infrastructure investments, energy infrastructure and saving |
| | | Territorial governance Creation of regional level bodies for implementing structural funds where regional self-government did not exist at NUTS2 level Introduction of various coordination and partnership platforms, such as monitoring committees at national and regional levels Improvement of collaboration between the municipalities and regions and horizontally among municipalities | |
| | | Planning instruments / issues Creation of new instruments closely related to spatial planning dealing with competitiveness of rural areas, employment, quality of rural space, land use, maintaining natural and cultural heritage Introduction of rural space issues in spatial planning | |
| | | Territorial governance Creation of new government bodies or shift of competences Importance of the community initiative LEADER for the institution of local actions groups enabling cross-boundary working on rural development. | |
| | | | |
| Rural development (general trend: increasing) | Influence most evident in Mediterranean and eastern countries / Northern little or no influence Local level most relevant Sub-national level marginal | | Weak coordination between spatial planning and rural policy Important spatial effects: decreasing the share of unused land, protecting valuable agricultural areas, bringing land into agricultural production and preserving landscape |

| | | | |
|--|---|--|---|
| Urban policy (general trend: increasing / constant) | | Planning instruments / issues Introduction of revitalization plans and program that either take advantage of EU resources or mirror EU programmes through domestic funds URBAN initiative played a for modernization of local urban development plans, and in newer member states, specific programmes and plans are built on its logic Introduction of new issues also in local development strategies and plans: energy efficiency, sustainable mobility and sustainable urban development, city compactness, reduction of soil consumption, heritage preservation | Impulse to knowledge transfer processes between cities, function area thinking, revitalization for urban attractiveness, and citizens' participation |
| | | Territorial governance promote a renewed interest in urban policies and projects, and to introducing a programming approach to urban development issues, increasing the number and range of actors involved, promoting co-financing and the integration of resources | |
| | | Planning procedures Increasing awareness of the regional level, increasing institutional learning and capacity of developing strategic planning | |
| | | Planning instruments / issues Introducing tools for inter-institutional partnerships at national level Creation of functional areas Impacts on sector specific policies (not spatial planning): e.g. cross-border transport infrastructure and environmental cooperation | Direct influence on spatial planning is more uncertain and difficult to discern, though there have certainly been more intangible effects on planning culture |
| European territorial cooperation (general trend: increasing / constant) | Surprisingly some countries located at the very heart of Europe and/or traditionally involved in territorial cooperation the influence over domestic spatial planning report rather low or not relevant influence Relevant influence for Switzerland | Territorial governance 'Reduction of the distance' among bordering communities along the EU internal and external borders Increasing transnational and inter-institutional partnerships (horizontal and vertical cooperation) | |
| | | Planning instruments / issues Stronger involvement of strategic planning in transport issues Marginal influence on spatial planning instruments: adjustment of the national infrastructure plan, revision of the transport legislation, adoption of the transport issue Adding of urban mobility planning to local land-use planning | On the national level the TEN-T regulations take effect as a persuasive (rather than a legal) instrument Despite the spatial relevance of TENT-T, transport remains mostly a sectoral issue that is touched upon only marginally by spatial planning |
| | Moderate influence mostly at the national level Strong influence in eastern Europe (strong relations between the TEN-T programme and EU Cohesion Policy) | | |
| | Transport policy (general trend: constant) | | |

Source: Authors' own elaboration.

3.2.1 Cohesion Policy

The influence of EU Cohesion Policy on territorial governance and spatial planning is not surprisingly related to the amount of funding available. Experts reporting low (5) or no influence (6) are those of north and North-western Europe which mostly receive a lower amount of funding, or those that are excluded from its framework as they are not members of the EU (CH, IS, LI, NO). Eastern European (with the exception of LT) and Mediterranean countries, traditionally the highest beneficiaries of the EU Cohesion Policy, report a strong (7) or moderate (14) influence, and so does Ireland (traditionally a strong beneficiary of this policy) and Germany (where this policy plays a prominent role in the eastern side of the country). Regional levels are more affected reflecting the architecture of Cohesion Policy, which identifies the regional layer as crucial for implementation. Some countries of eastern Europe and the Mediterranean also mention important impacts at the local level, where the Cohesion Policy contributed to an increase in 'strategic attitude'.

As far as the trend of this influence is concerned, fifteen countries report increasing influence of Cohesion Policy on territorial governance and spatial planning, with sixteen of them assessing it as constant through time. The only country expert mentioning a decreasing trend is the one from the United Kingdom, where the EU support has diminished in the last 10 years.

Cohesion Policy has stimulated significant change where the 'goodness of fit' (Cowles et al., 2001) between the Cohesion Policy framework and domestic institutional settings was lower (Eastern and Mediterranean countries). Changes tend to be more marginal in countries where there was already a good fit (e.g. FR, BE). Examples of institutional innovations include mainly more or less successful attempts to create regional level bodies for implementing structural funds where regional self-government did not exist at NUTS2 level (e.g. BG, HR, HU, IE, PL, PT). Also, we see the introduction of various coordination and partnership platforms, such as monitoring committees at national and regional levels. Instrumental innovation examples include mainly introduction of strategic, multi-annual regional development planning documents or the corresponding spatial development documents at national, regional and local levels. In some cases, innovations mentioned are new concepts or principles that structure planning activities, such as territorial cohesion, partnership or integrated and the cross-sectoral approach. Most of the experts from eastern Europe and others elsewhere mention that Cohesion Policy has contributed to countries re-engaging with the practice of planning, although often limited to regional policy planning for the purpose of structural funds, while spatial planning remains a separate policy (e.g. CZ, ES, IT, PL, SK). Cohesion Policy has spurred many innovations in these countries in terms of regionalisation, new institutional arrangements, new laws and strategic planning instruments, although they may have been geared towards maximising the intake of funding. Moreover, since most of eastern countries are fairly centralised, impacts of those innovations are limited at the regional level. Poland is an exception, with relatively strong regional governments at NUTS2 level able to seize the opportunities stemming from EU Cohesion Policy leading to strong

regional impacts also thanks to the coordination with domestic regional strategic planning instruments.

Cohesion Policy has contributed to new national and regional strategic planning instruments and, related spatial development documents have been used to steer and coordinate implementation (e.g. PT). However, in most cases these instruments are not explicitly concerned with spatial issues, rather focussing on planning investment and technical assistance funding (IT) and in some cases specific planning tasks, such as those related to urban regions (AT).

A number of other issues have been raised including the growing focus on infrastructure investments (ES, PT and eastern countries), and energy infrastructure and saving (EE), improved collaboration between the municipalities and regions and horizontally among municipalities (AT, NL).

3.2.2 Rural development policy

The influence of rural development policy on territorial governance and spatial planning has been mainly strongly (6) or moderately (12) significant, albeit irrelevant in six cases. In general, this influence is most evident in Mediterranean and Eastern countries (with the exception of EE, HR, LT and RO), whereas north-western and northern countries report little or no influence (except BE, IE and DE). Apart from Northern countries, the dimension and the agricultural vocation of the various countries does not seem to influence the results, as the influence over spatial planning is reported as occurring mostly through the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD) and less through its European Agriculture Guarantee Fund (EAGF). The influence of rural development policy is generally increasing (10) or constant (19), with Czech Republic and the Netherlands reporting a swinging influence through time. The local level tends to be the most relevantly affected (e.g. by LEADER), and the sub-national level marginally touched by the process with some exceptions (BG, ES, IE and IT).

Experts report little direct connection between domestic spatial planning and rural development policies. However, in Romania an explicit harmonisation of the national spatial strategy with the Common Agricultural Policy was noted. By contrast, weak coordination between spatial planning and rural policy is often indicated (e.g. EL). Greater influence of rural development policy is observed in eastern countries and linked to the fluidity of their territorial governance and spatial planning systems in the pre-accession period and the frequent legal changes immediately following the systemic transformation of the 1990s. Changes tend to be in the creation of new government bodies or in the shifting of competences. Rural development policy has fostered the creation of new instruments that are closely related to spatial planning in several cases. They deal with the competitiveness of rural areas, employment, quality of rural space, land use, maintaining natural and cultural heritage. Domestic rural development policy is reported to have had important spatial effects, for example, decreasing the share of unused land (LT), protecting valuable agricultural areas (LV), bringing land into agricultural production and preserving landscape (PL); the value of sub-regional rural policies and the introduction of rural space issues in spatial planning (IT), supporting or restoring territorial diversity

through specific financial tools as agri-environmental schemes (IE). Finally, various experts stressed the importance of the community initiative LEADER for the institution of local actions groups (LAGs) enabling cross-boundary working on rural development projects, as well as mention the introduction of CLLD as an interesting innovation that is however yet to be tested.

3.2.3 European territorial cooperation

European territorial cooperation (often mentioned in the literature among the most concrete manifestation of European spatial planning: Faludi 2010; Dühr et al, 2010) is reported to have mostly moderate influence (13) on territorial governance and spatial planning across Europe. Only country experts in France, Italy and Latvia indicate a strong impact. Surprisingly, for some countries located at the very heart of Europe and/or traditionally involved in territorial cooperation the influence over domestic spatial planning is reported as rather low or not relevant (as in Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and Nordic countries). On the other hand, cooperation initiatives are relevant for Switzerland, that takes part to them through its own funding. Influence of European territorial cooperation has been generally increasing (16) or constant (14) during the period of 2000 and 2016 with only the United Kingdom expert indicating a swinging influence through time.

The most important impact has been to 'reduce the distance' among bordering communities along the EU internal and external borders, and a transnational and inter-institutional partnerships (horizontal and vertical cooperation) have emerged. Participation in cooperation activities has led to increasing awareness of the regional level, to institutional learning and the development of institutional and strategic capacity.

However, there are few indications of the creation of new or amended cross-border or national planning instruments. An exception is, unsurprisingly, Luxemburg where the cross-border dimension has had significant influence on both policy-making and spatial planning tools. Elsewhere, tools for inter-institutional partnerships at national level are highlighted (IT), creation of functional areas (PL), general regional policy impacts (CH, HU) or sector specific policies (not spatial planning), for example on cross-border transport infrastructure (SI), and environmental cooperation (BG). Direct influence on spatial planning is more uncertain and difficult to discern, though there have certainly been more intangible effects on planning culture.

3.2.4 Urban policy

EU urban policy has had a moderate influence over domestic territorial governance and spatial planning, with 13 countries indicating moderate influence and only three strong (HU, IT, RO). The influence in Mediterranean countries started in the 1990s and in the eastern countries from 2004 or 2007. Some degree of influence is, however, reported for all eastern countries, except EE and LT. Influence is increasing (16) or constant (12) everywhere with the exception of Italy, where the impact of the Community Initiative URBAN left room to the rather lukewarm attitude towards the financial incentives introduced in 2007. More in general, most experts from 'old' member states mostly highlight the importance of the urban pilot projects as well as of the URBAN and URBAN II

Community Initiatives and the loss of momentum registered after the cancellation of the latter and the introduction of JESSICA in 2007. Innovations related that spatial planning that were influenced by EU Urban policy include revitalisation plans and programmes that either take advantage of EU resources or mirrored EU programmes through domestic funds (EL, IT, PT). The URBAN initiative played a role in fostering the modernisation of local urban development plans, and in newer member states, specific programmes and plans that build on its logic (e.g. BG).

Issues in local development strategies and plans influenced by EU Urban policy include energy efficiency, sustainable mobility and sustainable urban development in general (CZ, EE, IE, IT, LV, RO); city compactness and reduction of soil consumption (CZ), and heritage preservation (e.g. LV and other Eastern countries).

Overall, the evidence shows that EU Urban policy contributed to promoting a renewed interest in urban policies and projects, and to introducing a programming approach to urban development issues, increasing the number and range of actors involved, promoting co-financing and the integration of resources. In general, it has contributed to a better governance of the urban dimension with increasing integration. Other aspects of influence include knowledge transfer processes between cities, function area thinking, revitalisation for urban attractiveness, and citizens' participation.

3.2.5 Transport policy

EU transport policy has had only moderate influence over the domestic spatial planning systems (15 countries), with only Malta indicating a strong impact of this field. However, all country experts appraised the EU transport policy influence to be either growing (15) or constant (14) between 2000 and 2016, but almost entirely at the national level because of the organisation of the TEN-T Networks. On the national level the TEN-T regulations take also effect as a persuasive (rather than a legal) instrument. The strong influence in eastern Europe is explained by the strong relations between the TEN-T programme and EU Cohesion Policy.

There are reports of a stronger involvement of strategic planning in transport issues, but overall spatial planning instruments have been affected only marginally. For example, such influence concerns the adjustment of the national infrastructure plan (IT), revision of the transport legislation (FI); and the adoption of the transport (HR). Challenges to infrastructure development related to EU policy has led to new planning instruments (EE). Urban mobility planning has in some cases been added to local land-use planning (e.g. RO). Despite the spatial relevance of TENT-T, transport remains mostly a sectoral issue that is touched upon only marginally by spatial planning.

Generally, one can say that the moderate influence assessed is not a surprise due the very sectoral character of transport issues. However, the evidence from the expert questionnaires suggests a territorial (direct) impact of EU transport policy.

3.2.6 The functioning of EU Cohesion Policy

After assessing the significance of the influence of the different EU policy over the evolution of territorial governance and spatial planning in the various countries, it is worth to focus more in detail on the actual functioning of the policy that reported the highest scores, i.e. the EU Cohesion Policy. Before delving into the variety of the Cohesion Policy implementation systems across the EU Member states, it is worth reminding the basic differentiation between them. This differentiation is not directly related to administrative or governance issues, but rather stems from the eligibility for this policy. While all EU Member states are eligible for some form of support, the vast majority of funding (70% in the current period) is allocated to the regions where the investment needs are arguably the greatest. These have been classified as Convergence (2007-2013) or Less Developed Regions (2014-2020) with a GDP per capita lower than 75% of EU average. In countries where such regions are present, the allocations are much greater, hence there is more administrative burden and responsibility for the authorities managing ESIF. These managing authorities, however, do gain prominence in terms of resources and political standing.

The second thing to bear in mind when comparing the Cohesion Policy implementation settings are the principles governing that policy. The key ones concerning the Cohesion Policy - spatial planning nexus are concentration, programming and partnership:

- *Concentration* entails focusing on regions where assistance is most needed, hence the allocation of most ESIF to less developed regions, but also it entails concentration of effort and the so-called de-commitment rule (N+2), according to which allocated monies need to be spent within two years or paid back to the EU. In many of the economically lagging regions administering and spending large allocations of ESIF within a limited time requires significant levels of institutional capacity both among the Managing Authorities and beneficiaries of funds, which creates a challenge of absorption of funding or pressures to spend the monies fast, typically on infrastructural projects that may not be the most strategically relevant for boosting regional/local development. Similarly, the relevant role played by ESIF in the territorial development of these regions often leads to a marginalisation of spatial planning logics in favour of a more pragmatic and time-efficient approach;
- *Programming* requires that ESIF are spent on multi-annual national or regional programmes aligned on EU objectives and priorities, but also aimed at addressing the domestic strategic and spatial needs, in line with the so-called *place-based approach*. This requirement is one of the points where Cohesion Policy and domestic spatial planning (should) meet. In practice, however, while some countries align closely their spatial development strategies with the strategies for using ESIF (e.g. France, Poland and Portugal), in many other countries there is still a separation between programming of Cohesion Policy and spatial planning, resulting in little consideration for spatial implications of EU-funded projects and synergies between them;

- *Partnership* requires close coordination and cooperation between various levels of government, from European, to national, and regional, as well as with economic and social partners. This principle embodies the distinctive *multi-level governance* system of this policy and has important implications for implementation settings in the Member states, that takes the form of partnership agreements between the European Commission and the Member states to set the strategic priorities for the policy and later the presence of partnership arrangements to be defined in the national context. In this respect, in line with the findings from previous research (Dąbrowski, 2014; Dąbrowski et al. 2014), the analysis shows that partnership requirements do not fit well with the territorial governance settings of various countries. That is the case in particular for centralised countries, where applying it required significant amount of institutional innovation, sometimes resulting in little more than ‘box-ticking’ without an actual internalisation of the new structures and principles.

Overall, for pragmatic reasons stemming from the wildly differentiated administrative systems across the EU, as with the partnership principle application, the Member states benefit from a good deal of freedom when shaping the institutional set ups for implementing Cohesion Policy, as long as they comply with the governing principles of the policy. On the one hand, this considerable leeway given to Member states leaves room for experimentation and innovation, for instance by deciding how to use technical assistance and whether and how to apply tools designated to support cross-boundary cooperation, like Integrated Territorial Investments (ITI), Community Led Local Development (CLLD) or cross-border instruments. On the other hand, it at the same time implies a risk of loss of effectiveness due to a variety of reasons, among which one may mention deficits in the institutional capacity required to coordinate, manage, and evaluate ESIF spending at national or regional levels, or distortion of the initial policy goals due to their more or less voluntary misinterpretation by the domestic agents responsible for implementation.

A first factor differentiating the implementation of the EU Cohesion Policy in the member states concerns the territorial level responsible for it. This is strongly related to the presence or absence of Regional Operational Programmes and of regional authorities at NUTS2 level that could play the role of programme Managing Authorities². In this light, it is possible to identify a first cluster of countries characterised by delegation of responsibility for ROP preparation and implementation to the elected regional authorities operating at NUTS2 level (while sectoral programmes remain managed centrally). Examples include Poland, Spain, France and Italy, but also federal countries such as Belgium and Germany, and Austria until 2013. A second cluster includes those countries that do have regional programmes, but due to lack of relevant authorities at NUTS2 level had to create ‘statistical’ or

² The outcomes of this analysis overlap and further substantiate those resulting from ESPON ReSSI overview or regional governance regimes in Europe, published in the project’s final report (ESPON & Coventry University, forthcoming)

‘programming’ regions at this level and delegated the implementation of regional operational programmes to special-purpose bodies comprising representatives of multiple territorial units or to private or semi-public agencies (e.g. PT, NL, SE, EL, CZ, SK, IE and HU). In the third cluster, countries lack such programmes due to small size of the country or political reasons. For instance, the Baltic countries of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, Cyprus, Malta, Luxembourg do not have regions due to their relatively small territory, hence EU funds are mostly administered centrally. In countries like Denmark, Romania or Austria and Hungary after 2013, self-governments are present at NUTS3 level and ‘statistical’ regions exist at NUTS2 level, however political decisions were made to opt for a single ROP covering the whole country and adopting the same priorities across the territory.

A second factor is the degree of alignment between strategic planning for the purpose of Cohesion Policy implementation and spatial development planning. From the experts reports, it emerges that in countries like Bulgaria, Germany, France, Hungary, Poland and Portugal, EU Cohesion Policy programming is a strategic activity aligned and at least partly integrated with domestic spatial planning at the national and/or regional levels. This entails aligning the timing, pairing of spatial and strategic-programming documents and alignment of investment priorities (mostly to maximise absorption of EU funds). By contrast in countries like Czech Republic Estonia, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Slovenia, Romania, Denmark, Sweden, or Finland, programming for Cohesion Policy remains separate from spatial planning and there are no specific efforts to align them. Such alignment or non-alignment is also closely related to the authorities actually responsible for managing EU Cohesion Policy programming and domestic spatial planning activities. In particular, especially in countries fully or partly included in the Convergence objective, the authorities responsible for the managing of EU Cohesion Policy acquired a very strong position *vis-à-vis* those responsible for domestic spatial planning, in turn generating internal conflicts and hampering the potentials for cooperation.

Finally, it is worth to highlight a series of linkages between EU Cohesion Policy and domestic territorial governance and spatial planning, as highlighted by some of the country experts. First of all, the relevance of strategic planning at various levels, which has implications for spatial development at minimum, and can be coordinated with spatial planning. This aspect of Cohesion Policy has forced the member states to embrace a multi-annual perspective as well as an integrated approach entailing coordination across sectors and strategies at various territorial levels. Similarly, specific instruments such as Integrated Territorial Investment, promoting cooperation between municipalities within a metropolitan area, macro-regional strategies and cross-border programmes promoting cooperation across borders. Finally, the role of technical assistance should not be forgotten, as the use to support strategic and/or spatial planning capacity, for instance to tackle complex cross-sectoral challenges or issues cutting across municipal boundaries or concerning the municipal/regional nexus³.

³ For further details on the matter see ESPON & Politecnico di Milano, 2011.

3.2.7 Impact of the EU pre-accession process

With respect to the influence that the EU may exert on the domestic governance systems in more general terms, one should not forget the procedures that are established to access the Union. In particular, all those countries that decide to join the EU have to go through a complex iterative process, so-called pre-accession negotiations. At the same time, since the 1990s the EU instituted a specific policy devoted to the support of candidate and neighbourhood countries. Due to this reason, the country experts were required to elaborate on the impact of their respective territorial governance and spatial planning systems of both the EU pre-accession negotiation as well as the related pre-accession instruments (PHARE, ISPA, SAPARD and later IPA).

Of the 32 countries under scrutiny in the ESPON COMPASS project, only 11 were exposed the pre-accession process during the period of analysis (2000-2016), namely:

- Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovenia and Slovakia (that joined the EU in 2004);
- Bulgaria and Romania (that joined in 2007);
- Croatia (that joined in 2013).

Despite presenting numerous differences in terms of territorial dimensions, population, geographical and socio-economic conditions, all respondents reported that pre-accession negotiations and policies produced some impact over their territorial governance and spatial planning systems (Table 8). More in detail, the majority of the countries at stake (9 over 12) reported a strong or moderate influence of the pre-accession process (with the exception of LT and MT), with highest increase that may be detected at the national level, and that decrease through the sub-national to local level.

Table 8. Influence of the EU pre-accession process on domestic territorial governance and spatial planning systems between 2000 and 2016, by significance and trend before accession.

| Influence of the EU pre-accession process | Significance | | | | | Trend (before accession) | | | |
|--|--------------|------------------------|--------|----|--|--------------------------|----------|------------|------------|
| | Strong | Moderate | Low | No | | Increasing | Constant | Decreasing | Swinging |
| Pre-accession process^(a) | HU, LV, RO | BG, CZ, HR, PL, SK, SI | LT, MT | | | BG, CZ, HU, LV, RO, SI | | LT, MT | HR, PL, SK |
| ^(a) No answers from CY and EE. | | | | | | | | | |

Evidence shows how the significance of the pre-accession process is connected to the specific time-schedule of the enlargement process for the various countries under scrutiny. In most of the cases, this significance has been increasing throughout the whole pre-accession period, to peak right before its conclusion and then decrease rapidly once a country became a full EU member. This is a

consequence of two interrelated phenomena. On the one hand, the closure of all the negotiation protocols and the implementation of the required reform. On the other hand, the end of the pre-accession economic support, with the new members entering the EU Cohesion Policy framework. In three cases (HR, PL and SK), the experts reported swinging tendencies in the impact of the process before the accession.

When it comes to the changes introduced during the pre-accession process it is hardly possible to distinguish between the impact of the negotiation and of the implementation of the pre-accession support measures. Similarly, as during the pre-accession period all the countries had to change their national legislative framework as a consequence of the negotiations protocols and to the need to transpose EU sectoral legislation, it is difficult to separate the effects of the latter from results of the negotiation process. More in detail, in all of the investigated countries regional development legislation and institutions were set up as part of the pre-accession process, most of which focus on sectoral fields already explored in section 1.2. If a peculiar impact of the pre-accession negotiation has to be detected, it may here be linked to the pace of adoption that, in the case of accession countries, very much depended on the pace of the negotiations.

An important impact of the pre-accession process is the triggering of regionalisation processes in the majority of Central and Eastern European countries. Although regionalisation was not put as a condition by the EU directly, the Enlargement Criteria (so-called Copenhagen and Madrid Criteria) required that every accession country provide itself with the administrative and institutional capacity to effectively implement the *acquis communautaire* and ability to take on the obligations of membership. In this light, some countries developed separate regional development institution system for making regional development plans and management of regional development policy, while others integrated the new functions, including regional planning, into the national administration. In addition, some nations carried out more complex processes of administrative reform, that led to the introduction of a new sub-national government tier. Czech Republic, Slovakia and Poland introduced self-governing regions into the national public administration systems. As many of the other countries established new regional development bodies as units of new, EU-conform regional development institutions, it was a logical step to empower these new, sub-national public actors (self-governing regions or regional development bodies) with spatial planning responsibility as well, transferred from either lower state administration levels or from the state.

There are various recurring elements of innovation introduced in the countries at stake as a consequence of the pre-accession period. Amongst other things, the role of the pre-accession policy and related instrument as a training camp for the EU Cohesion Policy was underlined by most analysts as very important. In particular, the participation to PHARE, ISPA and SAPARD promoted capacity building among central and eastern European institutions at all government layers, allowing them to come to terms with the EU approach to territorial development and supporting them in the preparation of the first national (and often sub-national) spatial planning documents. In this concern,

the EU pre-accession policy support dedicated to staffing and capacity building played a pivotal role. Other relevant impacts of the pre-accession policy mentioned by the country experts are the support to the creation of spatial data's digital archives (supported through PHARE) and the progressive development and consolidation of local networks for cross-border cooperation (supported through PHARE – CBC). Various respondents also pointed out that during the pre-accession period several countries made new development plans or introduced new spatial planning laws designed in line with EU recommendations and requirements. However, the causal links between the contents and shape of these legislative documents and the influence of the EU is hard to demonstrate.

In general, the most relevant impact concerning spatial planning instruments was the introduction of new plans and development documents at the national and sub-national levels, mostly in connection with the implementation of the pre-accession policy. This activity paved the way to the effective functioning of new member states' administration as soon as they entered the EU Cohesion Policy right after the enlargement. Similarly, such proliferation of development documents resulted as well in two concurring phenomena: the consolidation of a development oriented, programming attitude in line with the EU paradigm in the national and regional administration and an increasing strategic planning activity at all territorial levels, aiming at putting in place the necessary conditions to take advantage of the EU support.

3.3 The impact of EU discourse

The EU produces an influence on the patterns of change of domestic territorial governance and spatial planning systems through the continuous productions of concepts, ideas and guidelines related to territorial development within a number of more or less structured knowledge arenas (Figure 7, Figure 8). Also here, experts were required to assess the impact of the evolution of concepts and ideas developed within a number of EU arenas of debate over domestic territorial governance and spatial planning between 2000 and 2016, first by choosing between 'strong significance', 'moderate significance', 'low significance' and 'no influence', and then assessing the trend of such influence from 2000 to 2016 as 'increasing', 'constant', 'decreasing', or 'swinging'. For each policy, they were also required to provide relevant examples concerning both the changes observed and their drivers.

The results of the analysis are summarised in table 9 and 10. The sub-sections below synthesise the collected evidence highlighting emerging general trends and behaviours among the analysed countries in adapting their domestic territorial governance and spatial planning systems as a more or less direct consequence of the evidence, concepts and ideas developed and debated within the main EU spatial planning knowledge arenas (Adams et al., 2011). In conclusion to this section, some considerations on the actual relevance that the main concepts permeating the EU spatial planning debate had within the context of the various countries at stake are proposed, together with evidences concerning the actual impact that the consolidation of a EU spatial planning discourse had over domestic academic debates, planning education and planning practice.

According to the ESPON COMPASS country experts, the most relevant of these arenas of debate is the high level political negotiation among member states, that through time led to the development of a set of EU mainstream development strategies. These documents are considered highly (7) or moderate (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 (Table 9). On the contrary, The EU Urban Agenda and the EU documents that presents a more 'spatial' flavour (as for instance the European Spatial Development Perspective and the following EU Territorial Agenda and its 2020 version), are reported to be less significant in influencing the evolution of domestic territorial governance and spatial planning systems. More in detail, only 17 experts mentioned the EU Urban Agenda as strongly (3) or moderately significant (14), and the same is true for EU spatial policy documents, assessed as strongly (4) or moderately (12) significant by as few as 16 experts.

Figure 7. Perceived top-down discursive influence in European territorial governance (Source: Authors' elaboration).

Perceived top-down discursive influence in European territorial governance

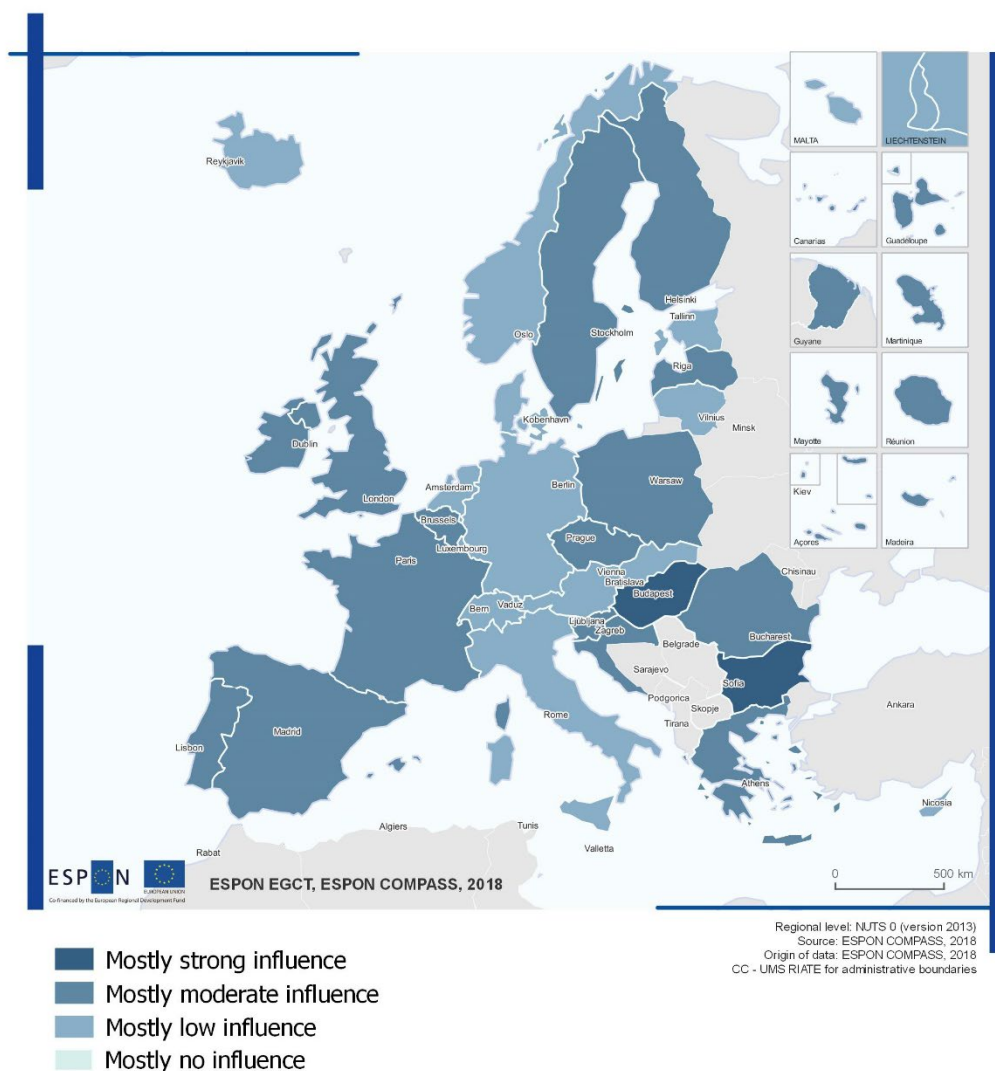


Figure 7. Perceived top-down discursive influence in European territorial governance – trend 2000/2016 (Source: Authors' elaboration).

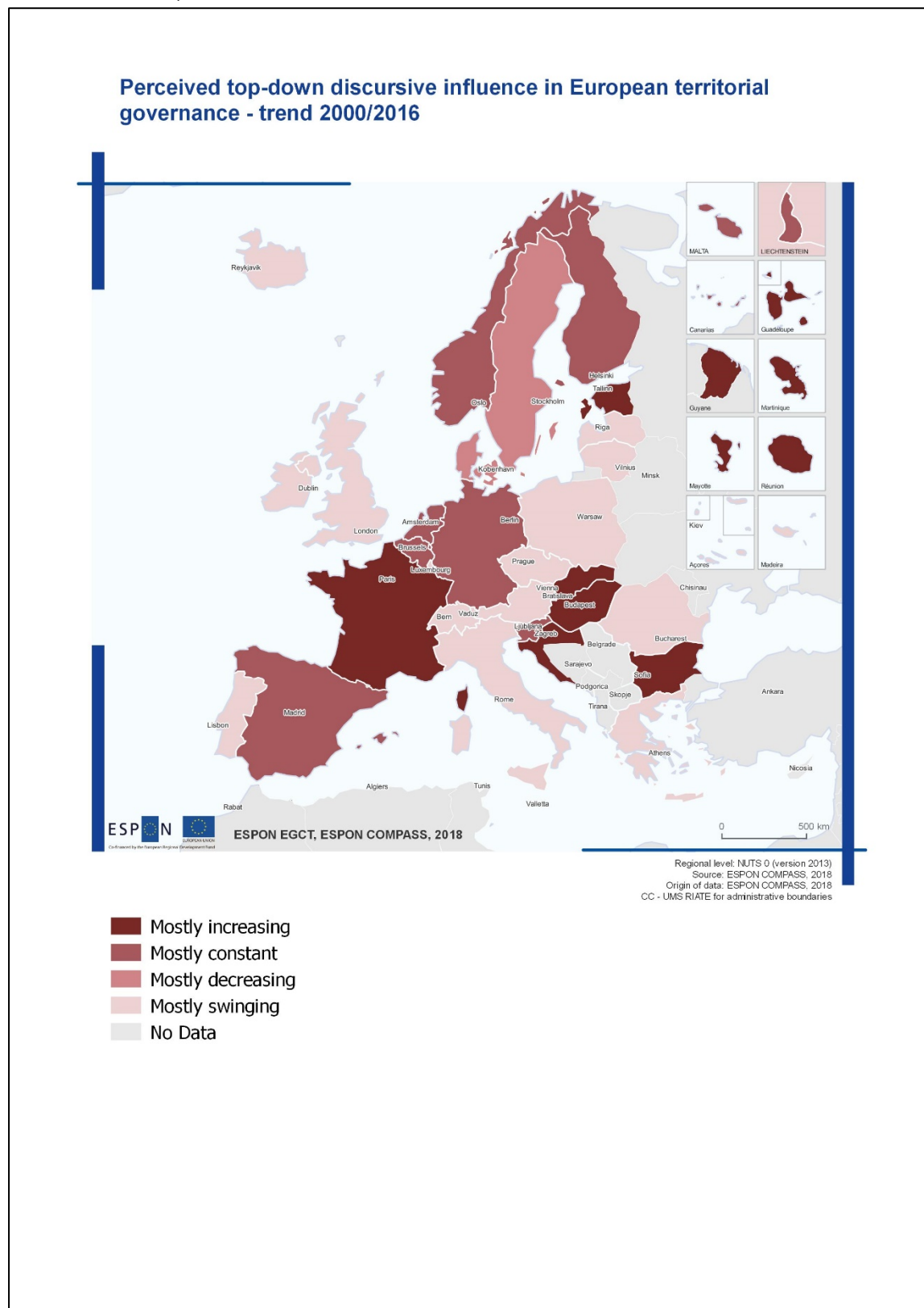


Table 9. Impact of the EU discourse on domestic territorial governance and spatial planning systems between 2000 and 2016, by significance and trend.

| Influence of the EU discourse (2000 - 2016) | Significance | | | | Trend | | | |
|--|----------------------------|--|--|----------------|--|--|--------------------------------|----------|
| | Strong | Moderate | Low | No | Increasing | Constant | Decreasing | Swinging |
| EU mainstream development strategies ^(a) | BG, EL, ES, FR, HU, PT, SI | AT, CZ, FI, HR, IE, IS, LV, PL, RO, SE, SK, UK | BE, CH, CY, DE, DK, EE, IT, LT, LU, MT, NL, NO | LI | BG, EE, FR, HR, HU, IT, LT, LU, RO, SK | AT, BE, CH, CZ, DE, EL, ES, FI, IE, IS, LI, LV, MT, NL, NO, PL, PT, SE, SI, UK | DK | |
| EU urban agenda ^(a) | BG, SI, UK | BE, CY, DE, EL, ES, FI, HR, HU, IS, LV, NL, PT, PL, RO | CH, CZ, DK, EE, FR, IE, IT, LT, LU, NO, SE, SK | AT, LI, MT | BE, BG, CH, CZ, DE, EE, HR, IE, IT, LT, LU, LV, PT, RO, SI, SK | AT, DK, EL, FR, HU, IS, LI, MT, NL, NO, PL, SE | ES, FI | UK |
| EU spatial policy documents ^(a) | BG, HU, PL, RO | BE, CZ, DK, EL, FR, HR, IE, IS, LV, PT, SI, UK | AT, CH, CY, DE, ES, FI, IT, LU, NL, NO, SE, SK | EE, LI, LT, MT | BE, BG, HR, HU, IS, SK | CZ, DE, EE, ES, FI, FR, IE, LI, LT, LV, MT, NO, PL, SI, UK | AT, CH, DK, EL, LU, NL, RO, SE | IT, PT |
| ESPON ^(a) | | BE, CZ, FI, HU, LV, PL, RO, SE, SI | AT, BG, CH, CY, DE, DK, EE, EL, ES, FR, HR, IE, IS, LI, LT, LU, NL, NO, PT, SK, UK | IT, MT | CH, EE, HR, IE, LT, LU, LV, NO | AT, BE, BG, CZ, DK, FI, HU, IS, IT, LI, MT, NL, RO, SI, SK, UK | DE, EL, ES, PL, SE | FR, PT |

^(a) CY expert reports no trend.

Source: authors' own elaboration.

Table 10. Impact of the EU discourse on domestic territorial governance and spatial planning systems between 2000 and 2016. Main changes induced in domestic territorial governance and spatial planning systems and their geographical patterns.

| | Main drivers of change | Geographic patterns | Main changes induced in the territorial governance and spatial planning systems | Challenges |
|---|--|--|--|---|
| EU mainstream development strategies | Lisbon Strategy, Gothenburg Strategy, Europe 2020 Strategy | BG, EL, ES, HU, PT, SI have recorded strong impact. But no clear geographic pattern. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Direct influence on national policies and on regional strategic instruments/programs. - Mostly influenced territorial governance. Less influenced spatial planning. - Definition of EU-oriented national spatial planning strategies suitable to allocate EU funding. | Mismatch between the priorities set at the EU / national level (following EU priorities) and regional / local priorities thus 'not creating proper space for informal reflection of EU strategies at the regional and local level. |
| EU urban agenda | Leipzig Charter (and Thematic Strategy on the Urban Environment) | No clear geographic pattern. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Direct impacts on cities. - Development of integrated plans for urban regeneration, inter-municipal partnerships, sustainable urban strategies. - Issues incorporated into domestic debate and planning instruments: sustainable urban mobility, urban renovation and social inclusion. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 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. - Influence not always visible in practice. |
| EU spatial policy documents | ESDP. Territorial Agenda, EC Green Paper (and: Guiding principles for Sustainable Spatial Development, 2000; Habitat conference, 1996; Istanbul and Ljubljana Declaration; EU Urban Agenda and sustainable mobility) | BG, HU, PL, RO have recorded strong impact. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Influenced both spatial planning and territorial governance and also planning profession. - Issues incorporated into domestic debate and tools: polycentricism, fostering economic and social cohesion and multi-sectoral approach. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Newer EU spatial policy documents seem to have higher cognitive influence than practical impact. They are generally less known. - Principles not always fit with geographical domestic needs and conditions. |
| ESPON | | No clear geographic pattern. | <p>Pragmatic influence is pinpointed with regard to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The introduction at national level of the ESPON-born concept of Functional Urban Areas. - The interest in cultural heritage which has supported urban challenges concerning cultural heritage. - Influence on the self-perception of countries, which in some cases have been stimulated to reshape inner and outer linkages towards other countries. | <p>Generally seen as a source of inspiration rather than a direct influencing tool.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Complexity make it hard to use ESPON outputs in policy-making - Data and results are not fine-grained enough to be significant for the regional and local scale. |

Source: Authors' own elaboration.

3.3.1. EU mainstream development strategies

The most frequently cited strategies are the Lisbon Strategy, the Gothenburg Agenda and the Europe 2020 Strategy⁴. Generally, domestic policies seem to demonstrate a twofold relationship with the issues associated with these strategies, either through explicit reference (e.g. BG, MT) or by mean of generic correspondence in terms of aims and goals (e.g. NL). Direct influence is delivered mostly on national policies (e.g. EL, MT, PT, SI) and in some cases on regional strategic instruments/programs (DE). The impact mainly concerns the scope of strategic documents (FI, DE). However in ES, the Lisbon Strategy had also a strong influence on the national legislation and in LU the national spatial planning system is designed to achieve specific objectives defined within the EU Strategies (such as polycentricism). Impacts are also registered on the definition of EU-oriented national spatial planning strategies suitable to allocate EU funding (HU, SK, AT). In some cases, this phenomenon is seen as a drawback, as it led to prioritise national aims and goal at the expenses of regional and local specific needs 'not creating proper space for informal reflection of EU strategies at the regional and local level' (SK).

3.3.2. EU urban agenda

Also the progressive consolidation of a EU Urban Agenda is described as highly (3) or moderately (14) relevant, with usually increasing (16) trend since 2000 (constant in 11 cases). Compared to the other EU discursive arenas, the EU Urban Agenda explicitly records direct impacts locally (e.g. BE, BG, IT, SE, SI), through the inspiration of integrated plans for urban regeneration, of inter-municipal partnerships, or sustainable urban strategies.⁵ In some countries, the EU Urban Agendas influenced explicitly numerous national, regional and local spatial plans such as sustainable urban mobility, urban renovation and social inclusion (PT). Other experts report that cities are very active in the development of their own strategies for the adaptation to climate change, smart development strategies etc. apparently without explicit connection to EU documents (SK). Most experts agree that the most influential document has been the Leipzig Charter on sustainable cities, followed by the Thematic Strategy on the Urban Environment.

3.3.3. EU spatial policy documents

On the contrary, the attitude of the respondents towards EU spatial planning strategies and documents is rather lukewarm, with a lower number expert presenting them as highly (4) or moderately relevant (12), and often describing such influence as decreasing (8) or constant (15) at best. Despite being the first and oldest spatial document produced at the EU level, the ESDP has without doubt left the higher and more persistent influence in further discussing the European dimension of spatial development in almost all countries. It is considered to have influenced both

⁴ Among the three Strategies, the Europe 2020 Strategy is generally seen to be more applicable for regional development approaches, since it is 'less abstract than the other two' (SE).

⁵ Even though 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 (IT).

spatial planning and territorial governance (FI), even though with swinging trend (PT). Overall, the document is reported to still be better-known if compared to the following Territorial Agendas, and its policy aims and options are still inspiring planning activities in various countries (FI, IT, SK, RO). The Green paper on Territorial Cohesion and the Territorial Agendas are generally less known and assessed as more difficult to be put in practice by planners (FI). They are mostly used rhetorically, being mentioned by strategic documents at all spatial scale without producing however any concrete impact (AT, DE, ES, MT, SE). Few countries do report an influence of the Territorial Agendas, that is indicated as an important reference for national policies aiming at polycentricism, economic and social cohesion and multi-sectoral coordination (LU).

3.3.4 ESPON

Finally, also the ESPON programme is reported to have had a growing (8) or constant (16) impact on the development of domestic territorial governance and spatial planning, but this impact remains rather low (in 21 countries, no impact in 2). Generally speaking, ESPON is seen by many as a source of inspiration that, indirectly, led to specific domestic episodes of innovation, as the consolidation of the concept of Functional Urban Areas (e.g. CZ, HU) or the growing interest in cultural heritage in urban areas (NO). Appreciation especially concerned those project reports addressing the international, strategic position of Nation States, that constituted useful background information on wider spatial context for national strategies and policies also influencing the self-perception of countries, which are stimulated to reshape inner and outer linkages towards other countries (NL, CZ and PL). In general, however, ESPON results appear to be rarely used in developing territorial policies (AT).

While some difficulties in implementing ESPON research outputs could be attributed to the national capacity of spreading such outputs and making them effective (FI), most frequent common challenges raised by country experts about the implementation of the programme are:

- need for less complex outputs, easier to be transferred to policy-making (EL, SE) and to be incorporated into national spatial planning policies (LU), as now transfer of research outputs is easier towards national level and restricted epistemic communities: ESPON data and research has become increasingly used in spatial policy debates (e.g. LV), but this is generally restricted to a small epistemic community active at the national level. In RO, ESPON had a major influence on how planners are trained in higher education;
- Perhaps for all these reasons the process of relatively easily incorporating ESPON outputs in regional policy making has been easier for some smaller nations (BE, LT);
- Another issue is the scale of the researches: data and results should be fine-grained enough to be significant for the regional and local scale (DE) and not to obfuscate sub-national territorial characteristics and specificities (BG).

3.3.5 Analysis of the impact of EU concepts and ideas

When it comes to the influence of specific spatial concepts and ideas developed at the EU level over domestic territorial governance and spatial planning a number of recurrences emerges among the country experts (Table 11). In particular, the *Strengthening of Ecological Structures and Cultural Resources as the Added Value for Development* is reported to be the most influencing issue, showing a general constant trend of influence through time. The higher impact of such issue also depends on its translation into concrete policy guidelines (and regulations) in numerous national, regional and local spatial plans (as suggested by PT).

Another pivotal element of the ESDP and following Territorial Agendas, i.e. the institution of *New Forms of Partnership and Governance between Rural and Urban Areas* have gained growing prominence during the last decades and in some countries they have been continuously reshaped up to now (e.g. FI).

Some themes were already present in national debate and policies and were thus strengthened, for example:

- *Strengthening Polycentric Development*. Polycentricism has been implicitly or explicitly at the basis of various wide area plans (e.g. EL, IT, NL), although in some countries (DE) polycentricism as a term is hardly used in main due to the domestic territorial governance and spatial planning documents;
- *Promoting Regional Clusters of Competition and Innovation* (IT);
- *Strengthening of Ecological Structures and Cultural Resources as the Added Value for Development*. Italy and other Mediterranean countries (but also AT for instance) took the initiative for the inclusion of cultural heritage issues into the ESDP. Moreover, the inclusion of the topic in EU spatial planning discourse supported relevant spatial policy aims and objectives at the domestic level (EL);
- the *EU discourse on territorial diversity* supported domestic debate (EL) or guided the orientation of national policy aims (BG).

Some other concepts are, on the other hand, perceived as of difficult translation in the practice. This is the case of the *Strengthening Territorial Cohesion* (FI) as well as *Strengthening Regional Identities, Making Better Use of Territorial Diversity* (PT, and other countries where regional identities have never been very strong).

In the period 2000-2016 a general increasing of *Territorial Integration in cross-border and transnational functional regions* has to be noticed (e.g. BG, FI). Behind this trend there was a strong learning process of local actors from cross-border cooperation programmes (HU), but on the other hand there are not always cooperation raised in the 90's has been capable of lasting over time (ES).

Attention is also paid to *Trans-European Risk Management including the Impacts of Climate Change*, for instance in NO new national policy document on climate and adaption were adopted (as in many

other countries, as reported in § 3.1.2). Many have introduced such issues into national debate but fragmentary impacts are to be noticed on planning practice (e.g. ES, PT).

Promote Regional Clusters of Competition and Innovation. There seem to have been concrete influence from the EU discourse in the national and regional spatial plan discourses and strategies in supporting regional and sub-regional innovation and competition clusters (DE, HR, PT).

The rationale for supporting integrating development discourses (*Encouraging Integrated development in cities, rural and specific regions, Sustainable growth, Inclusive growth*) is to be searched in the need to follow the EU Cohesion Policy regulations for the 2007-2014 programming period, which support concrete policy actions that foment integrated development urban strategies. Hence, this type of policy and spatial planning discourses has mostly a local and regional character, and is driven mostly by the possibility to access to available EU funding (IT, PT).

Encouraging Integrated development in cities, rural and specific regions. Integrated development has been a key policy element since 2000. However, planning practice shows that integration of sectoral interests still remains a major task (BE).

Finally, many of these concepts are already reflected in national territorial governance and spatial planning systems (due to a swinging influence of EU discourse or to national self-awareness) also of non-EU countries (e.g. CH).

3.3.6 Analysis of the impact of the EU spatial planning over domestic planning communities

Most country experts argue that, whereas the influence of the European spatial planning discourse over domestic academic spatial planning debates has been rather high (3) or at least moderate (16) and generally growing since 2000 (10), this has not yet been mirrored yet by relevant change neither in daily planning practice, nor in planning education (with respectively 15 and 16 experts indicating low or no influence, Table 12 and 13).

Differences have to be noticed between countries with a wide and varied or small academic community, with small communities that tend to underline the relevance of international academic associations and arenas such as AESOP (e.g. CZ, LV, SK). Lower impact is expressed by northern countries (FI, SE, IC), among which a much more vivid interest towards inner issues seem to draw the attention, as well as by central-European countries (e.g. BE, DE, NL). In the latter case, however, a stronger debate has recently grown on macro regions and cross-border cooperation (DE). Higher influence has been assessed by Mediterranean countries (except MT, whose academic community concerned with SP is very small and all members are relatively young academics), where however, the debate has now consolidated and settled, scraping its own space of autonomy as a field of research (IT, EL, PT).

Also eastern countries stress a growing academic engagement with the EU debate, with significant increase in methodological and empirical research related to EU in Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Poland.

In Switzerland, the EU debate has adjusted to new challenges in spatial planning with particular interest in relation to cross-border issues, shared initiatives and projects.

Finally, it is interesting to notice the major disciplinary fields influenced across Europe; here some examples:

- cultural geography perspective (FI);
- geography and other social sciences, namely on areas such engineering and architecture (RO, PT);
- architecture, environmental (ES);
- architecture, civil engineering and geodesy, geology and geography (BG);
- spatial planning is generally considered as part of technical sciences and architecture (HR).

Planning education generally follows the academic debate, with chairs of and modules focusing on European planning issues that were opened throughout different universities (DE, IT). Mediterranean countries have open up courses on European spatial planning in universities. Education in the field of spatial planning is gaining increasing importance in Portugal with university degree on Spatial Planning. This happens also in non-UE countries such as Switzerland. The importance of ERASMUS programme is set out by the Czech Republic, Lithuania and Poland. Finally, EU issues have a small role in the planning education of northern countries (FI); IC students still receive their education abroad (IC) or existing curricula in the Master programmes in Planning are closing down (SE).

On the other hand, when it comes to the influence on the practice, assimilation at the level of professionals and administrators of the common European language is more difficult. What more directly affects spatial planning profession are EU regulations and guidelines than persuasive discourse: direct influence, for instance, via EIA, SEA, ITI (e.g. CZ, DE). Moreover, another very influencing tool are structural funds which directly orient source-oriented planning (e.g. ES, IT, HU). Indirectly, EU discourse permeates the planning profession practice in slightly different ways and degrees of influence. Northern countries elicit a low impact: on a practical level there is limited competence and knowledge (FI); Sweden has a strong Nation state and municipal self-government, which makes these policy actors not that responsive for influences from outside (SE); the Norwegian debate on spatial planning has been centred the national urban issues rather the European spatial planning issues (NO). country expert for MT, again, registers a low influence on planners also because the planning profession in Malta is still not recognised with the Chamber of Planners still in its infancy in terms of influence (MT). IT highlights the fact that new professional skills have also emerged, especially related to European funding, where professionals act as mediators supporting municipal administrations in researching and in responding to European calls (EL, ES, IT). Again, in general Mediterranean countries underline a higher influence also on professionals, such as in Spain and Greece. ESDP emerges as a turning point in the profession in the Eastern countries (e.g. RO).

The profession of 'urbanist' was introduced into the National Classification of Occupations in Bulgaria and European debates influenced spatial planners' perception of issues as sustainable development, social participation, and new concepts of spatial development (PL).

Table 11. Impact of the EU concepts and ideas on domestic territorial governance and spatial planning systems between 2000 and 2016, by significance and trend.

| Analysis of the impact of EU concepts and ideas (2000 - 2016) | Significance | | | | Trend | | | |
|---|-----------------------------|--|--|--------|--|--|--------------------|----------|
| | Strong | Moderate | Low | No | Increasing | Constant | Decreasing | Swinging |
| PART I | | | | | | | | |
| Strengthening of Ecological Structures and Cultural Resources as the Added Value for Development | AT, BG, HR, PT, RO, SI, SK, | BE, CY, DE, EE, EL, ES, FI, HU, IE, LV, MT, NL, SE, IC, IT, PL | CH, CZ, DK, LI, LT, LU, NO | | AT, BG, CY, CZ, ES, HR, IE, LU, IC, PL, PT, RO, SI | BE, CH, DE, DK, EE, EL, FI, IT, LI, LT, LV, NO, SE, SK | MT, NL | HU |
| Strengthen Polycentric Development and Innovation through Networking of City Regions and Cities | BG, ES, FI, HR, HU, LV, PT | AT, BE, CH, CZ, DE, DK, EE, EL, LU, SE, IC, IT, PL, RO, SI | CY, IE, LT, NO | NL, SK | BE, BG, CY, CZ, HR, HU, LT, NO, PL, RO, SI | AT, CH, DE, DK, EL, ES, FI, IE, SE, IC, SK | EE, IT, LU, LV, PT | |
| Sustainable growth – promoting a more resource efficient, greener and more competitive economy | BG, FI, HR, PT, SI | CY, CZ, EE, EL, HU, IE, LU, MT, SE, IC, PL, SK | AT, BE, CH, DE, DK, ES, IT, LI, LT, LV, NO, RO | NL | AT, BE, BG, CY, CZ, DE, EE, ES, FI, HR, HU, IT, LU, LV, MT, NL, PT, RO, SI, SK | CH, DK, EL, IE, LI, LT, SE | | NO, PL |
| Smart growth – developing an economy based on knowledge and innovation | FI, IE, PT, SI | BG, CY, CZ, EE, ES, HR, HU, LU, MT, SE, IC, PL, SK | AT, BE, CH, DE, DK, EL, IT, LI, LT, LV, NL, NO, RO | | AT, BG, CH, CZ, DE, DK, EE, EL, ES, FI, HR, HU, IT, LU, LT, LV, NL, NO, PT, RO, SI, SK | BE, IE, LI, MT, SE | | PL |

| Analysis of the impact of EU concepts and ideas (2000 - 2016) | Significance | | | | Trend | | | |
|--|------------------------|--|--|----------------|--|--|------------|----------|
| | Strong | Moderate | Low | No | Increasing | Constant | Decreasing | Swinging |
| PART II | | | | | | | | |
| New Forms of Partnership and Governance between Rural and Urban Areas | BG, EE, HR, RO | AT, BE, CZ, DE, FI, HU, IC, IT, PL, PT, SE, SI, SK | CH, CY, DK, EL, ES, IE, LU, LT, LV, NL, NO | | AT, BG, CH, CY, DE, ES, HR, IC, IT, LT, LU, PL, PT, RO, SI | CZ, DK, FI, IE, LV, NL, NO, SE, SK | EE, EL | BE, HU |
| Parity of access to Infrastructure and Knowledge | BG, EE, HR, HU, PT | AT, CY, CZ, DE, EL, ES, FI, IE, IC, LV, SI | BE, CH, DK, IT, LT, NL, PL, RO, SE, SK | | BG, EE, HR, HU, IE, IC, IT, LT, PT, RO, SK | BE, CH, DE, DK, EL, ES, FI, LV, NL, SE, SI | AT | CZ, PL |
| Encouraging Integrated development in cities, rural and specific regions | BG, HR | AT, BE, CY, CZ, EE, EL, FI, IC, IT, LV, NO, PT, RO, SE, SI, SK | CH, DE, DK, ES, HU, IE, LT, PL | MT, NL | BG, CH, CY, CZ, EE, HR, HU, IE, IC, NO, PL, PT, RO, SI | AT, BE, DE, DK, FI, LT, LV, MT, SE, SK | ES, IT | EL |
| Improving Territorial connectivity for individuals, communities and enterprises | BG, CZ, EE, LV, MT, PT | BE, ES, FI, HR, HU, IE, IC, LU, PL, SE | CH, DE, DK, EL, IT, LI, NO, SI, SK | AT, LT, NL, RO | BG, CY, EE, HR, IC, LU, MT, NO, PL, PT, SI, SK | AT, BE, CH, CZ, DE, DK, EL, ES, FI, IE, IT, LI, LT, LV, RO, SE | HU | |

| Analysis of the impact of EU concepts and ideas (2000 - 2016) | Significance | | | | Trend | | | |
|--|--------------|--|---|--------|--|--|----------------|----------|
| | Strong | Moderate | Low | No | Increasing | Constant | Decreasing | Swinging |
| PART III | | | | | | | | |
| Strengthening Territorial Cohesion | ES, HR | AT, BG, CZ, EL, HU, SE, IE, IC, IT, LT, LV, PL, PT, RO, SK | BE, CH, CY, DE, DK, EE, FI, LI, NO, SI | NL | BG, CH, CY, DE, EE, HR, HU, IC, IT, LT, PL, RO, SI, SK | BE, DK, ES, FI, IE, LI, LV, SE | EL, NO, PT | CZ |
| Territorial Integration in cross-border and transnational functional regions | BG | CZ, EE, EL, FI, HU, IE, IT, LI, LU, LV, PT, RO, SE, SI, SK | AT, BE, CH, CY, DE, DK, ES, HR, LT, MT, NL, NO, PL | | BG, CH, EE, HR, HU, IE, LI, LU, MT, PT | DE, DK, ES, FI, IT, LT, LV, NL, NO, RO, SE, SI | AT, BE, CZ, SK | EL, PL |
| Strengthening Regional Identities, Making Better Use of Territorial Diversity | AT, BE, HR | DE, EE, ES, FI, IE, SE, IC, PT, SI, SK | BG, CH, CY, CZ, DK, EL, HU, IT, LI, LU, LV, NL, NO, RO, | LT, PL | CY, EE, FI, HR, IE, IC, LU, LV, NL, SI, SK | AT, BE, BG, CH, CZ, DE, DK, EL, ES, HU, IT, LI, LT, PL, RO, SE | NO | PT |
| Trans-European Risk Management including the Impacts of Climate Change | HU, SI | BG, CH, CY, CZ, ES, FI, HR, NL, PT, SE, SK | AT, BE, DE, DK, EE, EL, IE, IT, LI, LU, LV, NO, PL, RO | LT, MT | BE, BG, CY, CZ, DE, EE, EL, ES, HR, HU, IE, IT, LT, LV, SE, NL, NO, PL, PT, RO, SI | AT, CH, DK, FI, LI, LU, MT, SK | | |

| Analysis of the impact of EU concepts and ideas (2000 - 2016) | Significance | | | | Trend | | | |
|--|--------------|--|--|----|--|--|------------|----------|
| | Strong | Moderate | Low | No | Increasing | Constant | Decreasing | Swinging |
| PART IV | | | | | | | | |
| Promote Regional Clusters of Competition and Innovation | PT, SI | BE, ES, FI, HR, IC, LV, NL, PL, RO, SK | AT, BG, CH, CY, DE, DK, EE, EL, HU, IE, IT, LI, LT, NO, SE | CZ | AT, BG, CH, DE, EL, FI, HR, HU, IE, IC, NL, NO, PT, RO, SK | BE, CZ, DK, ES, IT, LI, LT, LV, SE, SI | EE, PL | |
| Inclusive growth – fostering a high-employment economy delivering economic, social and territorial cohesion | PT, SI, SK | BG, ES, FI, HU, NO, SE | AT, BE, CH, CY, CZ, DE, DK, EE, EL, HR, IE, IT, LI, LT, LU, LV, MT, PL, RO | NL | BG, CH, CZ, DE, EE, EL, HU, IT, LU, LT, LV, MT, PL, PT, RO, SI, SK | AT, BE, DK, ES, FI, HR, IE, LI, SE | NL, NO | |
| Ensuring global competitiveness of regions based on strong local economies | FI | BE, CY, EL, ES, NL, SE, IC, PT, RO | AT, BG, CH, CZ, DE, DK, EE, HR, HU, IE, IT, LI, LT, LV, NO, PL, SI, SK | | AT, DE, EL, EE, ES, FI, HR, HU, IE, IC, IT, LT, LV, NO, PL, PT, SK | BE, BG, CH, CZ, DK, LI, NL, RO, SE, SI | | |

Source: authors' own elaboration.

Table 12. Impact of the EU spatial planning over domestic planning communities between 2000 and 2016, by significance and trend.

| Analysis of the impact of European spatial planning over domestic planning communities (2000 - 2016) | Significance | | | | Trend | | | |
|--|----------------|--|--|----|--|--|----------------|----------------------------|
| | Strong | Moderate | Low | No | Increasing | Constant | Decreasing | Swinging |
| Influence on academic debate | BG, HU, RO | BE, CZ, EE, EL, ES, HR, IE, IT, LU, LV, MT, NL, PL, PT, SI, SK | AT, CH, DE, DK, FI, FR, IC, LT, NO, SE | | BG, CZ, EE, ES, HR, HU, LV, LT, MT, RO | DK, FI, FR, IC, IT, NO, SI, SK | AT, EL, NL, SE | BE, CH, DE, IE, LU, PL, PT |
| Influence on planning profession | BG, CY, HU, RO | BE, EE, ES, EL, FR, HR, IE, LV, PL, PT, SI | CH, CZ, DE, DK, FI, IC, IT, LU, LT, MT, NL, NO, SE, SK | AT | BG, CY, EE, FR, HR, HU, LV, MT, RO | AT, BE, CZ, DE, ES, EL, FI, IT, LT, NO, PL, PT, SE, SI, SK | DK, NL | CH, IE, IC, LU |
| Influence on education | BG, RO | EL, IT, HR, IE, LU, LV, MT, PT, SI | AT, BE, CH, CZ, DE, DK, EE, ES, FI, FR, HU, IC, LT, NL, NO, PL, SE | | AT, BG, CZ, EE, FI, HR, HU, IC, LU, LV, LT, PL, RO | DE, DK, EL, FR, IE, IT, MT, SI | SE | BE, CH, ES, NL, NO, PT |

Source: authors' own elaboration

Table 13. Impact of the EU spatial planning over domestic planning communities between 2000 and 2016. Main changes induced in domestic territorial governance and spatial planning systems and their geographical patterns.

| | Main drivers of change | Geographic patterns | Main changes induced | Challenges |
|----------------------------------|---|--|---|---|
| Influence on academic debate | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Relevance of international academic associations and arenas such as AESOP. - COST actions are seen as important network tools used to strengthen the academic debates. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Differences can to be noticed among countries with a wide and varied- or small academic community. - Differences between academic communities who express a sound and direct influence now constant or decreasing (Mediterranean countries, eastern countries) from EU spatial planning and those who declare a lower impact (Northern States: FI, SE, IC and central-Europe countries: e.g. BE, DE, NL). | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Stronger debate has grown on macro regions and cross-border cooperation and cross-border issues. - Significant increase in methodological and empirical research related to spatial planning after the accession of some e'astern countries. - Interest is accorded by very different disciplines. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In certain countries interest is much more vivid towards inner issues. |
| Influence on planning profession | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - EU regulations and guidelines (e.g. EIA, SEA, , ITI) have higher influence than persuasive discourse. - Structural funds directly orient source-oriented planning. - ESDP as a turning point in the profession in the Eastern countries | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Generally, northern countries elicit a low impact. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - New professional skills especially related to European funding - Professionals act as mediators supporting municipal administrations in researching and in responding to European calls. - The profession 'urbanist' was introduced into the National Classification of Occupations of certain countries. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Assimilation at the level of professionals and administrators of the common European language is more difficult. - In certain countries spatial planning has been centred the national urban issues rather the European spatial planning issues. - In certain countries planning profession in Malta is still not recognised. |
| Influence on education | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Planning education follows the academic debate. - ERASMUS programme. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Small role in the planning education of northern countries. - Much attention in certain Mediterranean and central countries. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Chairs of European planning issues have been implemented in different universities. - EU discourse is well rooted. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Certain existing curricula in the Master programmes in Planning are closing down. |

Source: Authors' own elaboration.

4 Domestic countries engagement with European spatial planning

After having analysed the various ways through which the EU plays a role in progressively shaping domestic territorial governance and spatial planning systems, the following sub-sections focus on the modes through which actors from the member states may impact on the evolution of European spatial planning, as well as of territorial governance and spatial planning in other member states. More in detail, they compare the engagement of actors from the domestic contexts within the various knowledge arenas of European spatial planning (4.1), as well as the elements that, developed within a specific domestic planning practice, contributed to shape EU spatial planning policies and tools (§4.2). At the same time, a specific section is devoted to study the horizontal influence that allows a country to influence territorial governance and spatial planning in one or more other countries (§4.3).

4.1 Shaping the EU agenda: Engagement within EU discursive arenas (bottom-up discursive influence)

With respect to the engagement within the EU discursive arenas, the country experts were required to assess the engagement of the single countries with the EU spatial planning discourse between 2000 and 2016. Experts were asked to give a general indication of the influence on four main topics: the EU intergovernmental discourse; the debate concerning EU urban policy, the territorial cohesion debate and the production on EU mainstream documents. The influence was calculated on a scale from 'strong'; 'moderate'; 'low' and 'no influence' (Figure 9). They were also asked to assess trends in the influence as 'increasing,' 'constant,' 'decreasing' or 'swinging', from 2000 to 2016 (Figure 10). Finally, they were required to give reasons for the indicated levels of influence and trends, by reporting the general attitude of actors and the significant elements uploaded on the agenda. The results of the analysis are summarised in table (14). The sub-sections below synthesise the collected evidence highlighting emerging general trends and behaviours among the analysed countries. Among the ways through which domestic actors potentially influence the development of European spatial planning, their engaging with the arenas where the EU planning discourse is developed appears to be the most relevant. The level of influence depends on various factors, among which the leading role of one or more countries country on specific issues and the rotatory Presidency of the EU. More in details, the interest towards territorial issues seems limited during the rotatory Presidency where the Presidency-in-Office uses to point up the main issues of interest for its country.

Figure 8. Perceived bottom-up discursive influence in European territorial governance (Source: Authors' elaboration).

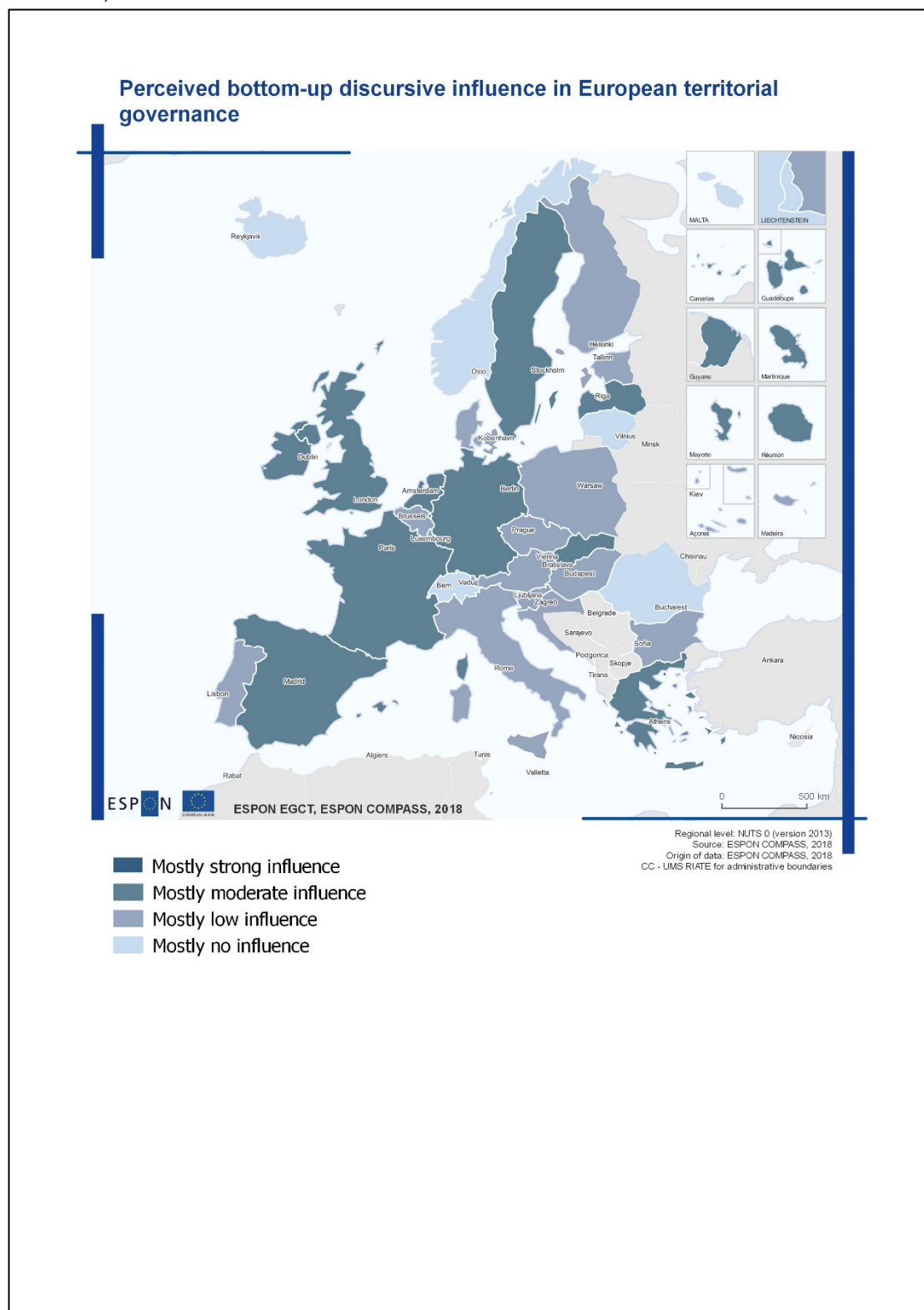


Figure 9. Perceived bottom-up discursive influence in European territorial governance – trend 2000-2016 (Source: Authors' elaboration).

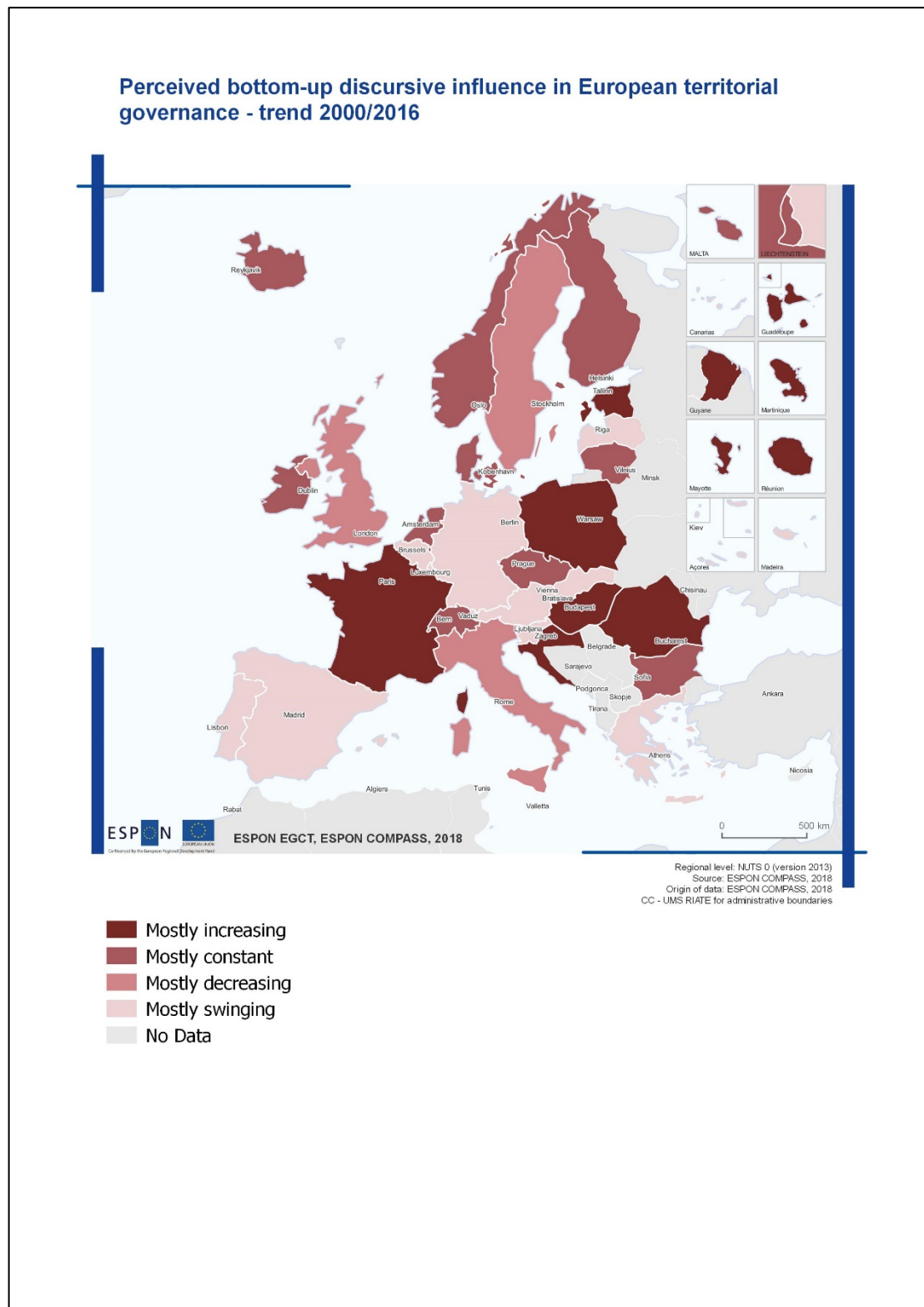


Table 14. Impacts of domestic discourses on European territorial governance between 2000 and 2016, by significance and trend.

| Influence of domestic discourses (2000 - 2016) | Significance | | | | Trend | | | |
|--|--------------|--|--|----------------------------------|-------------------|---|----------------|---|
| | Strong | Moderate | Low | No | Increasing | Constant | Decreasing | Swinging |
| In the EU Intergovernmental discourse^(a) | BE ES PL | DE EL FR HU IE LU LV NL PT SE SI UK | AT BG CZ DK EE FI HR IT SK | CH IS LI LT MT NO RO | LU | AT BG CH CZ DK EE FI HR LI LT NO RO SI SK | FR IT NL SE | BE DE EL ES HU IE IS LV NO PL PT |
| In the debate concerning EU urban policy and others^(b) | SK UK | BG CZ DE ES FR LT LU LV NL PL PT SE | AT BE DK EE EL HR HU IE IT MT SI | CH IS LI NO RO | BG DE EE LU NL | BE CH DK ES HR HU IE IS LI LT MT NO PL SE PT RO SI SK | FR | AT CZ IT LV UK |
| In the territorial cohesion and EU Cohesion Policy debate^(c) | ES PL | BE FR IT HU LU LV NL SE SI UK | AT BG DE DK EE FI HR IE PT RO SK | CH CZ IS LI LT MT NO | RO | BG DK CH CZ EE ES FI FR HR HU IS LI LT MT NO PT SI SK | NL SE | AT BE DE IE IT LU LV PL |
| In the making of the EU mainstream documents^(d) | | IE FR PT UK | AT BE BG DE DK EE ES HU IT LU LV PL RO SE SK | CH CZ HR IS LI LT MT NO SI | BE LV SK | AT BG CH CZ DK EE FR HR HU IS LI LT LU SE MT NO PL PT RO SI | | DE ES IE IT |

^(a) No answers from CY expert. UK expert reported no trend. ^(b) No answers from CY and FI experts. EL expert reported no trend. ^(c) No answers from CY and EL experts. UK expert reported no trend. ^(d) No answers from CY, FI, EL and NL experts. UK expert reported no trend.

Source: authors' own elaboration.

In general terms, the most relevant influence concerns the EU intergovernmental discourse where the respondents indicate strong (3) or moderate (12) influence. On the contrary, the minor influence regards the making of the EU mainstream documents without country indicating strong influence and only four noting moderate influence. With respect to the EU urban policy debate 12 countries report strong (2) or moderate (12) influence and for the EU territorial cohesion discourse the respondents indicate strong (2) or moderate (10) influence. Generally, for all the types of debates, the trend of influence has been reported as reported as constant or swinging according, especially due to the rotary Presidency.

4.1.1. The EU Intergovernmental discourse

When it comes to the various arenas of debate, a majority of the respondents indicate a strong (3) or moderate (12) influence on the EU intergovernmental discourse, but they also report that this influence is either constant (14), decreasing (4) or swinging (11). There are patterns in the influence in groups of countries in relation to geography and the domestic framework. Experts from North-Western countries report the highest influence trend on the EU intergovernmental discourse but with different fields of interest. Belgium, Luxembourg and Germany were very active during the elaboration of the Territorial Agenda (TA) because TAs have been prepared and adopted under their presidency. On the other hand, the Dutch and Austrian actors, whose engagement with the Territorial Agenda process has been more passive, reports a great deal of influence during the ESDP process. It should be noticed that also Switzerland that is not a EU member has commented on ESDP. In the same way, also Mediterranean countries declares a strong or moderate influence with swinging trends that concern mostly the Territorial Agenda, as well as a rather important role in the construction of the ESDP vision, limited to the discourse on cultural heritage and conservation. At the same time, Greece contributed to add emphasis to insularity issues in the Territorial Agenda 2020, Portuguese actors played a similar role in relation to climate change issues, and Spain has contributed to the urban-rural relations debate. On the contrary, northern countries declare low constant influence (DK, FI, NO), except Sweden that had an active role in the debate on Territorial Agenda (TA) but is absent in the ongoing work of the NTCCP. Among the Eastern countries, Czech Republic, Poland, Slovenia and Slovakia have active participation in the TA 2020 preparation and also in NTCCP while Bulgaria, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania had limited involvement in the preparation of the documents.

Concerning the topics, it is possible to recognise different interests among the countries in addition to those listed above. Germany, Spain, Czech Republic and Slovakia report their interest to strengthen polycentric development and urban-rural relations. Portugal and Slovakia have promoted the climate change adaptation and spatial planning. It should also be mentioned the case of Estonia that is visible on the EU level on ICT and security issues, but these territorial questions do not belong to the TAs and NTCCP so far.

4.1.2. Debate concerning EU urban policy

A number of respondents also report a strong (2) or a moderate (12) influence of their countries' actors on the development of the EU urban agenda. It is possible to recognise a positive trend, in fact, such influence has been generally increasing (5) or constant (18) over time and no one decreasing. Differently from the EU Intergovernmental discourse, it is difficult here to find patterns in the geographic distribution of this influence. Part of experts report how EU discourses helped to strengthen the urban policy topics in the domestic context, for example the adoption of the Leipzig Charter have contributed to the German domestic debate on Urban Agenda, others indicate the topics in which the countries have contributed to the Urban Agenda. Three countries' experts have stressed that the debate on EU urban policy in some countries has concerned mostly the academic institutions rather than the government levels (ES, HU, RO), at the same time, in some national contexts both the government, the academia and the professional associations were involved in the discourse. Finally, some respondents indicate that countries like the Netherlands, Belgium and Malta emphasised the importance of cross-cutting principles and the concept that the Urban Agenda should be a broader framework on principles that do not prejudice Member State because of their specificities, priorities and needs. More in details, specific issues uploaded by the countries in the Urban Agenda concern the sustainable urban development (SE) and the risk management (IT); the poverty and urban exclusion (EL, BE, IE, IT), especially in the Southern Europe due to the economic and social crisis that has had its worst impacts in urban areas; multi-level governance (BE); instruments for financing the Urban Agenda (LU); small and medium size urban areas (LT). More issues concern urban mobility, housing, air quality (CZ).

4.1.3 The EU territorial cohesion discourse

Respondents stress that the EU cohesion debate remains somehow more distant and shaped by the EU commission without the support of the member states. Only 2 countries (ES and PL) are reported to have had a strong influence on the latter and 10 indicating moderate influence, eleven are noted low influence and three are reported no influence at all (NO, CZ, LI). The engagement with the territorial cohesion debate is generally constant, interestingly decreasing in the Netherlands and Sweden. On the contrary, only RO has indicated an increasing engagement. Several experts stress (DE, BE, AT, ES) that, through the years, countries had called for a further detailing of the concept of territorial cohesion, in order to make the concept more operative and flexible in integrating domestic territorial objectives. At the same time, two main topics are associable to some (relatively weak) geographical pattern. On the one hand, various North Western countries contributed to the discussion on territorial cohesion by emphasising the importance of economic competitiveness (FI, S, NL). On the other hand, Southern and Eastern countries stressed the importance of building bridges between territorial cohesion and place-based logics (IT, HU, RO). This dichotomy may explain at least partly the fuzziness of this concept.

4.1.4 The EU mainstream documents

Finally, minor influence is reported in relation to the high level EU political debate that lead to the making of EU mainstream documents, that are mostly considered politically driven and prepared in arenas that are scarcely accessible by planning-related topics. The influence on the Lisbon Strategy, Gothenburg Strategy and Europe2020 Strategy are strongly related to the place where they were born. The Portuguese expert reported a leading role of the country in the elaboration of the Lisbon Strategy, but its contribution to the Gothenburg Strategy was negligible. Same but opposite is the case of the Sweden. Most of the countries consider EU mainstream documents as commission-led top-down strategy where the influence of the countries in preparing these documents is rather low. Some country experts explain the limitation of influence due to other more urgent priorities as for example the migration flows, the financial crisis (IT, ES, EL) and the post-accession phase (LI, PL, BG, RO).

4.1.5 The differential territorial focus of the various EU Council presidencies

The interest towards territorial issues is more visible when a country holds the presidency of the EU Council. During this period, ESPON organising meetings, preparing handbook, promoting workshops is common in most of the countries. More in details, the presidency is the moment in which the governments bring the domestic debate into EU context. However, 6 country experts assess that the interest to territorial issues during the presidency of their country was at least of secondary nature (DK, IT, LT, CZ, SK, EE). This does not mean that territorial matters were not addressed; rather that these countries did not shown to have any particular spatial strategy to bring in Europe, often due to other priorities (for instance, DK and IT primarily focused on growth and creating jobs, with IT also insisting on migration; CZ and LT paid main attention to geopolitical, energetics and economics issues). Regarding the countries more active during their presidency the main focus were on: competitiveness of urban areas (FI), the promotion of endogenous growth in isolated and peripheral areas in particular related to insularity and the value of the sea (CY,EL), circular economy (MT), the urban-rural relations (IE, ES), cross-border cooperation (FI, PT, LU), the promotion of integrated territorial approaches (PT, NL), the attention to polycentric territorial development (NL, DE), small and medium sized town (LT) and the territorialisation of Cohesion Policy (PL). The issues promoted in the EU debate during the presidency are strongly related to the social-economic domestic situation. The case Ireland shows the change of interest in the topics from the presidency of 2004 to the 2013. During its presidency of 2004 the main focus was the decoupling of farming from rural development, but in 2013, due to the economic crisis the emphasis was on jobs security and economic growth.

4.1.6 The general attitude of countries towards the ESPON Programme

Not surprisingly, the interest and participation in ESPON programme is increased since its foundation. At the beginning, in most of the countries the program was little known and participation was not widespread. Some countries (IS, LT) were still not part of the ESPON programme 2006 and the participation of Croatia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania and Slovenia

was limited until their accession to EU. In other cases, the countries have considered not relevant the programme and their participation was minimal also due partly to a lack of domestic resources (SK, LT). In the first phase of ESPON, some countries have a pro-active participation (FI, SE, EL, PT, LU). In particular, the northern countries have always had large participation since ESPON2006, except for Norway that increased its interest only starting from ESPON2020.

The interest for the programme during the years is swinging among the different countries. For example, in the second and third phase the Portuguese participation was slightly reduced, rather than other countries where the contact points worked more in a structured way contributing to the success of the programme. In this framework, it should be noticed that several countries have changed the contact point from one programme to the next between Universities and Ministries. Nowadays, there is a balance among the countries where the contact point is located in the University and the those that have the contact point in a Ministry or in other institutions (strongly related to a Ministry). Also the introduction of ESPON Targeted Analysis projects has contributed in spreading of the attention to the ESPON programme (IT, CZ). In all the phases, there is a significant participation of the academic actors rather than the regional and especially the local actors that had a low participation and awareness of the ESPON Programme (EL, FI, NO, MT, PT, BE, NL, HU). Concerning the practice, planners and stakeholders appreciate the idea and the quality of ESPON reports, but the lack of resources to engage to and apply the ESPON results (FI), the dimensions and the difficult to read (especially in ESPON 2003) (NL) have negative influence on the programme's success in bringing together academy and practice (FI, NL).

The added value of ESPON was mainly considered in providing a European benchmark or perspective (NL) but there are however also criticisms. The use of ESPON results have been rather modest at the regional level (SE, FI, NO, PT). The regions and municipalities has not seen the benefit of working with statistics at NUTS 2 and 3 level, and has turned to national statistics or other institutions for comping more detailed statistics at lower level (NO, LT). At the national level ESPON is considered as more helpful, especially in the process of strategic planning, although it is felt that the messages are sometimes too complex to transfer them into the policy-making process (SE, PL). The application of ESPON knowledge by policy actors needs serious outreach efforts from the programme, because there is a general low attitude towards territorial evidence-based policy making (HU). Finally, it should be notice that the dissemination has not concerned only the academic sector, but also professional bodies, public authorities from different level. For example, in Romania the ESPON results were used also while reforming the planners' training curricula in the higher education.

4.2 Influence from domestic practices (practical influence)

Beside engaging within the various knowledge arenas that contribute to determine the evolution of EU spatial policy and planning, potential influence on the latter may come directly

from domestic territorial governance and spatial planning practices (Figure 11, Figure 12). However, when required to assess the actual impact generated by territorial governance and spatial planning practices developed in the countries they are responsible for over EU spatial policy and planning, the project's experts generally reported a scarce influence, that does not seem to have grown much since 2000. Admittedly, major problems may be related, on the one hand, to the difficulty of learning by practices in a still weakly institutionalised context and, on the other hand, to the difficulty of the 'technical discourse' in achieving an acceptable degree of independence of judgment with respect to the 'policy discourse', which is intrinsic to spatial planning. More in particular, only 19 country experts reported an influence exerted from the domestic practices of their countries on the development of European spatial planning and policy, such influence being in most of the cases low (12). The trend is often reported as swinging (10), and it is linked to the specific moment when a particular domestic practice managed to break through, gaining attention in the EU discourse and ending up influencing EU policy making.

As far as the actual practices that contribute to exert an impact over the formulation of EU spatial policy and planning are concerned, most of the experts did not report relevant examples. However, some elements are worth noting. Among the Nordic countries, for instance, only the expert for Sweden highlighted the role played by the country's long tradition of developing different approaches to define functional regions in progressively contributing to the consolidation of the functional regions approach into the EU spatial planning documents and, then, as a basis for the delivery of EU policies, documents or tools, namely NTCCP and EUROSTAT. Simultaneously, country expert for Slovakia recognises the influence of this country on the same issue, but starting from the institutionalisation of its 'micro-regional units' approach applied by several municipalities for the execution of the activities of joint interest.

The place-based approach that lies at the basis of the present EU Cohesion Policy programming period is reported to having been inspired bottom-up by BE, where especially in Flanders such approach permeated meso-scale territorial development projects, and by IT, through the activity of Fabrizio Barca as special advisor for the then EU Commissioner for Regional Policy Danuta Hübner. As a matter of fact, influence from IT practices dates also back to the 1990s, when the so-called negotiated programming introduced by the 1996 Financial framework law served as inspiration for the Territorial employment pacts introduced in 1997 by DG Employment.

LU approach to cross-border planning within the Greater Region is reported to have influenced the development of European territorial cooperation policies since the foundation of the French-German-Luxembourgish spatial planning commission in 1971. Recent influence on European Territorial Cooperation is reported from 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.

Figure 10. Perceived practical influence in European territorial governance (Source: Authors' elaboration).

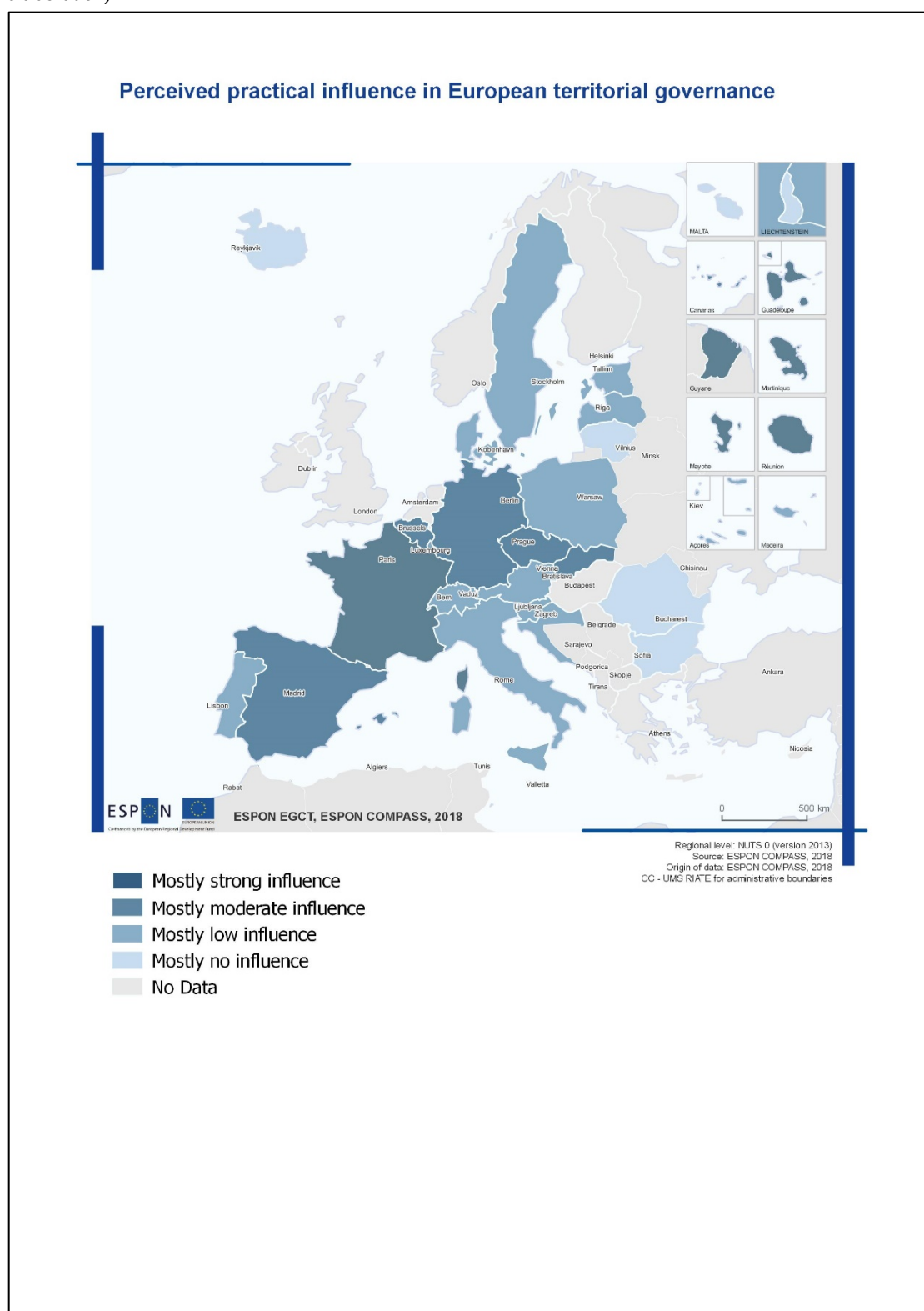
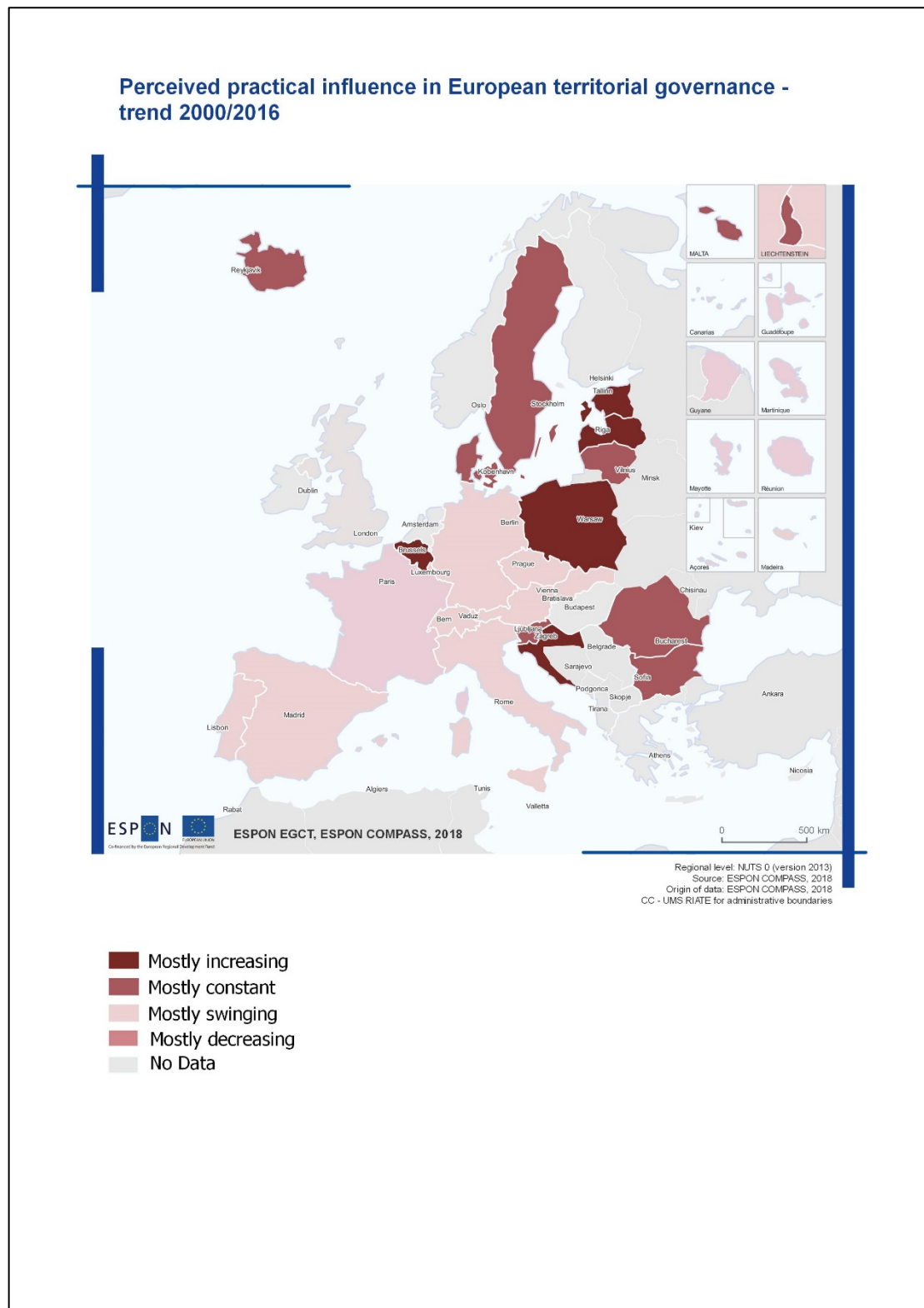


Figure 11. Perceived practical influence in European territorial governance – trend 2000-2016 (Source: Authors' elaboration).



Cross-border cooperation has been also indicated by country expert from Ireland as an uploaded practice on the basis of Irish domestic Strategic Alliance instrument for cross border cooperation in the form of a 'memorandum of understanding' for cross border programmes and activities committing the Joint local authorities to support and promote the economic development and competitiveness of the region.

The Dutch assessment approach 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 its domestic ecosystem approach pivoted on the relation between habitats and buffer zones surrounding habitats. Remaining on ecological issues, the Czech Republic expert reported influence of the country territorial system of ecological sustainability developed since the end of the 1980s over the European Ecological Network Conference. The latter, despite not being a policy per se, strongly complement the action of NATURA 2000.

Country expert from the Netherlands underlines this country's role in uploading another practice relating environmental management crossing administrative boundaries, such as the River-approach which consists in broadening riverbeds rather than strengthening dikes, thus including the entire catchment area. This specific practice has had a major impact at European level for it has inspired the EU Water framework directive.

Experts from Polish Ministry responsible for regional development helped to shape the Integrated Territorial Investments that characterise the present EU Cohesion Policy programming period, on the basis of domestic practices.

Interestingly enough, also Swiss practices potentially may end up influencing EU spatial policy-making. More in detail, based on the Swiss experience in defining the so-called 'action areas', the current ESPON project on Action Areas (ACTAREA) aims to explore the added value and potentials of new forms of cooperation areas. It is too however early to fully understand its influence since the project is ongoing and the final project was only delivered in November 2017.

Another practice which seems to be uploaded or at least strengthened by bottom-up dynamics is the urban-rural debate reinforced by Spain through a cross-sectional debate concerning actors of multi-level governance especially about phenomena of counter-urbanisation, spread of touristic activity, with particular impact on the EU Territorial Agenda.

5. The mutual influence of domestic practices (horizontal influence)

A last type of influence concerns the impact that practices developed in one country may exert over territorial governance and spatial planning in another country. Here the EU plays a more neutral role, mainly establishing the cooperation platforms that allows for knowledge exchange among domestic actors, as for instance through Territorial Cooperation initiatives. Evidence of this type of influence are only partially reported by the ESPON COMPASS experts and are hard to identify. For example, concerning the assessment of the influence of specific spatial concepts developed at the EU level over domestic territorial governance and spatial planning, a general increasing of *Territorial Integration in cross-border and transnational functional regions* is reported for the period 2000-2016, as favouring an increasing transfer of know-how and practices among local policy-makers.

Since the COMPASS data brought little insight on the role of territorial cooperation for horizontal influence between national systems, it is worth to bring up 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 project⁶ showed that the horizontal influence was the 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). Overall, ESPON TERCO presents a very complex geography of territorial cooperation, centred on strictly delimited areas determined a priori. The only exception is provided by the case of Twinning-Cities, where cooperation is based on unrestricted agreements with choice of cooperation mostly driven on historical and cultural links recognised by the local communities themselves.

The probability of cooperation, and therefore of activation of phenomena of horizontal influences is highest when it is based on simpler forms of collaboration contributing to trust-building: *exchanging experience* and *sharing tools to tackle common problems*, whereas more complex forms of cooperation *jointly implementing common actions or investments to solve local problems* and *jointly implementing a spatial strategy* seem to require more experience and time to produce the desired effects. Moreover, the probability of success occurred relatively higher when the domains of cooperation are cultural events, tourism, economy, protection of natural environment or building physical infrastructure. The importance of the stakeholder initiating the TC is an influencing factor: higher probability of TC

⁶ <https://www.espon.eu/programme/projects/espon-2013/applied-research/terco-european-territorial-cooperation-factor-growth>

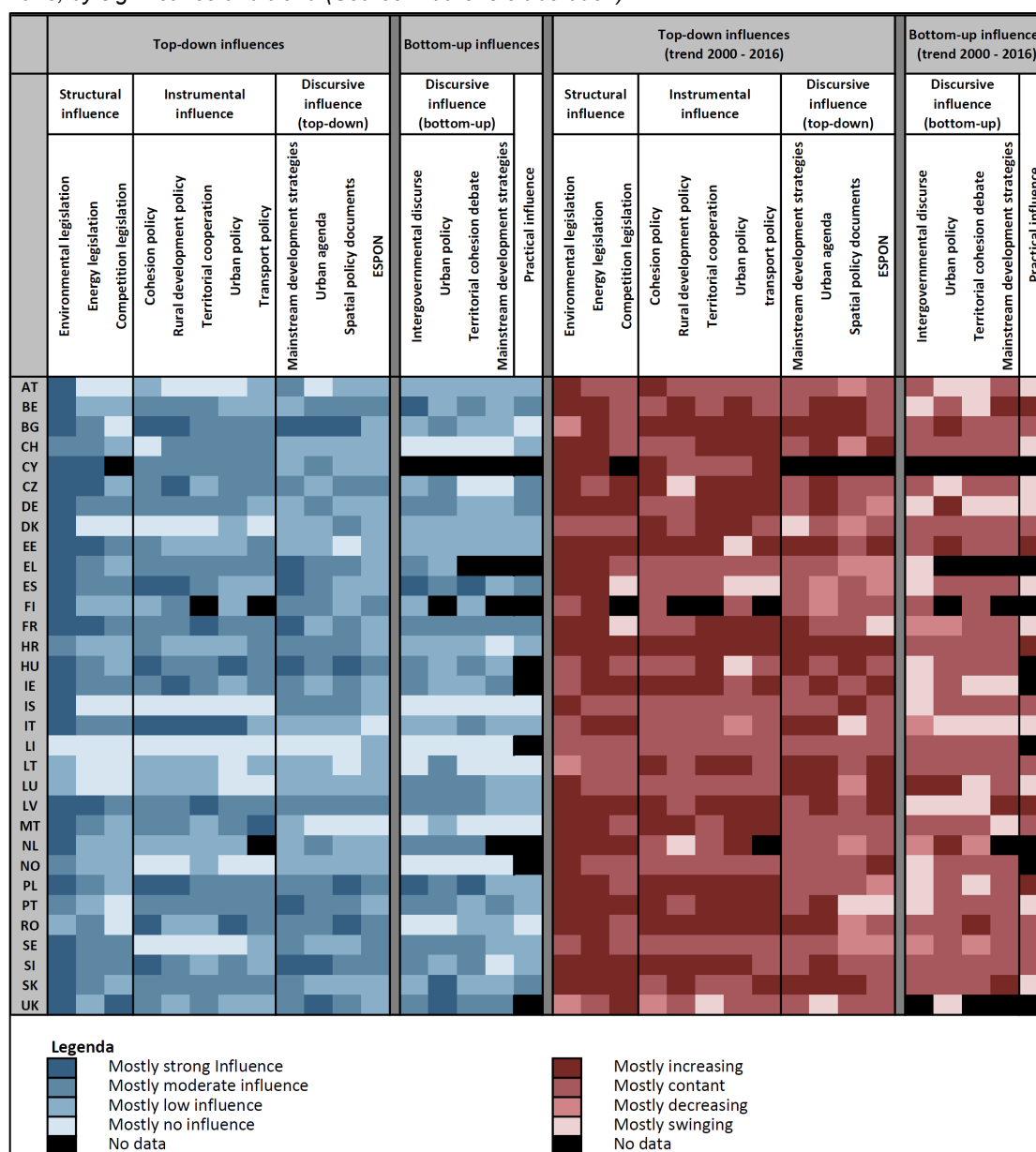
success if they are NGOs and local and regional government, rather than Euroregions and other cross-border or national institutions.

Following the project's results, the most popular domains of Territorial Cooperation are culture, education, tourism, environmental protection and infrastructure development. Spatial planning is a less frequent domain together with social and health care, mobility and transport and others, also registering a decline in popularity. Other influenced aspects are: facilitation of knowledge exchange, solving common problems vital for development concerning tourism, educational exchange and social commuting.

6. Synoptic view and concluding remarks

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), ESPON COMPASS has explicitly referred to the most reliable progresses of Europeanisation studies. In particular, it systematically explored how national territorial governance and spatial planning systems are related to European territorial governance (Figure 12). 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.

Figure 12. Top-down and bottom-up influences in European territorial governance between 2000 and 2016, by significance and trend (Source: Author's elaboration).



Thus, the information included in this annex provides an overview of the impact of EU legislation, policy and discourse on domestic territorial governance and spatial planning systems, as well as of the role that domestic actors and territorial governance and spatial planning practices play in shaping the European territorial governance. A systematic and evidence-based understanding of the concrete nature of European territorial governance, going beyond all previous and partial attempts to describe this process, is a necessary preliminary step in order to answer the questions on its impacts on the domestic territorial governance and spatial planning systems. These questions are the following:

- Can changes observed in territorial governance and spatial planning systems be attributed to the influence of macro-level EU directives and policies?
- What are best-practices for cross-fertilisation of spatial and territorial development policies with EU Cohesion Policy?
- How can national/regional spatial and territorial development policy perspectives be better reflected in Cohesion Policy and other policies at the EU scale?

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 13, Figure 14, Table 15). 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. This 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.

Figure 13. Perceived overall top-down influence in European territorial governance (Source: Authors' elaboration).

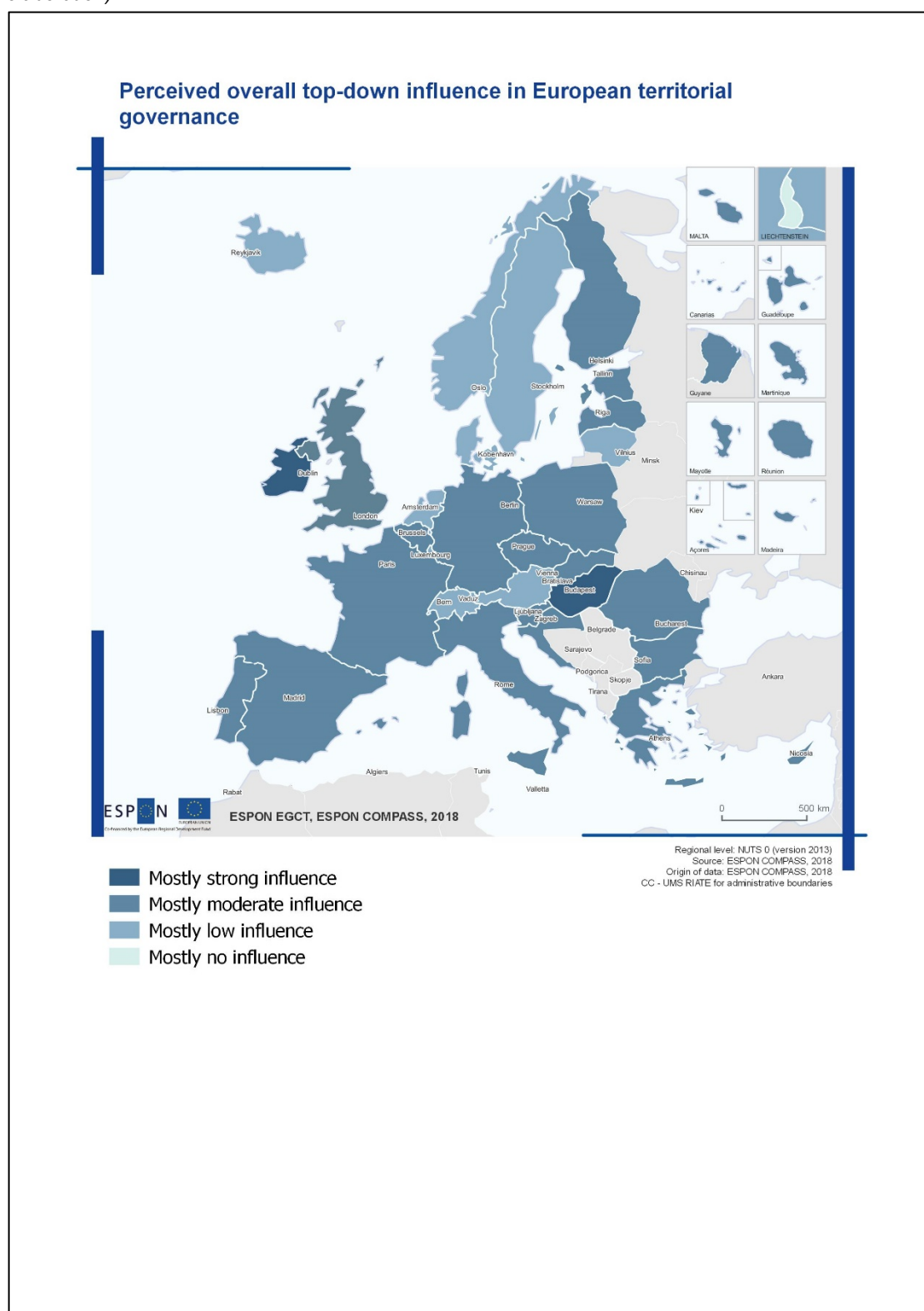
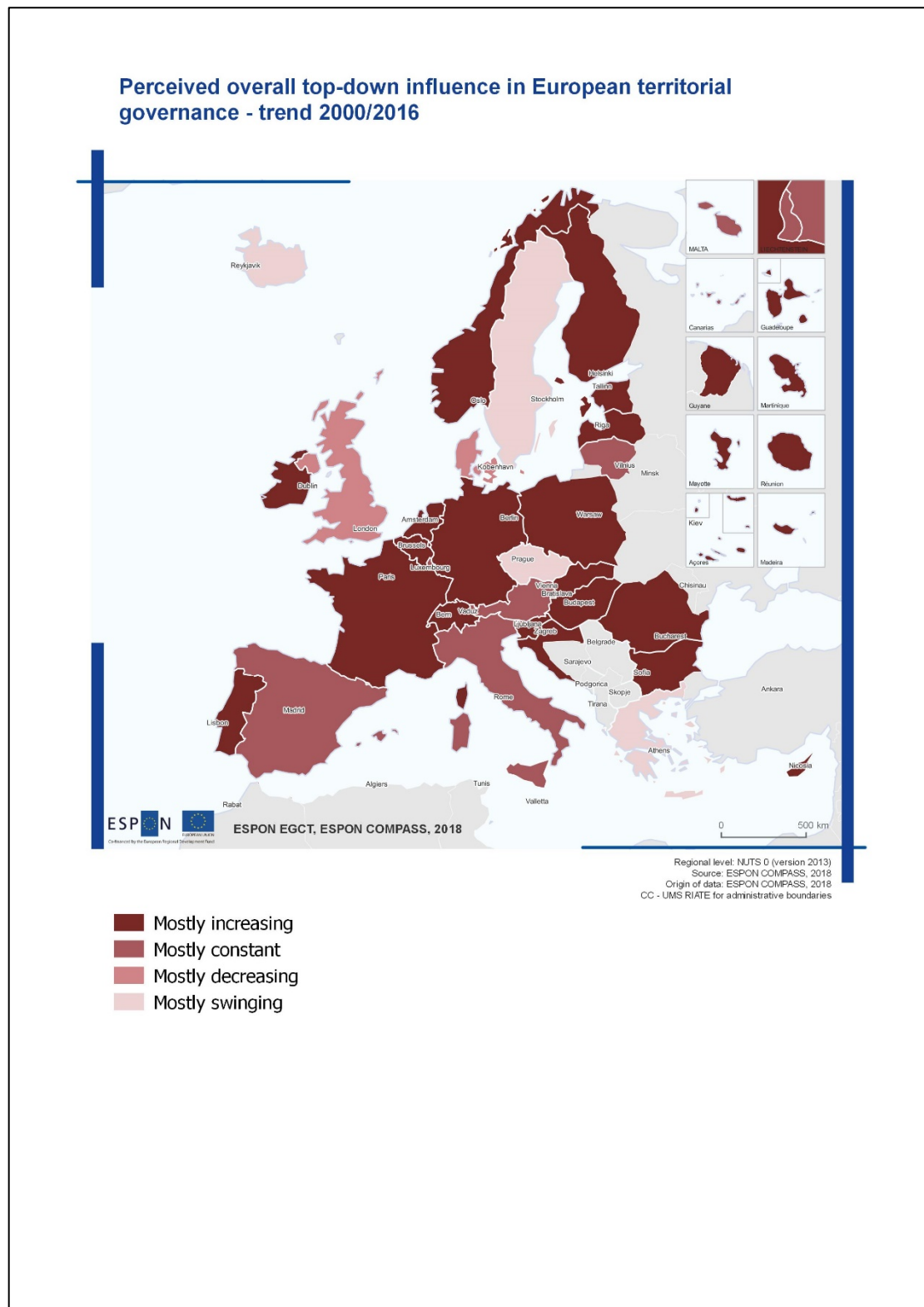


Figure 14. Perceived overall top-down influence in European territorial governance – trend 2000-2016
(Source: Authors' elaboration).



When it comes to the bottom-up influence through which domestic systems shape European territorial governance, none of the country experts noted a high impact, neither within the EU discursive arenas nor through exemplary practices (Figure 15, Figure 16, Table 15). Generally speaking, such 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,⁷ 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 remains sporadic. 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 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.

⁷ The Network of Territorial Cohesion Contact Points was created during the 2007 EU Portuguese Presidency, to support the implementation of the Territorial Agenda.

Figure 15. Perceived overall bottom-up influence in European territorial governance (Source: Authors' elaboration).

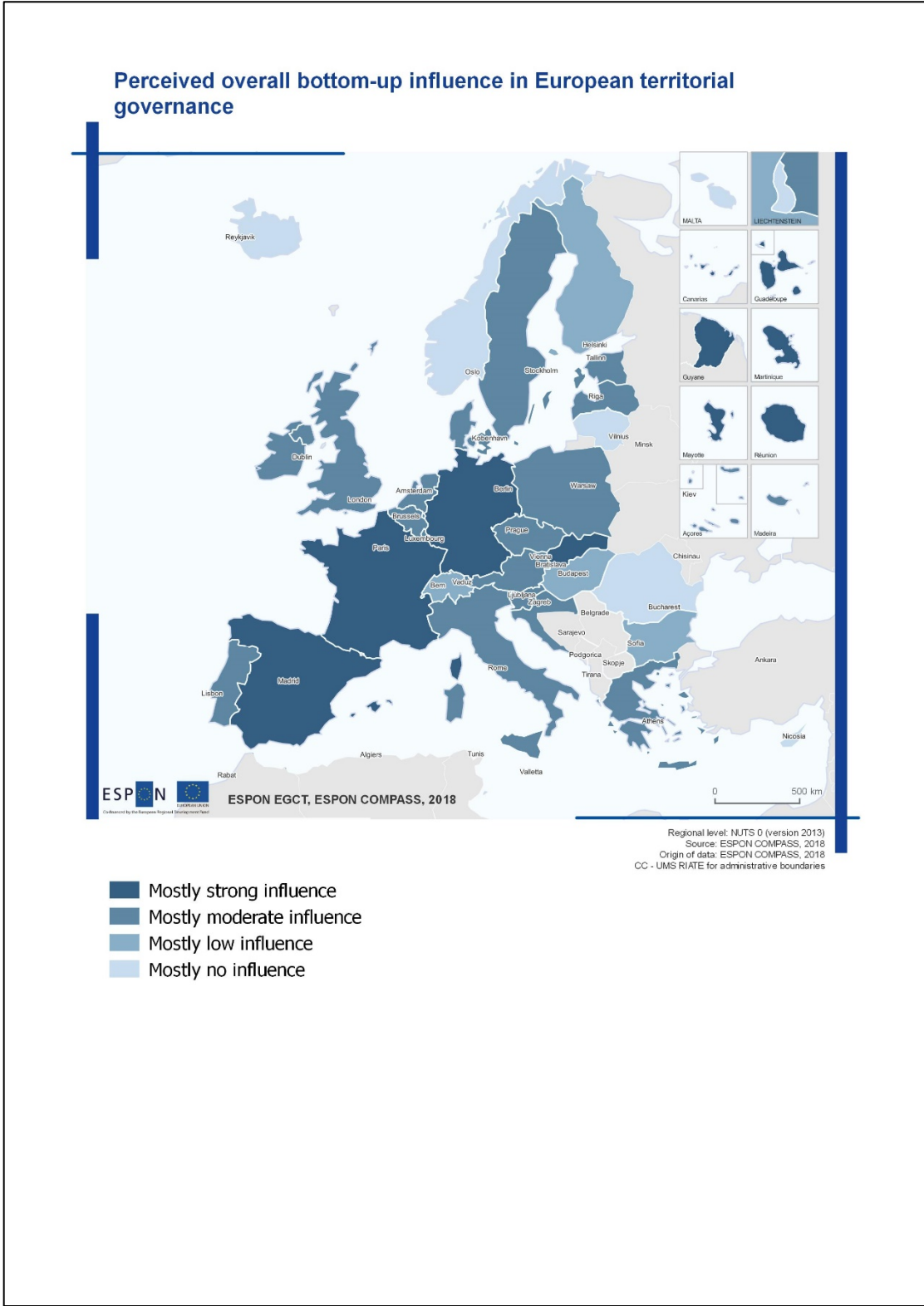


Figure 16. Perceived overall bottom-up influence in European territorial governance – trend 2000-2016
(Source: Authors' elaboration).

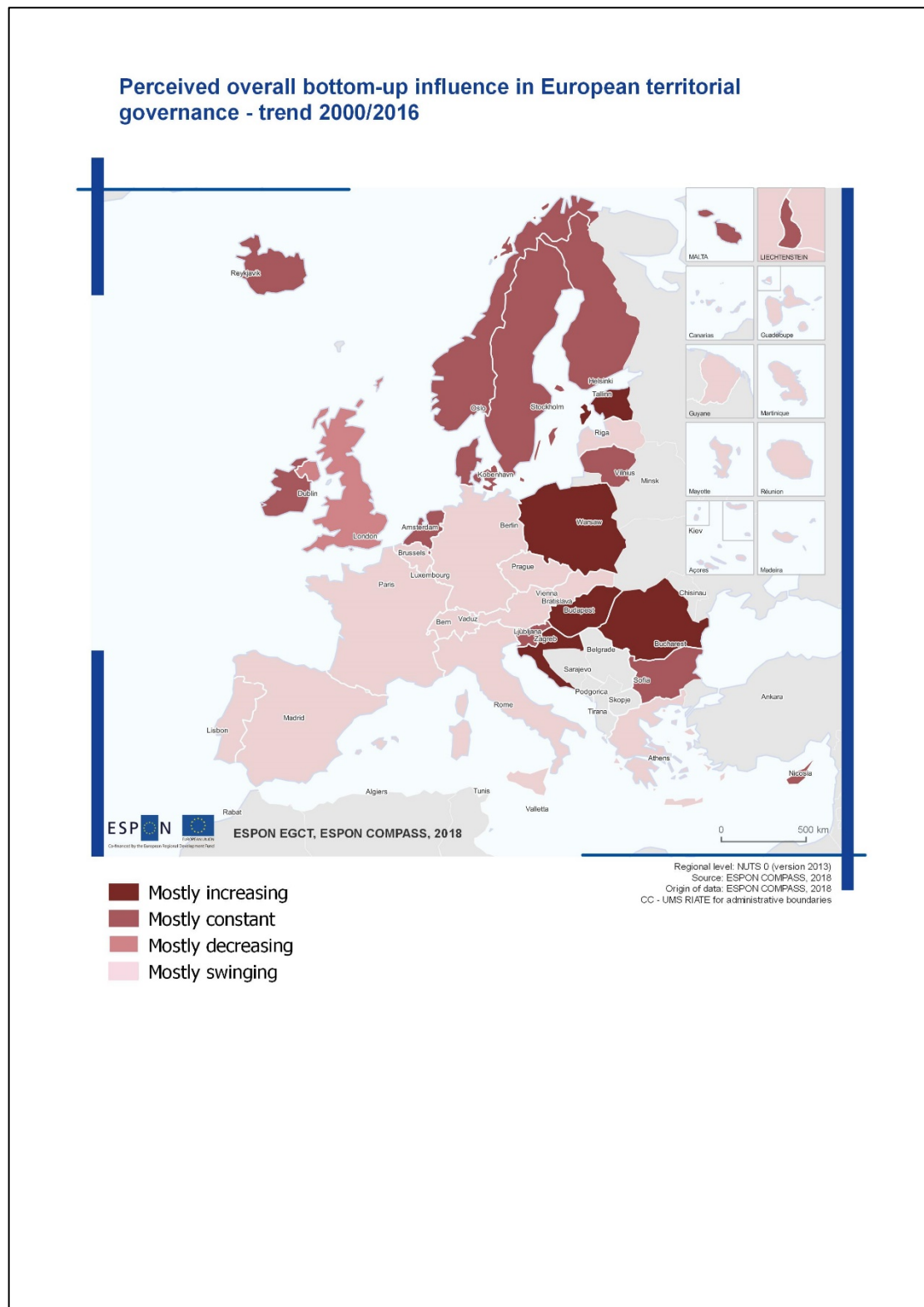


Table 15. Overall impact of the EU on territorial governance and spatial planning systems between 2000 and 2016, by significance and trend.

| Overall influence | Significance | | | | Trend | | | |
|--|---------------------------|---|--|-----------------------|--|---|------------|---|
| | Strong | Moderate | Low | No | Increasing | Constant | Decreasing | Swinging |
| Structural: Influence of EU legislation | CY, EE, FR, IE, LV, SI | BE, BG, CZ, DE, EL, ES, FI, HR, HU, IT, MT, NL, PL, SE, SK, UK | AT, CH, DK IS, LT, LU, NO, PT, RO | LI | BE, CH, CY, DE, FI, EE, EL, FR, HR, IE, IS, LV, NL, NO, PL, PT, RO, SE, SK, SI | AT, DK, ES, HU, IT, LI, LT, LU, MT | UK | BG, CZ |
| Instrumental: Influence of EU policies^(a) | HU, IE, IT | BG, CH, CY, CZ, DE, EE, EL, ES, FR, LV, MT, PL, PT, RO, SI, SK | AT, BE, FI, HR, LT, LU, NL, UK | DK, IS, LI, NO, SE | BG, CH, CZ, DE, EE, HR, HU, IE, LV, PT, RO, SK, SI | AT, BE, CY, DK, EL, ES, FR, IS, IT, LI, LT, LU, MT, NL, NO, SE | UK | PL |
| Discursive top- down: Influence of the EU discourse^(b) | BG, HU | BE, CZ, EL, ES, FI, FR, HR, IE, LV, PL, PT, RO, SE, SI, UK | AT, CH, CY, DE, DK, EE, IS, IT, LI, LT, LU, MT, NL, NO, SK | | BG, EE, FR, HR, HU, NO, RO, SK | BE, DE, FI, ES, LI, MT, NL, PT, SI | DK, SE | AT, CH, CZ, EL, IS, IE, IT, LT, LU, LV, PL, UK |

^(a) FI expert provided no trend. ^(b) CY expert provided no trend.

Source: authors' own elaboration.

Table 16. Overall impact of territorial governance and spatial planning systems on European territorial governance between 2000 and 2016, by significance and trend.

| Influence of territorial governance and spatial planning systems (2000 - 2016) | Significance | | | | Trend | | | |
|--|--------------|--|--|----------------------------|--------------------|------------------------------------|------------|--|
| | Strong | Moderate | Low | No | Increasing | Constant | Decreasing | Swinging |
| Discursive bottom-up: Influence of domestic discourses ^(a) | | DE, EL, ES, FR, IE, LV, NL, SE, SK, UK | AT, BE, BG, CZ, DK, EE, FI, IT, HR, HU, LU, PL, PT, SI | CH, IS, LI, LT, MT, RO, NO | EE, HR, HU, PL, RO | BG, CZ, DK, FI, IE, IS, LT, MT, NL | IT, SE, UK | AT, BE, DE, EL, ES, FR, LU, LV, PT, SI, SK |
| Practical: Influence of domestic practices ^(b) | | BE, CZ, DE, ES, FR, SK | AT, CH, DK, EE, HR, IT, LU, LV, PL, PT, SE, SI | BG, IS, LI, LT, MT, RO | BE, EE, HR, LV, PL | BG, DK, IS, LI, LT, MT, RO, SE, SI | | AT, CH, CZ, DE, ES, FR, IT, LU, PT, SK |

^(a) No answers from CY expert ^(b) No answers from CY, EL, FI, HU, IE, NL, NO, UK experts.

Source: authors' own elaboration.

6.1 Towards a preliminary typology of the Europeanisation of territorial governance and spatial planning?

Finally, interesting findings emerge when comparing the actual impacts delivered to countries with the influence that each of them has in shaping European territorial governance. Thus, it is possible to build a typology that divides the countries studied into four macro groups, each symbolising a specific attitude towards European territorial governance (Figure 17):

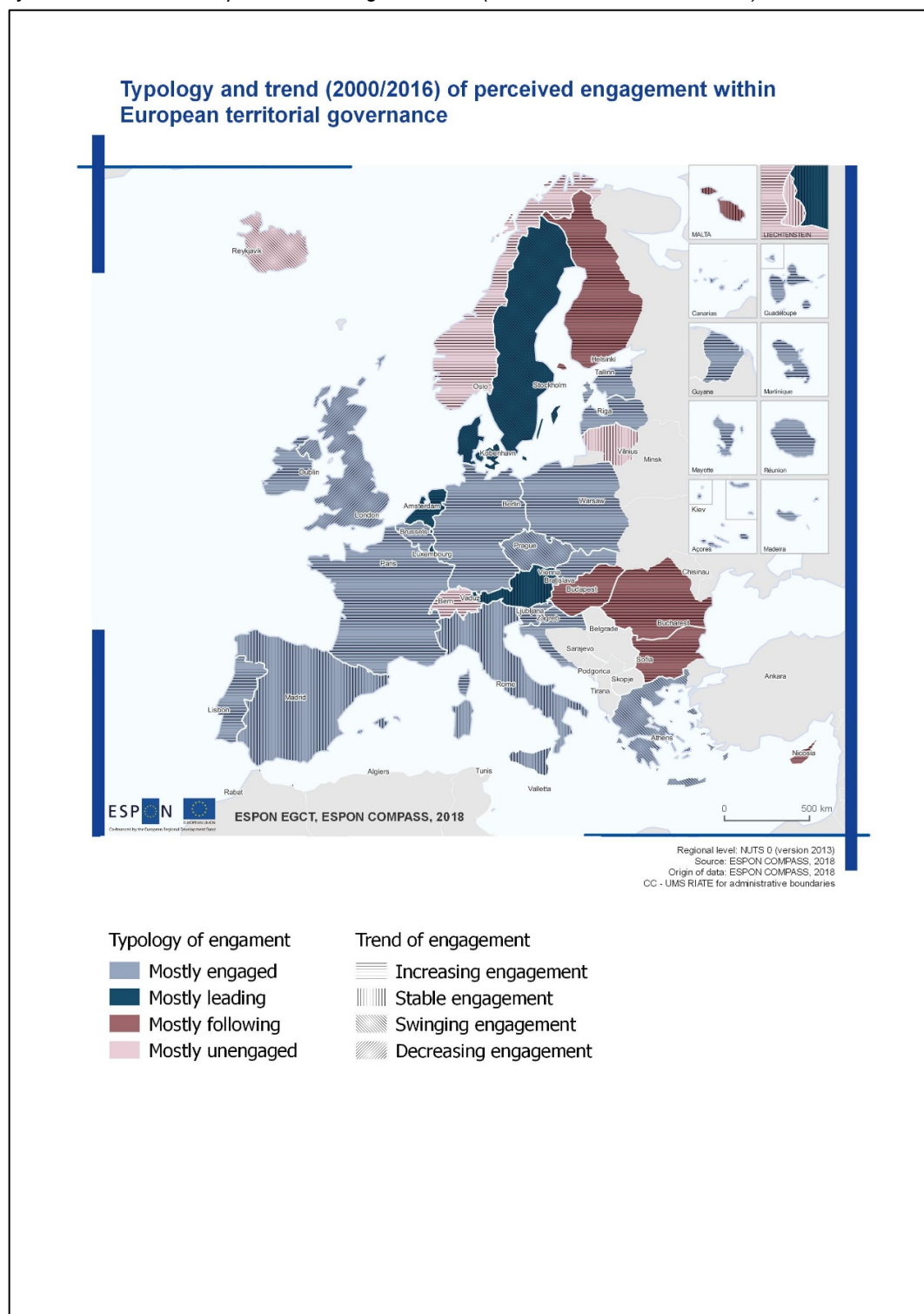
- First, there is a numerous group of mostly ‘engaged’ countries that remain receptive to the EU influence, but at the same time do exert an influence on European territorial governance, albeit to a different extent. This group is mostly comprises Western (BE, DE, FR, SE), East-central (CZ, EE, HR, LV, PL, SK, SL) and Mediterranean countries (EL, ES, IT and PT).
- A smaller group of mostly ‘leading’ countries includes Central European countries of mostly smaller size (AT, DK, LU, NL) that exert a rather strong influence on the shaping of European territorial governance, while at the same time being less receptive to the EU’s influence.
- By contrast, countries belonging to the third group have seen their territorial governance and spatial planning systems progressively re-shaped under the influence of the EU, however, so far they have not exerted much of an impact on European territorial governance. This group of mostly ‘following’ countries includes new member states (BG, CY, MT, HU, RO), together with Ireland (that has been for several years one of the biggest recipients of EU funds) and Finland.
- Last but not least, there are mostly ‘unengaged’ countries, that neither do not seem to be receptive to the influence of the EU, nor seem interested in influencing European territorial governance. Unsurprisingly, the four countries covered in the study are not member of the EU (CH, IS, LI and NO), together with Lithuania that, according to the evidence provided by the country experts did not engage with European territorial governance to a relevant extent yet.

All the above helps to understand European territorial governance as a complex and non-codified institutional process of vertical and horizontal interactions, aiming at 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 the different 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

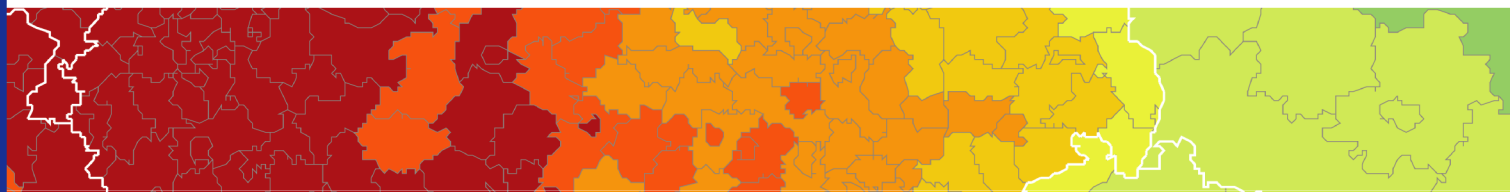
in the current Treaties, would make it possible. The heterogeneity of systems and Europeanisation process also require that any reform aimed at empowering spatial planning in relation to EU policies (see Chapter 7) would need to accommodate the differences in national settings.

Figure 17. Typology and trend of perceived engagement of territorial governance and spatial planning systems within the European territorial governance (Source: Authors' elaboration).



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